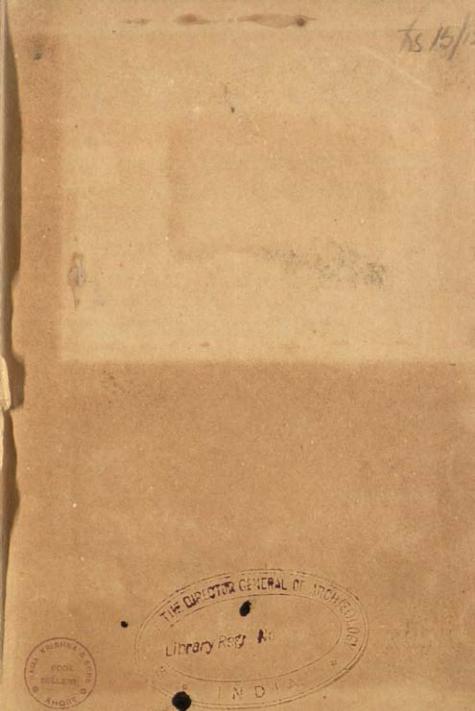
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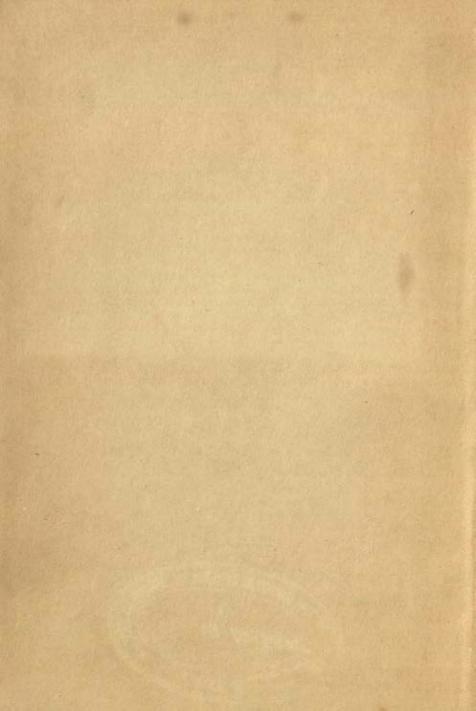
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GENERAL EDITOR: F. H. H. GUILLEMARD, M.D. FORMERLY LECTURER IN GEOGRAPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THE LANDS OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE



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THE LANDS OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE

Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem conquest to the time of Timur

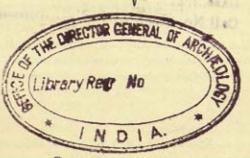
by

G. LE STRANGE

Author of Baghdad during the Abhasid Caliphate, Palestine under the Moslems etc.

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PREFACE.

In the following pages an attempt is made to gather within a convenient compass the information scattered through the works of the medieval Arab, Persian, and Turkish geographers, who have described Mesopotamia and Persia, with the nearer parts of Central Asia. The authorities quoted begin with the earlier Moslem writers, and conclude with those who described the settlement of these lands which followed after the death of Tîmûr,—the last great Central Asian wars of conquest,—for with the fifteenth century the medieval period in Asia may be said to come to an end.

Jama 16:00 & Sans AS 13/11- 21/5/35

The present work is also the complement of Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate published in 1900, and carries forward the geographical record which I began in Palestine under the Moslems, a work that appeared in 1890.

To keep the volume within moderate compass, the geography of Arabia, with the description of the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, though these for the most part were under the dominion of the Abbasids, has been omitted. Perhaps some other scholar may take up the subject, with fuller knowledge than I have, and write the historical geography of Arabia with Egypt across the Red Sea under the Fatimid Caliphs; completing the circuit of Moslem lands by describing the various provinces of North Africa, with the outlying and shortlived, though most splendid, western Caliphate of Spain.

If Moslem history is ever to be made interesting, and indeed to be rightly understood, the historical geography of the nearer East during the middle-ages must be thoroughly worked out. I have made a first attempt, but how much more needs to be done, and better done than in the present volume, I am the first to recognise. The ground, however, for future work is now cleared; the authorities for each statement are given in the footnotes; some mistakes are corrected of previous writers, and a beginning made of a complete survey for this period of the provinces of the Abbasid Caliphate. But my book is only a summary, and does not pretend to be exhaustive; also to keep down the size, I have been obliged to omit translating in full the Itineraries, which our Moslem authorities give us. In this matter a new edition, duly corrected from recently published texts, is indeed much needed of Sprenger's Post und Reise Routen des Orients, though the translation of the Itineraries which Professor De Goeje has appended to his edition of Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah, goes far to supply the lack.

With each province I have given such information as our authorities afford of the trade and manufactures; the record, however, is very fragmentary, and for a general survey of the products of the Moslem east, during the middle-ages, the chapter on the subject (Handel und Gewerbe) in A. von Kremer's Culturgeschichte des Orients is still the best that I know.

A chronological list of the Moslem geographers referred to in the notes by initial letters is given at the end of the Table of Contents. The fuller titles of other works quoted in the notes are given on the first reference to each author, and the names of their works will easily be recovered, for subsequent references, by consulting the index for the first mention made of the book.

In the introductory chapter a summary description will be found of the works of the Arab geographers;

but this matter has already been more fully discussed in Palestine under the Moslems.

The dates are given according to the years of the Hijrah, with the corresponding year A.D. (in brackets). The method of transcription adopted needs no comment, being that commonly in use; it may be noted that the Arab w is usually pronounced v in Persian; and that besides the emphatic s the Arab dh and d are both indifferently pronounced s in modern Persian, while the th has the sound of s.

In a work like the present, almost entirely composed from eastern sources, many errors will doubtless be found; also, with the great number of references, mistakes are unavoidable, and I shall feel most grateful for any corrections, or notice of omissions.

My hope is that others may be induced to set to work in this field of historical geography, and if this essay be soon superseded by a more complete survey of the ground, it will have served its purpose in having prepared the way for better things.

G. LE STRANGE.

 VIA SAN FRANCESCO POVERINO, FLORENCE, ITALY. May, 1905.



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ABBREVIATIONS AND CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MOSLEM GEOGRAPHERS.

				А. Н.	A. D.
I. K.	117	Ibn Khurdådbih	***	250	(864)
Kud.	711	Kudâmah	+++	266	(880)
Ykb.	717	Ya'kûbî		278	(891)
1. S.	244	Ibn Serapion	Va. 2	290	(903)
I. R.	1944	Ibn Rustah	117	290	(903)
L.F.		Ibn Fakih	***	190	(903)
Mas.	544	Mas'ûdl	140	332	(943)
Ist.	444	Iştakhri	222	340	(951)
I. H.	444	Ibn Hawkal	***	367	(978)
Muk.	0.00	Mukaddasi	7.5-	375	(985)
N. K.	***	Nâşir-i-Khusraw	(614	438	(1047)
F. N.	u.c.	Fårs Nåmah		500	(1107)
Idr.	444	Idrisi	***	548	(1154)
I. J.		Ibn Jubayr	***	580	(1184)
Yak.	244	Yāķūt	***	623	(1225)
Kaz.	***	Kazvini	7.17	674	(1275)
Mar.	-220	Mardsid	111	700	(1300)
A. F.	***	Abu-l-Fidâ		721	(1321)
Mst.		Mustawft		740	(1340)
I. B.	1,494	Ibn Batütah	***	756	(1355)
Hfz.	444	Hāfiz Abrū	-44	810	(1417)
A. Y.	***	'Alt of Yazd	8.4 6	828	(1425)
J. N.	4440	Jahan Numa		1010	(1600)
A. G.	1.74	Abu-l-Ghâzî	***	1014	(1604)

EMENDATIONS (1930)

p. 63, line 2

The naphtha spring of Khanikin is at the modern Naft Khanah. (R. Levy.)

line 11 from bottom

Bandanîjîn is the modern Mendelîj or Mendelî; and Bâdarâyâ is modern Badrâi. Both these names are found on the Survey of India Map, 1914. (R. Levy.)

p. 65, line 23

Shafatha is an oasis lying 40 miles west of Karbala: 'Ayn-at-Tamr has not been identified.

p. 74, line 13

The site of Pombedita is probably to be sought for at Kifl on the Shattal-Hindiyah where the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel is shown.

p. 86, line 7

The settlement of the tribes of Rabi'ah and Bakr in Upper Mesopotamia, according to Balâdhurl (p. 178), took place after Sassanian days at the time of the Moslem Conquest. (A. A. Bevan.)

p. 111, line 24

For "Maypharkath" read "Mayperkat." See W. Wright, Catalogue of Syriac MSS, p. 1304. (A. A. Bevan.)

p. 141, line 4 from bottom

Read "drowned in the river Calycadnus near Salükiyah (Seleucia of Cilicia)," and omit next three lines to foot of page.

p. 144, line 8 from bottom

For "Bythia" read "Bithynia."

p. 155, line 5

After "Agion Theologou" add as a note: "Hence not Loukas as often stated wrongly."

p. 167, line 6

Delete "cochineal" and insert "see below p. 184-"

p. 168, line 17

The mountain called Sarahand lay on the Kiblah (south-west) side of Abhar: see below p. 222. Also p. 169, line 3, for "north" read "south."

p. 175, line 20

For "east" read "west" coast of Caspian.

p. 182, line 11 add as note

Erivan (at present the chief town of the province) was founded as a frontier fortress by Rivan (or Erivan) Khân in the days of Shâh Isma'll I (1501 to 1524). See Hammer Purgstall, Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, 1V, 85.

p. 184, line 12 add as note

The Kirmiz insect (Kermes ilicis of Linnæus) feeds on the leaves of the oak, and is allied to the American cochineal insect which lives on the cactus.

p. 187, line 9 from bottom

For "Here" read "Three leagues from here."

p. 195, line 14

For "Juhastah" read "Jühastah," and line 21, for "Zabiyah" read "Zabyah."

p. 222, line 7

After "Abhar river" add " (which took its rise in the Sarahand mountain to the south-west)."

p. 329

"Mukran" is the more exact spelling.

p. 393. Add to footnote 2

The ruins of Shahr-i-Bilkls have been described and planned by Sir Percy Sykes: see 'A sixth Journey in Persia' in the Geographical Journal, 1911, p. 6. Clavijo visited them in 1404, and writes the name of the town Zabrain.

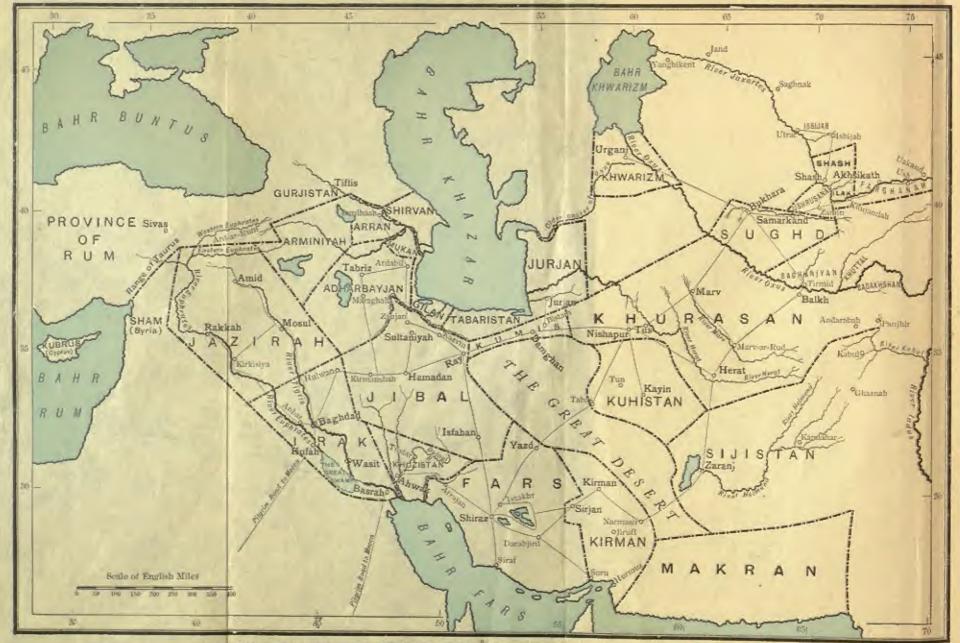
p. 513, first column line 17

Read "328" for "327."

p. 520, first column, as line 3

Insert "Mükân, 175."





THE PROVINCES OF THE ABBASID CALIPHATE, SHOWING THE CHIEF HIGH ROADS

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Mesopotamia and Persia, their provinces under the Abbasid Caliphs. The outlying provinces to the north-west and the north-east. The high roads from Baghdâd to the Moslem frontier. The Moslem geographers, and their works. Other authorities. Place-names in the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian provinces.

Mesopotamia and Persia had formed the kingdom of the Sassanian Chosroes, which the Arabs utterly overthrew when, after the death of Muhammad, they set forth to convert the world to Islam. Against the Byzantines, the other great power which the Moslems attacked, they achieved only a partial victory, taking possession, here and there, of rich provinces, notably of the coast lands to the south and east of the Mediterranean; but elsewhere the Emperors successfully withstood the Caliphs, and for many centuries continued to do so, the Roman empire in the end surviving the Caliphate by over two hundred years.

The kingdom of the Sassanians, on the other hand, the Arabs completely overran and conquered; Yazdajird, the last of the Chosroes, was hunted down and slain, and the whole land of Îrân passed under the rule of Islam. Then further, and to no inconsiderable extent, the empire of the Caliphs, which had taken over bodily the administration of the older Persian kingdom, came itself to be modelled on the pattern in government which the Chosroes had established; this more especially under the Abbasids, who, rather more than a century after the death of the Prophet, overthrew their rivals the Omayyads, and changing the seat of the Caliphate from Syria to Mesopotamia, founded Baghdâd on the Tigris, a few miles above Ctesiphon, the older winter capital of the Sassanians.

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Baghdad forthwith became, for the East, the centre of the Moslem empire, but from the time of the first Abbasid Caliph this empire no longer remained, even nominally, undivided. Spain fell off, and before long an Omayyad Caliph at Cordova was the rival of the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad. In rather more than a century after their establishment in power, the Abbasids also lost Egypt, which, at about the date when the Omayyad prince at Cordova had recently proclaimed himself Commander of the Faithful, passed into the power of the Fatimids, who likewise took the style of Caliph, and renounced allegiance to Baghdad. Syria had for the most part followed the fortunes of Egypt; Arabia was the debateable land between the two; in the Further East many provinces became independent of the Abbasid Caliph, but there no permanent rival Caliphate was established; so that in general terms all those broad provinces, which had formed the Sassanian kingdom before the days of Islam, remained to the last nominally, if not really, subject to the Abbasids. This vast stretch of country, bounded to the eastward by the deserts of Central Asia, with the mountains of Afghanistan, and westward by the Byzantine empire, was divided among the many provinces which will be described in detail in the succeeding chapters of the present work. The names of the provinces, and their boundaries, for the most part (and as far as is known), were under the Arabs identical with those that had existed under the Chosroes; indeed the East alters so little that in the majority of cases both names and boundaries have remained almost unchanged to the present day, though, as was to be foreseen, the political state, and especially the economical or material conditions of the country, have varied considerably during the last thirteen hundred years.

It will be convenient, before proceeding further, to give a brief summary of these various provinces, taking them in the order in which they are described in the succeeding chapters.

The great lowland province, which the Greeks called Mesopotamia, is the gift of its two rivers the Euphrates and the Tigris; and the latter in its lower course (as will be more fully explained in Chapter II) did not, in Abbasid times, run in the channel which its waters follow at the present day. A glance at the map shows that the sterile Arabian desert comes close up to the

western border of the Euphrates, and this river, therefore, has no right bank affluents. With the Tigris, on the other hand, it is different; the highlands of Persia follow a line standing back at a considerable distance from the eastern side of this river, and many streams flow down from the Persian mountains, these forming numerous left bank affluents of the Tigris. The Moslems inherited from the Sassanians a system of irrigation for Mesopotamia which made this province one of the richest in the known world. The system will be more fully explained later; but briefly it may be said that the Arabs effectually watered the country lying between the two rivers by draining the surplus of the Euphrates through a number of transverse canals flowing to the Tigris; while the districts to the eastward of the Tigris, extending up to the foot-hills of the Persian highlands, were watered in part by the streams which flowed down from these mountains, in part by a series of loop canals, taken from the left bank of the Tigris, and returning to it again, which in turn absorbed the flood-waters of the many small rivers rising in the eastern hills.

The Arabs divided Mesopotamia into two provinces, Lower and Upper, of which the Lower comprised the rich alluvial lands known anciently as Babylonia. Lower Mesopotamia was called Al-Trâk, and its northern limit (which, however, varied at different times) was a line going east and west, from points on the Euphrates and Tigris, respectively, where these two rivers first began to flow near each other through the Mesopotamian plain. The largest city of Trâk, under the Abbasids, was of course Baghdâd; but already a century before that dynasty had come to power, the first Moslems, on conquering this part of Mesopotamia, had founded three great towns, Wâsit, Kûfah, and Başrah, which continued to flourish for many centuries; and these, with Anbâr (already a city in Sassanian days) lying on the Euphrates in the latitude of Baghdâd, were the great centres of population in the Trâk province under the Abbasid Caliphs.

North of the limit of the alluvial lands stretched the hard and somewhat stony plains of Upper Mesopotamia, where had been the kingdom of Nineveh in ancient times. Upper Mesopotamia the Arabs called Al-Jazîrah, 'the island,' or rather 'the peninsula,' or partial island, for these great plains were almost enclosed by a ring of waters, formed by the upper courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, and by streams or canals joining the two to the southward of the stony plains. The province of Jazirah extended north to the mountains in which the two great rivers had their sources; it was divided into three districts, named after the Arab tribes which had settled here in the times of the Chosroes, and its chief towns were Mosul near the ruins of Nineveh, Âmid on the Upper Tigris, and Rakkah at the great bend of the Euphrates, near the desert border on the further side of which is Damascus.

The chapter following deals with the mountainous countries in which the twin rivers, which are the head streams of the Euphrates, take their rise. This country formed the debateable land between the Caliphate and the empire. Time and again its towns and fortresses were taken and retaken, by Moslems and Christians, as the tide of war ebbed and flowed. The country was never permanently settled by the Arabs, and detailed description of it is for the most part lacking in our earlier authorities. The same remark, and in a higher degree, applies to the province called Rûm (the Roman Territory) which, till the latter part of the 5th (11th) century, remained an integral part of the Byzantine empire; for between this province and the Caliphate the great rampart of the Taurus chain formed the line of demarcation. Almost yearly the Moslems made incursions through the Taurus passes into Anatolia; more than once they laid ineffectual siege to Constantinople; and at times they garrisoned and occupied divers fortress towns up on the great plateau of Asia Minor. But beyond such temporary occupation the Abbasid Caliphs did not succeed in conquering the upland country; they made many raids through Asia Minor, but they held no land, and Moslem rule was not established there, until in the decline of the Caliphate, the Saljûk Turks settled in these highlands which they wrested from the Byzantines, and then finally Asia Minor, or Rûm, came to be counted as Moslem land, in which condition it still remains.

To the east of Jazîrah, or Upper Mesopotamia, came the province of Adharbâyjân, the ancient Atropatene, bounded above and below, respectively, by the Araxes and the White River, the Safid-

Rûd, both of which streams flowed into the Caspian. The most notable natural feature of this province was the great salt lake, now known as the lake of Urmiyah, near which stood Tabriz and Maraghah, the provincial capitals, while Ardabil, another great town, lay to the eastward nearer the shore of the Caspian. The chapter following describes a number of smaller provinces of the north-western border. First Gilân, or Jilân, on the Caspian, where the Safid-Rûd, breaking through the Alburz range, the mountain barrier of the Persian highlands, flows through an alluvial plain of its own making, pushing out a small delta into the Caspian. Next, the province of Mughan at the mouth of the combined Araxes and Cyrus rivers; then Arran lying to the westward between the courses of these two rivers; with Shirvan to the north of the Cyrus, and Gurjistân (Georgia) at its head waters. Lastly we have Moslem Armenia lying at the head waters of the Araxes, which is the mountainous province surrounding the lake of Van.

South-east of Adharbayjan spreads the rich province of Media, which the Arabs very appropriately called Al-Jibâl, 'the mountains,' for its mountains overhang the lowlands of Lower Mesopotamia, and, range behind range, stretch across eastward to the border of the Great Desert of Central Persia. The western part of the Jibal province, in later times, when the Kurds attained fame and power, came to be known as Kurdistân; and in the later middle-ages, but by a misnomer, as will be explained in due course, the province of Al-Jibâl was often called 'Irâk 'Ajami, or Persian 'Irâk, in contrast to Arabian 'Irâk, which was Lower Mesopotamia. The Jibal province included many great cities; in the west Kirmanshah and Hamadan (the latter the ancient Ecbatana); in the north-east Ray (Rhages), and to the south-east Ispahân. At a later period the Mongols of Persia founded Sultaniyah in its northern plains, which for a time taking the place of Baghdad, became the capital of this portion of their empire, which included both Mesopotamia and Persia under the rule of the Îl-Khân. In the mountains of the Jibâl province many rivers take their rise, among the rest the Kârûn, which the Arabs called Dujayl or Little Tigris, and which after a long and tortuous course flows out at the head of the Persian Gulf, a little to the east of the combined mouth of the Euphrates and

Tigris.

The province of Khûzistân, lying south of Media and east of Lower Mesopotamia, occupies the lower course of the Kârûn river, or Dujayl, with its numerous affluents. This country was extremely rich; Tustar and Ahwâz were its chief towns; and its lands being plentifully irrigated were most productive. East of Khûzistân, and bordering the Gulf, lay the great province of Fârs, the ancient Persis and the cradle of the Persian monarchy. Under the Abbasids it still kept the division into the five Kûrahs, or districts, which had been organized under the Sassanians, and Fårs was closely studded with towns, great and small, the most important of which were Shirâz the capital, Işţakhr (Persepolis), Yazd, Arrajân, and Dârâbjird. The islands of the Gulf were counted as of Fars, and Kays island was an important commercial centre before the rise of Hurmuz. The chief physical feature of Fårs was the great salt lake of Bakhtigån, which with other smaller sheets of water stood in the broad highland valleys, whose mountains were offsets of the ranges in the Jibal province, already referred to. In Fars, the Darabjird district under the Mongols came to be counted as a separate province, and was in the 7th (13th) century called Shabankarah; the Yazd district also, in the later middle-ages, was given to the Jibal province.

To the east of Fårs lay the province of Kirmån, far less fertile, almost lacking in rivers, and bordering on the Great Desert. Of this province there were two capitals in Abbasid times, Sîrjân and Kirmân city; and the two other most important towns of the province were Hurmuz, on the coast; and Jîruît, inland, a centre of much commerce. The Great Desert of Central Persia is the most remarkable physical feature of the high tableland of Îrân. This immense salt waste stretches south-east diagonally across Persia, from Ray, at the base of the mountains which on their northern side overlook the Caspian, spreading in a broad band—or rather, in a dumb-bell-shaped depression—the lower end of which merges into the hills of Makrân, the province bordering on the Indian Ocean. In the Great Desert there are few oases; a salt efflorescence covers much of the barren levels, but the desert in winter time is not difficult to pass, and many well

marked tracks connect the towns on either side. But on the other hand the Great Desert is a real barrier to any continuous intercourse between the provinces of Färs and Kirmån, which lie on its south-western side, and the eastern provinces which are beyond its other limit, namely Khuråsån with Sistån to the south-east, and this desert barrier has played an important part all through the history of Persia. After describing what the Moslem geographers have to say of the Great Desert, the same chapter deals with the Makrån province, which on the east touched India, running up to the highlands overlooking the Indus valley, part of which is now known as Balüchistån. On these regions, however, our authorities are not very fully informed.

North of Makrân, and across the narrow part of the desert opposite Kirmân, lay the province of Sijistân or Sîstân, to the east of the extensive, but very shallow lake of Zarah. Into this lake drained the waters of the Helmund, and numerous other rivers flowing south-west from the high mountains of Afghanistân lying above Kâbul and Ghaznah. Here Kandahâr stood in a plain between two of the affluents of the Helmund, and where this great river flowed into the Zarah lake lay Zaranj, the capital of Sijistân. North-west of the Zarah lake, and on the border of the Great Desert, was the very hilly province aptly called Kûhistân (Land of Mountains), the chief towns of which were Tûn and Kâyin, well known as the Tunocain of Marco Polo; Sijistân and Kûhistân thus forming the southern border of Khurâsân, the great eastern province of Persia.

Before describing this last, however, the three small provinces of Kûmis, Tabaristân and Jurjân, which form the subject of the succeeding chapter, require notice. Kûmis, of which the capital was Dâmghân, lay in length along the north border of the Great Desert eastward of Ray, comprising the southern foot-hills of the mountain chain of Alburz which shuts off the high plateau of Persia from the Caspian Sea. These mountains, and more particularly their northern flank descending to the Caspian, formed the province of Tabaristân, otherwise called Mâzandarân, which extended from Gilân and the delta of the White River (Safîd-Rûd), on the west, to the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. Here Tabaristân joined Jurjân, or Gurgân, the ancient

Hircania, which included the valleys watered by the rivers Atrak and Jurjan, on which last stood Jurjan city. The Jurjan province extended eastward from the Caspian Sea to the desert which separated Khurasan from the cultivated lands of the Oxus delta, namely the province of Khwarizm.

The modern province of Khurāsān is but a moiety of the great tract of country which, from Abbasid times down to the later middle-ages, was known under this name; for Khurāsān of those days included what is now become the north-western part of Afghanistān. On the east, medieval Khurāsān bordered on Badakhshān, its northern frontier was the Oxus and the desert of Khwārizm. The Moslem geographers divided Khurāsān into four quarters, named after its four capital cities; viz. Nīshāpūr, Marv, Herat, and Balkh. From a physical point of view the remarkable feature of Khurāsān consisted in the two great rivers of Herat and of Marv, which rising in the mountains of what is now Afghanistān, turned north and flowed out to waste in the sands of the desert towards Khwārizm, reaching no sea or lake.

The chapter following deals with the upper waters of the Oxus, and a number of small provinces, stretching from Badakhshan westwards, which lie to the north, on the right bank affluents of the great river. Its delta, forming the province of Khwarizm to the south of the Aral Sea, is next described, of which Urgani was the older capital, and in this chapter some pages are devoted to clearing up the much debated subject of the older course of the Oxus to the Caspian. Beyond the great river, and between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, lay the province of Sughd, the ancient Sogdiana, with its two noble cities, Samarkand and Bukhârâ, both on the Sughd river. This is the penultimate chapter of the present work; and the last chapter deals with the provinces along the laxartes, from Farghanah near the borders of the Chinese deserts, of which the capital was Akhsikath, to Shash, modern Tashkand, with the Isbijab province to the north-west, beyond which the Jaxartes flowed out, through the bleak wilderness, into the upper part of the Aral Sea. Of these northern countries of the Further East, however, lying beyond Central Asia, the earlier Arab geographers give but a succinct account. They were the Turk lands, and it was only after the Mongol invasion that they rose to importance; of this period unfortunately there is a lack of precise information, the Arab geographers failing us for the most part, and their place being but ill-supplied by the later Persian and Turkish authorities.

The Moslems, by the injunction of their Prophet, were bound each, once in a lifetime, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Under the Abbasids, when the Moslem empire reached its fullest extent, the pilgrimage was facilitated by the elaborate system of high roads, all made to radiate from Baghdåd, where the Tigris was crossed by those coming from the further east and bound for the Hijåz. Of this road system (which the Arabs had inherited from the earlier Persian kingdom) we possess detailed contemporary descriptions; and the chief lines, running through the provinces named in the foregoing paragraphs, may here be summarily described.

The most famous of the trunk roads was the great Khurâsân road, which, going east, united the capital with the frontier towns of the Jaxartes on the borders of China. This, too, is perhaps that which of all the roads is best described. Leaving East Baghdad by the Khurasan gate, it went across the plain, passing over numerous streams by well-built bridges, to Hulwan at the foot of the pass leading up to the highlands of Persia. Here it entered the Jibal province and after a steep ascent reached Kirmanshah, the capital of Kurdistan. Crossing the Jibal province diagonally, northeast, the road passed through Hamadan to Ray. From Ray onwards it went almost due east through Kûmis, having the Tabaristân mountains on the left, and the Great Desert on the south, till it entered the province of Khurasan near the town of Bistâm. Continuing onwards it came to Nîshâpûr, then to Tûs, and on to Mary, beyond which it crossed the desert to the Oxus bank at Âmul, thence reaching successively Bukhârâ and Samarkand in the province of Sughd. At Zamîn a short distance east of Samarkand, the road bifurcated: on the left hand one road proceeded to Shash (Tashkand) and ultimately to the ford at Utrar on the lower course of the Jaxartes; the other road, leaving Zāmīn, turned off to the right, towards Farghānah and the Upper Jaxartes, coming to Akhsikath the capital, and finally to Uzkand on the borders of the Chinese desert.

This in its full extent was the great Khurâsân road; and to the present day the post-roads crossing Persia, but centring in Tihrân, near the older Ray, follow the same long track which the earlier Arab geographers have described. After the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, the road system was in part altered by the building of Sulţânîyah, which became the capital of the Mongols. But all that this entailed was a branch road north from Hamadân direct to Sulţânîyah, which, for a time, took the place of Ray as the centre point of the roads in this quarter.

In earlier days, under the Abbasids, cross-roads had branched off, right and left, to various parts of Persia from the chief towns along the Khurasan high road. Thus from near Kirmanshah a road went north to Tabriz and other towns on the Urmiyah lake, with prolongations to Ardabil and to places on the Araxes. From Hamadân, going south-east, there was a high road to Isfahan; and from Ray, going north-west, the distances to Zanjān are given, whence a highway led up to Ardabil. Nîshāpûr in Khurasan was a centre for many branch roads; southwards one went to Tabas on the borders of the Great Desert in Kûhistân; another road went to Kâyin; while south-east was the highway to Herat, whence Zarani in Sijistân was reached. From Marv a high road followed up the Mary river to Lesser Mary (Maryar-Rûd), where, joining a road coming from Herat, it went on to Balkh and the eastern frontier lands beyond the Oxus. Finally from Bukhara there was direct communication, north-west, with Urganj in Khwarizm; and, south-west, with Tirmid on the Oxus opposite Balkh.

This completes the system of the Khurâsân road; and now returning to Baghdâd, the central point, the highways going in other directions must be sketched. Down the Tigris, the distances and stations being given both by land and by water, was the highway through Wâsit to Başrah, the great port for the trade of the Persian Gulf. From both Wâsit and Başrah, Ahwâz in Khûzistân was reached, and thence the high road went due east to Shîrâz in Fârs. This was a centre of many roads. North was the road to Isfahân and on to Ray; north-east, through Yazd and across the Great Desert Tabas was reached, which communicated with Nîshâpûr; eastward by more than one route Sîrjân and

Kirmân were in communication, and thence eastward across the Great Desert was the way to Zaranj in Sijistân; while south-east and south from Shîrâz two roads branched towards the Persian Gulf ports, one passing through Dârâbjird to Sûrû near Hurmuz, the other to Sîrâf, at one time the chief harbour of Fârs.

Returning once again to Baghdâd, the central point, we find that the great Pilgrim road to Mecca and Medina left West Baghdâd, going south to Kûfah on the border of the Arabian desert, which it crossed almost in a direct line to the Hijâz. A second Pilgrim road started from Başrah, running at first nearly parallel with the other, which it finally joined two stages north of Mecca. Then from Baghdâd, north-west, a road went to the Euphrates at Anbâr, and thence up that river to Rakkah, a centre point for roads across the Syrian desert to Damascus, and for many other highways going north to the Greek frontier towns. Finally from Baghdâd, north, there were high roads up both banks of the Tigris to Mosul, whence Âmid was reached on the one hand, and Ķirkisiyā on the Euphrates to the south-west. From Âmid there were roads communicating with most of the frontier fortresses towards the Greek country.

This in brief was the road system under the Abbasids, which, centring in Baghdåd, connected the capital by a system of post-stages with the outlying provinces of the empire. The system is very carefully described by the Arab geographers, and for purposes of reference it may be well now to give in chronological order a short account of our contemporary authorities, on whose works we rely for the facts set down in the following chapters.

The earlier of our authorities date from the middle of the 3rd (9th) century, and the first geographical treatises of the Arabs take the form of Road Books. These set forth in detail the various itineraries, are interspersed with short accounts of the towns passed through, and give the revenues and products, in turn, of each province. Of these Road Books we possess four, in particular, which are of primary importance, and they complement

¹ For further particulars of the Arab geographers see Palestine under the Moslems (London, 1890), the Introductory chapter; also for more detail, the Introduction to the French translation of Abu-l-Fidâ, by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1848).

each other, for their texts have in many passages come down to us in a mutilated condition. The authors of these Road Books of the 3rd (9th) century are Ibn Khurdâdbih, Kudâmah, Ya'kûbî and Ibn Rustah.

The first two are almost identical in substance. Ibn Khurdâdbih was post-master of the Jibâl province, Kudâmah was a revenue accountant; their itineraries give stage by stage the distances along the great Khurasan road and the other trunk roads, as sketched in the preceding paragraphs, which radiated from Baghdad. The work of Ya'kûbî has unfortunately not reached us in its entirety; to it we owe the account of Baghdad which, with the description written by Ibn Serapion, has made it possible to work out in detail the topography of the Abbasid capital. Ya'kûbî gives further a number of valuable notes on many other cities, and the details of the high roads traversing the Trak province are found fully set forth only in his work. Of Ibn Serapion, his contemporary, only a fragment has reached us; but this, in addition to the account given of Baghdad, is of capital importance for the river and canal system of Mesopotamia; he gives also shorter descriptions of the rivers in other provinces. Ibn Rustah has written a similar work to Ya'kûbî, adding many notices of towns; but above all he has given us a most minute account of the great Khurasan road as far as Tus, near Mashhad, with some of its branch roads, notably those going to Isfahân, and to Herat; also the road from Baghdad south to Kufah, and to Basrah, with the continuation eastward to Shîrâz. On all these trunk lines, not only are the distances and stages given, but an exact description is added of the nature of the country passed through; whether the way be hilly, ascending or descending, or whether the road lies in the plain; and this description of Ibn Rustah is naturally of first-rate importance for the exact identification of the line traversed, and for fixing the position of many lost sites. Another authority is Ibn-al-Fakth, a contemporary of Ibn Rustah, who wrote a very curious geographical miscellany, of which unfortunately only an abridgment has come down to us. Some of his notices of places, however, are of use in completing or correcting the earlier accounts1.

¹ The texts of Ibn Khurdadbih, Kudamah, Ya'kûbî, Ibn Rustah and

The systematic geographers begin with the 4th (10th) century. They describe fully and in turn each province of the Moslem empire, only incidentally giving the high roads, and generally piecemeal for each province. Their works are of course a great advance on the Road Books; to them we owe such fulness of geographical detail as will be found in the following chapters, and the three first names on the list, Istakhri, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasi, are those to whose labours we are most materially indebted. The work of Ibn Hawkal is but a new edition, partly enlarged and emended, of Istakhri; on the other hand Istakhri, a native of Persepolis, gives the description of his native province, Fars, in far greater detail than is to be found in Ibn Hawkal, who reduced his chapter on Fars to the due proportion of the remainder of the book. Mukaddasi, their contemporary, wrote his geography entirely on independent lines, and chiefly from his personal observations of the divers provinces. His work is probably the greatest, it is certainly the most original, of all those which the Arab geographers composed; his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his careful summaries of the characteristics of each province in turn, are indeed some of the best written pages to be found in all the range of medieval Arab literature.

It is further to be remarked that to these last three systematic geographers we owe the exact identification of most of the names displayed on the accompanying maps. At the close of each chapter they give a table of 'the distances,' namely the stages or sections of the great high roads, already described, which crossed the province in question, and in addition to the high roads an immense number of cross-distances are added, going between

Ibn-al-Fakih are edited by Professor De Goeje in volumes v, v1, and v11 of his series Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (Leyden, 1885—1892); further in vol. v1 he has added a French translation, with many important notes, of the first two authorities. Of Ibn Serapion the text, describing Mesopotamia, will be found in the Jour. R. Asiat. Soc. for 1895, p. 9; and the Ms. referred to is that in the British Museum, numbered Add. 23,379. Ya'kûbî, in addition to his work on geography, also wrote a history, the text of which has been edited by Professor M. T. Houtsma (Ibn-Wādhih, qui dicitur Al-Ja'qubî, Historiae, Leyden, 1883), and this often contains valuable information in matters of geography.

neighbouring towns. These distances, plotted out and starting from known points, enable us to cover the map with a system of triangulation, by means of which the positions of some towns, long ruined, and the very vestiges of which have in many cases disappeared, can be approximately laid down; as, for instance, in the case of Tawwaj in Fârs, the ruins of which have not yet been identified, though their situation can now be fixed within narrow limits. Another writer of the 4th (10th) century is Mas'ûdl, who has left two works; the first for the most part historical, and well known under the title of *The Golden Meadows*; the second, a sort of commonplace book, full of curious details and notes, which is called *At-Tanbih*, 'The Admonishment'.'

Coming to the 5th and 6th (11th and 12th) centuries, we have the works of two famous travellers, pilgrims, whose descriptions of the places they passed through are of considerable importance. Nasir, son of Khusraw, the Persian, in the middle of the 5th (11th) century went from Khurasan to Mecca and back, visiting Egypt and Syria on his way out, and crossing Arabia on the homeward journey, and his diary, written in Persian, is one of the earliest works we possess in that language. Ibn Jubayr, the Spanish Arab, a century later made the pilgrimage starting from Granada; and his account of Mesopotamia, particularly of Baghdad, is one of the most interesting that has come down to us. Dating from the beginning of the 6th (12th) century is another Persian work, called the Fars Namah (Book of Fars), describing most minutely that province, and invaluable as far as it goes. Also dating from the middle of this century we have the systematic geography of Idrisi, who lived at the court of the Norman king, Roger II of Sicily. He wrote in Arabic, and very inconveniently has composed

The texts of Istakhri, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasi form volumes 1, 11, and 111, respectively, of the already-mentioned series of the Bibl. Geogr. Arab. (Leyden, 1870—1877). Of Mas'udi the text of the Tanbih has been edited by Professor De Goeje in vol. vtt1 of the same series (Leyden, 1894); and a translation in French of this has been published (Paris, 1896) by Baron Carra de Vaux under the title of Le Livre de l'Avertissement. The history, called The Golden Meadows (Murûj-adh-Dhahab), was published (Paris, 1861), the Arabic text being given with a French translation, by Messrs Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille; the two last works under the auspices of the French Société Asiatique.

his description of the known world in 'Climates,' that is according to zones of latitude, whereby the various provinces are often divided up arbitrarily, Mesopotamia, for instance, being partly described in the 3rd Climate, partly in the 4th. He had, unfortunately for our purpose, no personal knowledge of Persia or the regions east of the Mediterranean, but had visited Asia Minor, then still a province of the Roman empire, and his description of this region would be invaluable, but for the fact that the placenames (by reason of incorrect MSS.) are in many cases illegible, or so corrupt as to be at present mostly beyond recognition'.

Coming to the 7th (13th) century, the period of the Mongol invasion and the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, we have the voluminous Geographical Dictionary of Yakut, a compilation it is true from earlier writers, but illustrated by the author's own far extended travels, which, when it is used with due criticism, is perfectly invaluable. The articles are arranged in alphabetical order. and Yakût quotes freely from almost all his predecessors in Arab geographical literature, some of whose works, as for instance those of the traveller Ibn-al-Muhalhal, who wrote in 330 (942), are only known to us by his excerpts. This great dictionary was epitomised. three-quarters of a century after its appearance, in a work called Al-Marasid, 'the Observatories,' and the author of this epitome. a native of Mesopotamia, often gives valuable corrections, of firsthand authority, for places in the regions round Baghdad. Of about the same date is Kazvini, who wrote a work in two parts on cosmography, which gives interesting notes on the products and the commerce of divers towns and provinces; and in the earlier part of the 8th (14th) century we have the systematic geography of Abu-l-Fida, a Syrian prince, who, though he compiled largely from the works of his predecessors, in addition gives

¹ The Persian text of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, with an annotated French translation, has been brought out by C. Schéfer, in the series of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes (Paris, 1881). The Arabic text of Ibn Jubayr was well edited by W. Wright (Leyden, 1852). The Fàrs Nāmah exists only in manuscript: that quoted is in the British Museum, numbered Or. 5983. Idrisl has been translated into French (indifferently well) by A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836); passages quoted I have verified with the Arabic text, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Arabia, Nos. 2221 and 2222.

facts from his own observation of the countries which he had visited'.

Of the same date, namely the first half of the 8th (14th) century, are the travels of Ibn Baţûţah the Berber, who rivalled the Venetian Marco Polo in the extent of his voyages. His book is written in Arabic; his contemporary, Mustawfi, wrote in Persian a description of the Mongol kingdom of Îrân (Mesopotamia with Persia), which shows the condition of the country after the Mongol settlement, when this region was governed by the Îl-Khâns. Mustawfi also wrote an historical work called the Târîkh-i-Guzîdah, 'the Select History,' which, besides being of considerable value for Mongol times, often contains geographical notes of great importance".

For the time of Timûr we have primarily the notices in the historical work of 'Ali of Yazd, then the Geography written by Hâfiz Abrû; both are in Persian, and date from the first half of the 9th (15th) century. Lastly for the settlement after the conquests of Timûr, the works of two Turkish authors, one writing in Eastern Turkish, the other in 'Othmanli, have to be mentioned, both being of the earlier half of the 11th (17th) century. These are the History of the Turks and Mongols by the Khwârizm prince Abu-l-Ghâzi, and the Universal Geography called the Jahân Numâ

The Mu'jum-al-Buldân, the great dictionary of Yâkût, has been edited in Arabic by F. Wüstenseld (Leipzig, 1866—1873); the articles relating to places in Persia will be found translated into French, with additions from Mustawst and later authorities, in the Dictionnaire de la Perse (Paris, 1861) of M. Barbier de Meynard. The Marâțid-al-Iţţilâ, which is the epitome of Yâkût, has been edited by Juynboll (Leyden, 1852). The two volumes of the Cosmography of Kazvînî have been edited by Wüstenseld (Göttingen, 1848). The text of the Geography of Abu-l-Fidâ was edited by Reinaud and De Slane (Paris, 1840), and Reinaud also began (Paris, 1848) a translation of this work in French, prefixing to it a valuable Introduction on the Arab Geographers, which translation S. Guyard afterwards (Paris, 1883) completed.

² The Travels of Ibn Baiūţah, the Arabic text with a French translation, have been published (Paris, 1874—1879) by Defrémery and Sanguinetti. The Persian Geography of Hamd Allah Mustawfi (the text of the Nuzhat-al-Kulāb) was lithographed at Bombay in 1311 (1894), and the Guzidah is quoted from the British Museum Ms. numbered Add. 22,693, Mss. Add. 7630 and Egerton 690 having been collated. Part of the Guzidah has now been printed, with a French translation, by M. J. Gantin (Paris, 1903).

(World Displayer) by the celebrated bibliographer Hājj Khalfah .

For elucidating points of detail the works of many of the Arab historians are of primary importance. By earlier writers history and geography were often treated of in one and the same work. An instance of this is the Book of the Conquests, written by Baladhuri, and dating from the middle of the 3rd (9th) century. It describes in turn, east and west, all the conquests of the Moslems, and is of great interest as showing the state of the country when Islam first became the dominant creed. Of the chronicles, besides the History written by Ya'kûbî, already mentioned, there is, dating from the 3rd (9th) century, the work of Ibn Mashkuwayh, of which the Sixth Section only has been printed. The annals of Hamzah of Isfahan, written in the middle of the 4th (10th) century, likewise give useful information, and though of course composed in Arabic. the work was evidently based on many Persian books, now lost, and it relates facts of which we should otherwise be ignorant.

The most complete, however, of the Arabic chronicles, down to the beginning of the 4th (roth) century, at which date he flourished, is that of Tabari, and his work is for geography a primary authority. For later Abbasid history Ibn-al-Athir has to be relied upon; also the entertaining summary of Moslem history generally known by the name of Fakhri. The Universal History of Ibn Khaldûn is often of use to supplement the meagre chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir; and the great Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khallikân occasionally adds details. These authors all wrote in Arabic. In Persian the two histories called the Rawdat-as-Safā and the Habib-as-Siyār, respectively by Mirkhwând and by Khwândamîr

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¹ The Persian text of the history of Timur by 'All of Yazd, known as the Zafar Nāmah, is published in the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1887). A French translation called Histoire de Timour Bee was published (Paris, 1722), by Petis de la Croix. Hâfiz Abrû exists only in manuscript; the one quoted is that of the British Museum, numbered Or. 1577. The Turkish text of the Jahân Numâ was printed in Constantinople in 1145 (1732) by Ibrâhîm Efendî, and a Latin translation of part of this work was published by M. Norberg (Lund, 1818). The Turki text, with a French translation, of the History of the Mongols, by Abu-l-Ghâri, has been published by Baron Desmaisons (St Petersburg, 1871).

his grandson, must be mentioned, for especially in the Persian provinces both these works give valuable geographical information. Two other Persian chronicles, relating to the Saljûk dynasties in Asia Minor and in Kirmân, are likewise of importance, and are more than once quoted in the following pages, being referred to under the names of the chroniclers Ibn Bibl, and Ibn Ibrâhîm¹.

To complete our survey, a few pages in conclusion of this preliminary chapter may be devoted to some general remarks on the place-names which occur in the following chapters, and are set down on the maps. In the two provinces of Mesopotamia the great majority of the place-names are notably either Arabic or Aramaic, this last having been the common language of the people here, prior to the Moslem conquest. The Arabic names of towns generally have, or had, a meaning, as for instance Al-Kûfah, Al-Başrah, and Wâsiţ. The Aramaic names, as a rule, are easily recognisable by their form, and by the termination in long â, for example Jabultâ; and the meaning of these too is generally not far to seek: e.g. 'Abartâ, 'the passage, or crossing place,' marking a bridge of boats; and Bâjisrâ, which is equivalent

1 The text of Baladhurl has been edited by Professor De Goeje (Leyden, 1866). He has also given us Ibn Mashkuwayh, forming the latter part of his Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum (Leyden, 1871). The History by Hamzah of Islahan has been edited (with a Latin translation) by I. M. E. Gottwaldt (Leipzig, 1844). The numerous volumes of the great Chronicle of Tabari have been published, in three series, under the editorship of Professor De Goeje (Leyden, 1879-1901). The Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athlr is edited by Tornberg (Leyden, 1867-1876). Fakhrl, more correctly named Ibn-at-Tiktakå, has been edited by Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860). Of Ibn Khaldûn, the text quoted is that printed at Bulak in 1284 (1867): the text of Ibn Khallikân has been edited by Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1837), and an English translation was made by De Slane, for the Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1843). The references to the Persian texts of the histories by Mirkhwand (or Amirkhwand) and by Khwandamir are to the lithographed editions, published in Bombay, of the Rawdat-as-Safa in 1266 (1850), and of the Habib-as-Siyar in 1273 (1857). The two Saljúk chronicles are edited by Professor Houtsma in vols. 1 and IV of his Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seljoucides (Leyden, 1886-1902). The first of these is by Ibn Ibrâhîm (otherwise called Muhammad Ibrahim, or Muhammad ibn Ibrahim), who flourished about the year 1025 (1616); and the second chronicle is by Ibn Bibl, who wrote about 680 (1281). See also an article by Professor Houtsma in the Zeit. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell. 1885, p. 362.

to the Arabic Bayt-al-Jisr, meaning 'bridge-house.' Older Persian names like Baghdad, 'the god-given place,' are rare; and here and there a Greek name survives, as for instance Al-Ubullah, representing Apologos.

The Greek province of Asia Minor, as already said, only became Moslem land after the Saljûk conquest, in the latter half of the 5th (11th) century; and hence the Greek names are often known to us in two forms, an earlier (Arabic) and a later (Turkish); as, for example, Seleucia given first as Salûkîyah, later as Selefkeh; and Heraclia which we find at first as Hiraklah, and in more modern times as Arâkliyah. After the Saljûk occupation of the country and the subsequent Ottoman supremacy, Turkish names naturally come to supplant the earlier Greek nomenclature; but in the matter of orthography it must be remembered that the Arabic alphabet is quite as foreign to Turkish as it is to Greek, hence Turkish words (as every Turkish dictionary shows) often have alternative spellings, and the placenames are in like case. Thus we find both Kara Hisar and Karah Hişâr; Karah-sî and Karâsi; Karamân and Karâmân, with many other examples.

Looking over the maps of the Persian provinces, it is striking how few names there are of Arabic origin. With the exception of Marâghah in Adharbâyjân, and the hamlet of Bayzâ (Al-Baydâ, 'the white town') in Fârs, there is hardly an Arabic town name to be met with. The Moslems indeed changed little or nothing when they took over the Sassanian kingdom¹. Very often villages and post-stations had names taken from some natural and notable object; as for example Myrtle village, Camel village, and Salt village; which in Persian were called Dih Murd, Dih Ushturân, and Dih Namak. These names the Arab geographers constantly

It has been remarked that in all Moslem Spain, where rich cities abounded, there is only one that bears an Arabic name, to wit the port of Almeria, for Al-Mailyah, 'the Watch Tower.' A place-name like Calatayud, which might be taken for another instance, is not primarily the name given to the town, but was only the fortress—Kal'at Ayyūb, Job's Castle—below which a town afterwards sprang up. In many cases the original Iberian, Roman, or Visigothic name is for lack of documents unknown; as for instance in the case of Granada. Mutatis mutandis, the same remarks apply to Persia.

translate, and in their pages we find the above, for instance, given as Karyat-al-Ås, Karyat-al-Jamål, and Karyat-al-Milh, but there is every reason to believe that in Persia, at all times, the Persian name was in use; in other words it is here, as with us, when we speak of the Black Forest (Schwarz-Wald) or the Cape of Good Hope, such names likewise commonly varying on the maps, and in books, according to the language of the speaker.

It will be observed that we have sometimes in the Arabic lists the name of a post-stage, in Arabic, of which the Persian equivalent has not come down to us; e.g. in the case of Ras-al-Kalb, 'Dog's Head,' possibly the place later called Samnan. Also occasionally the Arabs gave a nickname to a Persian town, and both names continued simultaneously in use; as for instance Kanguvar, which from the stealing of their mules here the early Moslems had called Kasr-al-Lusûs, 'Robber Castle'; but Persian Kanguvar has in the end survived the Arab nickname. Even when the Moslem conquerors founded a new provincial capital, as was the case with Shîrâz, which soon came to eclipse the older Istakhr (Persepolis), they seem to have taken and perpetuated in the new town the name of the original Persian village. The origin and etymology of the name Shîrâz, like many others, appears to be unattainable, for unfortunately the geography of the old Sassanian kingdom is almost entirely unknown to us.

The pronunciation of names, as is natural, varied with the lapse of time; Turaythith becomes Turshîz: Hamadhân is in later books spelt Hamadân'; further there was evidently an Arabic and a Persian pronunciation (or spelling) of the same name contemporaneously current, thus Arabic Kâshân is written Kâshân in Persian, Şâhik appears later as Châhik, and Şaghâniyân is Chaghâniyân. Then again, as the Arabic grammar demanded tri-consonantal roots, the Persian Bam had to be written in Arabic Bamm, and Kum Kumm; but this was merely to suit the rules of Arabic orthography, and the doubled final

It is to be remarked that the dh, which the modern Persians pronounce x (e.g. Azarbáyján, written Adharbáyján), was apparently sometimes not given the x sound; thus Hamadhán is now called Hamadán, and never pronounced Hamazán. In Persian the Arabic w is generally, but not always, pronounced x, e.g. Kazwin or Kazvin.

consonant was never in use in the Persian. In some cases a name would fall into disuse for some unknown reason, to be replaced by another name, but Persian like the first; an instance occurs in Kirmâsîn or Kirmîsîn, later known as Kirmânshâhân, shortened to Kirmânshâh at the present day. But we are alike ignorant of the true import of these names, and the cause of the change.

In the matter of the prefixing of the Arabic article A! to place-names, the usage appears to be extremely arbitrary. The strict grammatical rule appears to be that the article is only prefixed to Arabic, not to foreign names. This rule, however, never was kept; for instance in Mesopotamia, where most of the names were of course of Semitic origin, the Tigris is always named Dijlah (without the article), but the Euphrates is Al-Furât, though this last is like the first a foreign word! In the Persian provinces, the tendency was, with the lapse of time, to drop the Arabic article, e.g. (Arabic) As-Sîrajân becomes (Persian) Sîrjân. The usage however is quite arbitrary, for no explanation can be given why the ancient Rhages should be invariably called by the Arabs Ar-Ray, while Jay, the old name for one part of Isfahân, is always given without the article.

The Arabs were somewhat poverty-stricken in the matter of their nomenclature, and the lack is cause of much confusion. With them the capital of a province, as a rule, may be called by the name of the province, even when it has a name of its own; thus Damascus still is commonly known as Ash-Shâm, '(the capital of) Syria'; and Zaranj, the chief town of Sijistân, was

¹ Thus we have Al-Ubullah (an original Greek name) with the article, and a number of other instances occur. Purely Arab towns sometimes took the article, sometimes not; e.g. Al-Küfah, said to mean 'the (city of the) Reedbuts'; but on the other hand, Wasit, 'the Middle-town,' is always written without the article, though here too it would have seemed equally appropriate.

² How little any rule holds is shown by the case of Jiddah, the port of Mecca, given both as Juddah, and as Al-Juddah by all the earlier writers. In the following pages where a place-name commonly occurs in the Arabic authors preceded by the article, this is, on first mention, so given. Subsequently, however, when the name is repeated, for the sake of brevity, and in the maps for distinctness, the article as a general rule is omitted. The use or disuse of the article varies with the different Arab geographers, and like their spelling of foreign names is the reverse of consistent.

more often known simply as Sijistân, for Madînat-Sijistân, 'the City' of that province. From this usage much confusion naturally arises when the province had two capitals. This for example is the case with the Kirman province, where the name Kirman (scilicet city) in the earlier books stands for the first capital Sîrjân, and in later times for the present city of Kirmân, a totally different town, which only became the capital when Sîrjân had gone to ruin. Also, on comparing together the maps, as deduced from the statements of the medieval geographers, with the map of the present day, it will often be found that the name of a lost city has been preserved in the modern district; thus of the lost Sirjan city, for example, the name is still met with in the modern Sîrjân district; the same is the case with both Bardasîr and Jiruft, formerly each the name of an important town, now only preserved in the district. In short the district and its chief city being always, possibly, known by the same name, either one or the other with the lapse of time might become of solete. Hence, and conversely to the foregoing examples, the name of the older Aradûn district is now given to the little town known as Aradun, which of old was called Khuvâr (of Ray).

In physical geography the Arab nomenclature was not rich. Single and notable mountain peaks generally had proper names (e.g. Damavand, Alvand), but as a rule no chain of mountains had any particular designation. The great Taurus range shutting off the Byzantine lands was often (and incorrectly) referred to as the Jabal Lukkam, but this is properly only one mountain group of the Anti-Taurus; and the very notable range of the Alburz, dividing off the high Persian plateau from the Caspian, has, with the Arab geographers, no common term for its long chain of peaks. The great lakes generally had each its special name (e.g. Måhålů, Zarah, and Chîchast), but more commonly the lake was known by the name of the principal town on its shores; as for example the Urmiyah lake, and the lake of Van also called after Arjish. Seas were even less distinctively named, being referred to by a variety of appellations, taken from the provinces or chief towns on their coasts. Thus the Caspian was indifferently termed the Sea of Tabaristan, or of Gilan, or of Jurjân, also of Bâkû, and it was latterly known as the Khazar

Sea, from the kingdom of the Khazars which in the earlier middle-ages lay to the northward of it. In a similar way the Aral was known as the Sea of Khwarizm, and the Persian Gulf as the Sea of Fars.

In conclusion it is to be understood that only a selection from our authorities is given in the following chapters; the number of towns and villages, the names of which are reported as being situated in this or that province, is very great, certainly more than double the sum catalogued in the index of the present work. But where the site could not even approximately be fixed, the mere name, one in a list, has been omitted. In regard to the maps, these, it will be noted, are simply diagrams to illustrate the text, and they do not show the country as it was at any one particular epoch. Thus towns, which in fact succeeded one another, are often marked as though existing at one and the same time, but the text will duly explain whether this was, or was not the case.

1 Perhaps some apology is due for the inordinate number of references which crowd the footnotes of the following pages; though doubtless by the student, wishing to verify a fact, this will not be counted as a fault. All, or none, seemed the only course. The Moslem writers, Arabs, Persians and Turks, as is well known, are the greatest plagiarists in all literature, and seldom acknowledge their indebtedness. On the other hand, each geographer or historian generally adds something of his own to what he copies (unacknowledged) from a predecessor, and often by combining many authorities sufficient scraps of information are obtained definitely to substantiate a fact or fix a position. As an instance I may quote the case of the not very important town of Khurkan, in the Kûmis province. Nothing much is known of it, but it seemed not unimportant to mark that this Khurkan of Kumis, though now disappeared from the map, was to be kept separate from the like-written name (in Arabic) of Kharrakan in the Jibal province. All that is known of the Kûmis town is its position; but to fix this, (1) Kazvinî has to be cited, who says the town stood four leagues from Bistâm; to which information (2) Yakût adds the fact that it stood on the road going to Astarabad; while (3) Mustawfl further tells us that in his day Khurkan was an important village with a saint's tomb, and plentiful water supply, hence it was not a mere post-station. Yet to record all this, which amounts to so little, three authors have to be quoted, with references to their works, in the footnote.

CHAPTER II.

TRAK.

The division of Mesopotamia, Northern and Southern. 'Irâk or Babylonia. Change in the courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. The great irrigation canals. Baghdâd. Madâin and the cities on the Tigris thence down to Fam-aş-Şilh.

The great plain of Mesopotamia, through which the Euphrates and the Tigris take their course, is divided by nature into two parts. The northern half (the ancient kingdom of Assyria) consists mostly of pasture lands covering a stony plain; the southern half (the ancient Babylonia) is a rich alluvial country, where the date palm flourishes and the land is watered artificially by irrigation channels, and this for its exceeding fertility was accounted, throughout the East, as one of the four earthly paradises. The Arabs called the northern half of Mesopotamia Al-Jazirah, 'the Island,' the southern half was known as Al-'Irâk, meaning 'the Cliff' or 'Shore,' but it is doubtful how this term came originally to be applied; possibly it represents an older name, now lost, or it was used originally in a different sense. The alluvial plain was also commonly known to the Arabs under the name of As-Sawad, 'the Black Ground,' and by extension As-Sawad is frequently used as synonymous with Al-Trak, thus coming to mean the whole province of Babylonia'.

The frontier between Trak and Jazirah varied at different epochs. By the earlier Arab geographers the limit generally

¹ In its secondary sense Sanoid means 'the District' round a city, hence we have the Sawad of Baghdad, of Kufah, and of Başrah frequently employed to designate respectively the environs of these cities.





PROVINCES OF IRAK, KHUZISTAN, AND PART OF JAZIRAH

coincided with a line going north from Anbar on the Euphrates to Takrit on the Tigris, both cities being reckoned as of Irak. Later authorities make the line go almost due west from Takrit, so as to include in Irak many of the towns on the Euphrates to the north of Anbar; this, physically, is the more natural division between the two provinces, and it crosses the Euphrates below 'Anah, where the river makes a great bend to the southward. The Euphrates was known to the Arabs as Al-Furât; the Tigris they called Dijlah (without the article), a name which occurs in the Targums as Diglath, corresponding to the latter part of Hiddekel, the form under which the Tigris is mentioned in the book of Genesis. When the Moslems conquered Trak in the middle of the 1st (7th) century Ctesiphon, which they called Madain, on the Tigris, was the chief city of the province, and the winter capital of the Sassanian kings. The Arabs, however, required cities for their own people, also to serve as standing camps, and three were before long founded, namely, Kûfah, Başrah, and Wâsit, which rapidly grew to be the chief towns of the new Moslem province, Kufah and Basrah more particularly being the twin capitals of 'Irak during the Omayyad Caliphate'.

With the change of dynasty from the Omayyads to the Abbasids a new capital of the empire was required, and the second Abbasid Caliph founded Baghdâd on the Tigris some miles above Ctesiphon (Madâin). Baghdâd soon eclipsed all the recent glories of Damascus under the Omayyads, becoming the metropolis of the Abbasid Caliphate, and naturally also the capital city of 'Irâk, which province now rose to be the heart and centre of the Moslem empire in the east.

During the middle-ages the physical conditions in 'Irak were entirely different from what they are now, by reason of the great changes which have come to pass in the courses of the

¹ As such Kûfah and Başrah were known as Al-'Irâkân (vulgarly Al-'Irâkayn), meaning 'the two capitals of Al-'Irâka'. At a later date, however, when Kûfah and Başrah had lost their pre-eminence, the name Al-'Irâkayn or 'the two 'Irâks' came to be used incorrectly, as though meaning the two provinces of 'Irâk, namely Arabian and Persian 'Irâk, the latter standing for the province of Al-Jibâl, but this will be more particularly explained in Chapter XIII.

Euphrates and Tigris, and the consequent ruin of the numerous irrigation canals which, under the earlier Caliphs, made 'Irâk a very Garden of Eden for fertility. At the present day, the Tigris, following a winding course in a direction mainly south-east, is joined at a point about 250 miles (as the crow flies) below Baghdad by the waters of the Euphrates at Kurnah. The combined rivers, now known as the Shatt-al-'Arab (the Arab Stream), thence flow out to the Persian Gulf by a broad channel or tidal estuary measuring in length about a hundred miles in a direct line. This is what the modern map shows; but in early Moslem times, and, as will be demonstrated, in all probability as late as the middle of the 10th (16th) century, the Tigris, when it came about a hundred miles below Baghdad, turned off south, from what is its present bed, flowing down by the channel now known as the Shatt-al-Hayy (the Snake Stream) to Wasit. This city occupied both banks of the river, and the Tigris some 60 miles below Wasit, after expending most of its waters by irrigation channels, finally spread out and became lost in the Great Swamp.

Throughout the middle-ages the Great Swamp, which covered an area 50 miles across, and very nearly 200 miles in length, came down to the immediate neighbourhood of Basrah. its north-western end the swamp received the waters of the Euphrates a few miles to the south of Kûfah; for the main channel of the Euphrates was in those days the Kûfah arm of the river, that which flows by Hillah (now the main stream) being then only a great irrigation canal, called the Nahr Sûrâ. Along the northern edge of the lower part of the Great Swamp a line of lagoons, connected by open channels, made navigation possible; boats passing where the Tigris entered the swamp at Al-Katr, to where (near modern Kurnah) the swamp surcharged by the waters of both Euphrates and Tigris drained out by the Abu-l-Asad canal into the head of the estuary of the Shatt-al-'Arab. By this waterway cargo-boats went down without difficulty from Baghdåd to Basrah, which last, the seaport of Baghdad, lay at the end of a short canal, leading west out of the tidal estuary-the Blind Tigris as the Shatt-al-'Arab was then more commonly called.

The present course of the Tigris, as shown on the modern map, keeps to the eastward of the Shatt-al-Hayy channel, turning

off at the village now known as Kût-al-'Amarah, which stands for the medieval Madharaya; and this, the present channel down to Kurnah, was also apparently that occupied by the river during the period of the Sassanian monarchy, when the Great Swamp, described by the Arab geographers, did not as yet exist. The historian Balâdhurî dates the origin of the swamp as far back as the reign of Kubådh I, the Sassanian king who reigned near the end of the 5th century A.D. In his day the dykes existing along the Tigris channel, as it then ran, having been for many years neglected, the waters suddenly rose, and pouring through a number of breaches, flooded all the low-lying lands to the south and south-west. During the reign of Anûshirwan the Just, son and successor of Kubadh, the dykes were partially repaired and the lands brought back under cultivation; but under Khusraw Parwiz, the contemporary of the prophet Muhammad, and in about the year 7 or 8 after the Flight (A.D. 620) the Euphrates and the Tigris again rose, and in such flood as had never before been seen. Both rivers burst their dykes in innumerable places, and finally laid all the surrounding country under water. According to Baladhuri King Parwiz himself, when too late, superintended the re-setting of the dykes, sparing neither treasure nor men's lives, 'indeed he crucified in one day forty dyke-men, at a certain breach (Balâdhuri reports), and yet was unable to master the flood.' The waters could in no wise be got back, and the swamps thus formed became permanent; for during the succeeding years of anarchy and when the Moslem armies began to overrun Mesopotamia and the Sassanian monarchy perished, the dykes, such as still existed, naturally remained uncared for, 'and breaches came in all the embankments, for none gave heed, and the Dihkans (namely the Persian nobles, who were the landlords) were powerless to repair the dykes, so that the swamps every way lengthened and widened.'

The above well accounts for the formation of the Great Swamp, and Ibn Rustah refers to this epoch, under the last Sassanians, the first great shifting of the Tigris from the eastern channel, beyond Mådharåyå, to the western channel (the Shatt-al-Hayy) which passed down through the site sub-

sequently occupied by the Moslem city of Wasit. This change, says Ibn Rustah, had turned all the country bordering the older eastern course into a desert, and so it remained in the 3rd (9th) century when he wrote. He then describes the back-water, six leagues long (above Kurnah), which ran up north to 'Abdasi and Madhar, where the channel was stopped by a dam; this being evidently the last reach of the former, and present, eastern course of the Tigris. Ibn Rustah states that the dam, which in his time stopped all navigation above this point, had not existed in Sassanian days, when the channel was still open north of 'Abdasi and Madhar right up to where this rejoined the Tigris course (of his day) in the district north of Wâsit (at Mâdharâyâ), whence up stream the river was clear to Madain. He continues:- 'and of old, sea-going ships sailing in from India came up the Tigris (estuary, of the later) Basrah, and thence could attain to Madain (Ctesiphon), for sailing on they came out above (the present) Fam-as-Silh into the Tigris reach of (the river below where, in later times, was) Baghdâd.'

The lower Tigris at the present day, therefore, flows in the bed which, in the main, it had followed during Sassanian times. But during all the centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate it poured into the swamps down the western channel past Wasit, and the question arises-when did the change back to the present eastern channel take place? The answer is that doubtless the change was brought about gradually, and from the silting up of the western arm; in any case, all our Moslem authorities, down to the age of Timur and the beginning of the 9th (15th) century, describe the lower Tigris as still passing through Wasit, this fact being confirmed by Hafiz Abrû writing in 820 (1417). One of the first travellers to speak of the eastern arm as the navigable channel. was John Newberie, who in 1581, after visiting Baghdad, went down by boat in six days to Basrah, passing on the fifth day Kurnah, 'a castle which standeth upon the point where the river Furro (Euphrates) and the river of Bagdet (the Tigris) doe meet.' In the following century the Frenchman Tavernier made the same iourney down the Tigris. He left Baghdad in February 1652, and he states that at some considerable distance below this city the Tigris divided into two branches. The western channel (that

by Wâsit) was in his time no more navigable, but it ran—as he expresses it—'vers la pointe de la Mésopotamie.' The French traveller followed in his boat the present eastern channel, which took its course 'le long de l'ancienne Chaldée,' after leaving (Kût-al-)'Amârah; and just before coming to Baṣrah he passed Kurnah where, he says, the Tigris and Euphrates joined their streams'.

The existence of the Great Swamp, and the consequent change in the courses of both Euphrates and Tigris, is the chief matter of note in the physical condition of Lower Mesopotamia during the Caliphate; but of almost equal importance was the system of canalisation inherited by the Arabs when, after the conquest, they took over the country from the Persians. Briefly, as already stated, we find that all 'Irâk north of the swamp, and between the two rivers, was then traversed, like the bars of a gridiron, by a succession of canals which drained eastward into the Tigris; while east of the Tigris a canal, 200 miles in length, called the Nahrawân, starting from below Takrit and re-entering the river fifty miles north of Wâsit, effected the irrigation of the lands on the further or Persian side of the Tigris. The details of this great system of waterways will be explained more fully in due course, but a glance at the accompanying map, drawn

Baladhuri, 292. I. R. 94. Yak. i. 669. In 1583 John Eldred went down from Baghdad to Basrah, and also describes how one day's journey before the latter place 'the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna': see his voyage in Hakluyt, Principal Navigations (Glasgow, 1904), vi. 6; also v. 371, for in 1563 Cæsar Frederick had made the same journey and speaks of 'the castle of Coma' in similar terms. For the voyage of John Newberie, see Purchas, His Pilgrimes (folio, 1625-26), v. 1411, 1412; Six Voyages en Turquie de J. B. Tavernier (Utrecht, 1712), i. 240. Other travellers do not afford any detailed information. The earliest mention of the western (present) Tigris arm as navigable appears to be the anonymous Portuguese traveller, a copy of whose manuscript is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see The Athenaum for March 13rd, 1901, p. 373), who speaks of the castle (of Kurnah) six leagues above Basrah where the Euphrates and Tigris flowed together. His voyage from internal evidence must have been made in about the year 1555. The conclusion therefore appears to be that, from the time of Muhammad, and during the nine following centuries, the Tigris took the western arm down to the swamps; afterwards, in the early part of the 16th century A.D., changing back into the eastern channel, which it had followed in Sassanian times before the rise of Islam, and which its main stream now follows at the present day.

up from the accounts of contemporary authorities, shows how the marvellous fertility of 'Irāk during Abbasid times was due to a strict economy of the water supply; and that while nearly all the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris was irrigated by the waters of the Euphrates led off through canals flowing eastward, the lands along the left bank of the Tigris, and towards the foot-hills of the Persian highlands, were made fertile by the canals of the Nahrawân, which economically distributed the surplus waters of the Tigris to the eastward, and caught the flood of the numerous streams flowing down from the mountains of Kurdistân.

The topography of Baghdad has been dealt with in a previous volume, and all that is necessary in this place is to summarise the most important facts, in order to make clear the position of the Abbasid capital among the other cities of Irak, and explain the details of the road system (already referred to in Chapter I) of which Baghdad was the central point.

The first of the great canals which ran from the Euphrates to the Tigris was the Nahr 'Îsâ², and just above where its waters flowed out into the latter river, the Caliph Manşûr about the year 145 (762) built the Round city, which became the nucleus of Baghdâd. The Round city had four equidistant gates lying one Arab mile apart each from the other, and from every gate went a high road. Great suburbs were in time built on these four roads, and these before long came to be incorporated in the circuit of the great metropolis. The four gates of the Round city were (1) the Başrah Gate to the S.E. opening on the suburbs along the Tigris bank where the various branches of the 'Îsâ canal flowed out; (2) the Kûfah Gate to the S.W. opening on the high road

¹ Baghddd during the Abbasid Caliphate (Oxford, 1900). It is to be noted that the number of districts, towns, and villages in 'Irâk of which information has come down is very great, and a volume would be needed to report all that is known of this, the capital province of the Abbasids. The map constructed for the paper on Ibn Serapion (Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1895, p. 32) gives all the places lying on the rivers and canals, but this does not exhaust the list, and the reader may be referred to the work of Professor M. Streck, Die alte Landschaft Babylonien (Leyden, 1901), for fuller details, which it is impossible to find place for in the present chapter.

² Nahr means both 'canal' and 'river' in Arabic; 'Îsâ was the name of the Abbasid prince who dug the canal.

going south, which was the Pilgrim road to Mecca; (3) the Syrian Gate to the N.W. where the high road branched left to Anbar on the Euphrates, and right to the towns on the western Tigris bank north of Baghdad; and (4) the Khurasan Gate leading to the main bridge of boats for crossing the river. By this bridge East Baghdad was reached, at first known as the Camp of Mahdi, son and successor of the Caliph Mansûr, and Mahdi built his palace here, also founding the great Friday Mosque of East Baghdad. The settlement on the east side was divided into three quarters, that near the bridge head was known as the Rusafah quarter, the Shammasiyah quarter lay above it along the river bank, and the Mukharrim quarter below it. These three quarters of East Baghdåd were surrounded by a semicircular wall, going from the river bank above the Shammasiyah to the river again below the Mukharrim; and across the middle and narrow part of East Baghdåd went the beginning of the great Khuråsån road, starting from the Khurasan Gate of the Round city, and crossing the main bridge to the (second) Khurâsân Gate of East Baghdâd, whence, as explained in the previous chapter, the trunk road went east to the limits of the Moslem empire.

From the Kûfah Gate of the Round city, as already stated, led the Kûfah or Pilgrim road, going south, and the great suburb which here stretched to a point nearly a league distant from the walls of the Round city was known as Karkh. The suburb of the Muḥawwal Gate lay to the westward of the Round city, being reached from both the Kûfah Gate and the Syrian Gate, where the roads converging fell into the great western high road going through the town of Muḥawwal to Anbâr. North of the Syrian Gate was the Ḥarbiyah quarter (balancing Karkh on the south of the Round city), and beyond the Ḥarbiyah and surrounded on two sides by a bend in the river were the northern cemeteries of West Baghdåd, at a later time famous as the Kâzimayn, and so named from the tombs of two of the Shi'ah Imâms.

The city of Baghdåd occupied the central point of four districts, two being on either bank of the Tigris. On the western side the Kaṭrabbul district was north of the 'Îsâ canal, and Bâdûrayâ lay to the south of the same; while on the eastern bank the Nahr Bûk district was to the north of the line of the Khurâsân

road, and Kalwadha district to the southward; the town of Kalwadha standing on the river bank a short distance below the southernmost gate of East Baghdad. From Baghdad, as the central point of the road system of the empire, two roads (as already said), going south and west, bifurcated at the Kufah Gate of the Round city; and two, going north and east, passed through East Baghdad, having their starting-point at the further end of the main bridge of boats. The southern road, to Kûfah (and Mecca), after leaving the suburb of Karkh, came before long to the town of Sarsar, on the Nahr Sarsar, the second of the great canals from the Euphrates to the Tigris, which flowed parallel with the Nahr 'Isa on the The western or Anbar road turning off at the Kufah Gate, and passing through the suburb of Barâthâ, came after about a league to the town of Muhawwal which stood on the Îsâ canal. The eastern or Khurâsân road left East Baghdâd (as already said) at the Khurâsân Gate, north of the Mukharrim quarter, and the first town reached was Nahrawan Bridge at the crossing of the great canal of this name. Finally, the northern road passed through the Shammasiyah quarter to the Baradan Gate of East Baghdad, and shortly came to the town of Baradan lying on the east bank of the Tigris; whence, keeping along the left bank of the river, the high road reached Samarra and the towns of northern Mesopotamia.

During the five centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate the plan of Baghdåd with its suburbs changed considerably as the city grew and in parts fell to ruin. What has been sketched in the foregoing paragraphs was the city as it existed in the time of Hårûn-ar-Rashid. The civil war which broke out after his death brought about the ruin of the Round city. In 221 (836) the seat of the Caliphate was removed to Sâmarrâ, and during the reigns of seven Caliphs Baghdâd was reduced to the condition of a provincial town. When finally in 279 (892) Sâmarrâ was abandoned and the Caliph re-established his court in the old capital, it was East Baghdâd, where many new palaces came to be built, which succeeded to the glories of the Round city, now falling more and more to ruin; and for the next four centuries, down to the invasion of the Mongols, the Caliphs permanently established their residence on the east bank.

These palaces of the later Caliphs were built on the land to the south of Mukharrim, the lowest of the three quarters included within the wall of East Baghdad as it had existed in the time of Hârûn-ar-Rashid. These three quarters, at the date in question, had fallen to ruin, but the new palaces quickly came to be surrounded by new suburbs, which in their turn were before long enclosed by a great semicircular wall. The new wall of East Baghdad, including in its circuit a part of the older Mukharrim, went from the river bank above the palaces to the river bank below (adjacent to Kalwadha), and it was built by the Caliph Mustazhir in 488 (1095). This was the wall, more than once repaired, which finally in 656 (1258) proved impotent to withstand the Mongol attack. and the Abbasid Caliphate fell. At the present day this ruined wall remains, enclosing within its wide circuit the few relics that time has left of the city of the Caliphs, and still protecting modern Baghdad, which is as heretofore the capital of Irak, and the residence of its Turkish Governor.

Seven leagues below Baghdâd, and occupying both banks of the Tigris, lay Al-Madâin, 'the Cities,' as the Arabs called the ruins of the twin capitals, Ctesiphon and Seleucia, which had been founded under the earlier Seleucids three centuries before Christ. Seleucia of the west bank had received its name from Seleucus Nicator. The name of Ctesiphon, which the Arabs give under the shortened form of Taysafûn, is of uncertain etymology; though in appearance it is Greek, it probably is a corruption of the old Persian name of the city, for it is not known to us how the Sassanians called this capital of their empire¹. In 540 A.D. Anûshirwân the Just had taken Antioch of Syria, with Seleucia on the Orontes, and after the fashion of Persian monarchs had transported the inhabitants of this Seleucia to his capital at Ctesiphon. Here he settled them in a new suburb on the east side of the Tigris, opposite therefore to the site of Seleucia of

It has been plausibly suggested that Ctesiphon is to be identified with Casiphia of the book of Exra (viii. 17), which lay between Bahylon and Jerusalem, and which in the Septuagint version is named 'the Silver City.' Madâin is merely the Arabic plural of Madînah, 'a city'; and Casiphia would be the Chaldee form of the Persian name, now lost, of the capital of the Chosroes.

Mesopotamia; and this suburb existed when the Arabs conquered the country in the following century, being still known as Růmiyah, the Roman (or Greek) town, which some report to have been built

on the plan of Antioch.

Al-Madâin, according to the Moslem authors, consisted of seven cities, whose names, with divers readings, are duly chronicled; but five cities only appear to have been in existence and inhabited when Ya'kûbî wrote in the 3rd (9th) century. These were, on the east bank, Al-Madinah-al-'Atikah,' 'the Old Town,' corresponding with Ctesiphon, and one mile south of it Asbânbur, adjacent to which lay Rûmîyah. On the opposite bank of the Tigris was Bahurasir, a corruption of Bih-Ardashir—'the good town of King Ardashir'—and one league below it was Sâbât, which according to Yâkût was called by the Persians Balâsâbâd.

The great Sassanian palace, of which the ruins still exist, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, was known to the Arabs under the name of the Aywan-Kisra, 'the Hall of the Chosroes,' and this, according to Ya'kûbî, stood in Asbânbur; while another great building known as Al-Kaşr-al-Abyad, 'the White Palace,' was to be seen in the Old Town a mile distant to the north. This last, however, must have disappeared by the beginning of the 4th (10th) century, for all later authorities give the names of 'the White Palace,' and 'the Hall of the Chosroes' indifferently to the great arched building which to the present day exists here as the sole relic of the Sassanian kings. This building had a narrow escape from complete destruction in the middle of the 2nd (8th) century, when Mansur was founding Baghdad; for the Caliph expressed his intention of demolishing the Sassanian palace, and using the materials for his new city. His Persian Wazir, Khâlid the Barmecide, in vain attempted to dissuade him from this act of barbarity, but the Caliph was obstinate; the Wazir, however, gained his point for, when the order came to be carried into effect the demolition was found to be more costly than the materials were worth for the new buildings, and the Arch of the Chosroes. as Yâkût calls it, was left to stand. At a later period much of its stone work was carried off for the battlements of the new palace of the Tâj in East Baghdâd, which the Caliph 'All Muktafî finished building in the year 290 (903).

In the 4th (10th) century Madain, which is at the present day a complete ruin, was a small and populous town, with a fine Friday Mosque dating from the days of the Moslem conquest; near which stood the tomb of Salman the Persian, one of the best known Companions of the prophet Muhammad. The markets of Madâin were built of burnt brick and were well provided. In the neighbouring Rûmiyah, the Caliph Mansûr had for a time held his court, while at Sabat on the opposite bank Mamun had also resided. The grandeur of the ancient palace of the Chosroes is a theme on which the Arab geographers relate many details. Ya'kûbî says that the summit of the great arch is 80 ells in height: Yâkût refers to the magnificent kiln-burnt bricks, each near an ell in length by somewhat less than a span in width. Mustawfi, who gives the legendary account of Madain and its palace, reports that in the 8th (14th) century both Madâin and Rûmiyah had come to be uninhabited ruins, though the villages opposite, on the western bank, still retained their inhabitants. Of these, he adds, the most important was Bahurasir, already mentioned, which Yâkût, who had been there, calls Ar-Rûmakân. To the south of it lay Zariran, a stage on the Pilgrim road, and to the west Sarsar, already mentioned, on the Sarsar canal, which last fell into the Tigris a short distance above Madâin. The district round Madain, which stretched eastward from the Tigris to the Nahrawân canal, was known as Râdhân (Upper and Lower), of which Yākût names numerous villages, and Mustawfi praises the magnificent crops harvested here1.

Dayr-al-'Âkûl, 'the Convent of the (river) Loop,' is still marked on the map, situate on the east bank to leagues below Madâin, and the name is descriptive of the Tigris course at this point. It was a Christian monastery, surrounded by a town of considerable size, the latter being counted as the chief city of the district of Middle Nahrawân. In the town was a Friday Mosque', standing

¹ Ykb. 320, 321. I. S. 9. I. H. 167. Muk. 122. Yak. i. 425, 426, 768, 809; ii. 729, 929; iii. 3. Mst. 139, 140.

³ This convenient, but of course incorrect term translates the Arabic Masjid-al-Jámi', otherwise rendered a Great Mosque. The Moslems have two categories of mosques. Small mosques (Masjid) where any one could pray at any time, often equivalent to a Makám or Mashhad, the 'shrine' or 'place of

at some distance from the market place. Ibn Rustah at the close of the 3rd (9th) century describes the toll-barrier which was set across the Tigris here, and kept closed by the officer of the customs. He writes:- 'the toll-bar (Al-Maasir) is the name given to the places on the Tigris where two boats have been moored on the one bank of the river, opposite two other boats on the further bank, which two likewise are firmly moored. Then across the stream they have carried cables, the ends being fastened on either bank to these boats, and thus ships are prevented from passing at night without paying toll.' Mukaddasl in the 4th (10th) century refers to Dayr-al-'Akûl as one of the finest cities of this region of the river bank, but afterwards the bed of the Tigris changed and Yakût in the 7th (13th) century says that the great convent then lay a mile distant from the Tigris, standing solitary in the midst of the plain. Mustawfi, however, in the following century still counts Dayr-al-'Akûl as a large town, having, he adds, a damp climate on account of its surrounding palm-groves.

Also on the east bank, but lying three leagues above Dayr-al'Âkûl, was the small town of As-Sîb, for distinction called Sîb of
the Banî Kûmâ, which was noted for its olive-groves, and famous
in history for the battle which took place here in 262 (876), when
Ya'kûb the Saffarid was defeated by the troops of the Caliph
Mu'tamid. A short distance below Dayr-al-'Âkûl stood the
monastery of Marmâri, surnamed the Disciple, otherwise called
Dayr Kunnâ (or Kunnah), which lay a mile to the east of the
Tigris, and 16 leagues from Baghdâd. The historian Shâbustî in

martyrdom' of a saint. The Musalla or 'praying-place' was more especially that used at the services of the great festivals. The Great Mosque, on the other hand, was where weekly the Friday prayers were said, and the sermon (Khuthah) preached; and it was called Masjid-al-Jāmi', 'the Mosque of the Congregation'—terms often translated by 'the Cathedral,' or 'Congregational Mosque.' The possession of a Jāmi' or Mimbar (pulpit, for the Friday Sermon) generally is a criterion of the size of a town, or village; and the fact is often mentioned as such by the Arab geographers; Istakhrl for instance gives a long list of places in Fārs which had, or had not a Mimbar; and this comes to much the same as if it were said that in such and such a village, in a Christian land, stood the parish church. At a later date the term Masjidal-Jāmi' became changed to Masjid-al-Jum'ah, meaning 'the Friday Mosque,' but this is not the classical usage.

the 4th (10th) century (quoted by Vakat) describes it as a great monastery surrounded by so high and strong a wall as to be like a fortress and impregnable. Within the wall were a hundred cells for the monks, and the right to a cell was only to be bought for a price ranging from two hundred to a thousand dinars (£100 to £500). Each cell stood in its own garden, watered by a small canal and planted with fruit trees which produced a crop that yearly might be sold for from 50 to 200 dinars (£25 to £100).

Over against Dayr Kunnå, but on the Tigris bank, was the small town of Aş-Şâfîyah, which Yâkût writes was in his day already a ruin; and opposite this on the western side lay Humânîyah (or Humayniyah) which is still found on the map, two leagues S.E. of Dayr-al-'Âkûl. In the beginning of the 3rd (9th) century Humânîyah was a place of some importance, for after the death of the Caliph Amîn, his two sons and his mother, Zubaydah, widow of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, were for a time sent to be kept in prison here by Mamûn; and Yâkût in the 7th (13th) century describes Humânîyah as a large village surrounded by well cultivated lands.

Jarjarâyâ, or Jarjarây, which still exists, lay four leagues S.E. of Dayr-al-'Akûl. It is described by Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century as having been a large town, and its Friday Mosque stood close to the Tigris, which surrounded the town on two sides. Ya'kûbî writing in the previous century states that its population chiefly consisted of Persian nobles, and it was the capital of the district of Lower Nahrawan. In the 7th (13th) century, according to Yakût, it was, like most of the towns of the Nahrawan districts. in a state of complete ruin. On the western bank of the Tigris. four leagues below Jarjarâyâ, at the ruins now called Tall-Nu'mân stood the town of An-Nu'maniyah, which Yakut counts as the half-way stage between Baghdad and Wasit. An-Nu'maniyah was the capital of the Upper Zab district, its Friday Mosque standing in the market place, and Ya'kûbî adds that near by stood the monastery called Dayr Hizkil, where mad people were looked after by the monks. Nu'maniyah was celebrated according to Ibn Rustah for its looms, where carpets like those of Hirah were

¹ I. R. 185, 186. Ykb, 321. Kud. 193. Muk. 122. Mas. Tanbih 149. Yak. ii. 676, 687; iii. 362; iv. 980. Mst. 139. Ibn-al-Athir, vi. 207.

manufactured. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi still speaks of Nu'mânîyah as a flourishing town surrounded by date-groves. The small town of Jabbul lay on the eastern bank, nine leagues below Jarjarâyâ, where Ibn Rustah in the 3rd (9th) century says that there were government bake-houses. It was then a large hamlet, having a Friday Mosque standing in the market place, and Mukaddasî describes it as of the size of Dayr-al-'Âkûl; but when Yâkût wrote, Jabbul had sunk to the size of a big village'.

The town of Madharaya occupied the position where at the present day Kût-al-'Amârah stands, namely at the bifurcation of the Shatt-al-Hayy from the eastern, and modern bed of the Tigris, which now goes thence south-eastward down to Kurnah. Madharâyâ was on the east bank, and in the 3rd (9th) century it was inhabited by Persian nobles. Here the great Nahrawan canal flowed back into the Tigris; and immediately below Madharaya came Al-Mubārak, a town which lay opposite Nahr Sābus on the western bank of the Tigris. The town of Nahr Sabus was at the mouth of the canal of this name, which will be spoken of later, and this was the chief town of the Lower Zab district; it was counted as five leagues distant from Jabbul. On the opposite bank, and five leagues down stream, was the Silh canal with the town called Fam-as-Silh at its 'mouth' (Fam), or point of origin, which latter lay seven leagues above Wasit. Fam-as-Silh town stood on the Tigris bank, it had fine markets and a Friday Mosque, according to Ibn Rustah. This place was famous in Moslem history for the magnificent palace built here by Hasan ibn Sahl, the Wazir of Mamun, in which he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Bûrân with the Caliph, spending fabulous sums in banquets and gifts, as will be found chronicled in the pages of Mas'ūdi, Fam-as-Silh afterwards fell to ruin, and Yakut who visited it in the 7th (13th) century, found the town and neighbouring villages along the canal for the most part uninhabited. From the town of Fam-as-Silh the buildings of the Great Mosque in Wasit were visible on the southern horizon.

¹ Kud. 193. Ykb. 321. I. R. 186, 187. Muk. 122. Yak. ii, 23, 54; iv. 796. A. F. 305. Mst. 141.

² Ykb. 321. Kud. 194. I. R. 187. Yak. ii. 903; iii. 917; iv. 381. Mas. vii. 65.

CHAPTER III.

'IRAK (continued).

Wâsiţ. The Great Swamps. Madhâr and Kurnah. The Blind Tigris. Başrah and its canals. Ubullah and 'Abbâdân. The Tigris above Baghdâd. Baradân. The Dujayl district. 'Ukbârâ, Harbâ, and Kâdisîyah.

Wâsit, the 'middle city,' was so called because it lay equidistant (about 50 leagues) from Kûfah, Başrah, and Ahwâz. It was the chief town of the Kaskar district, and before the foundation of Baghdâd, as already said, was one of the three chief Moslem cities of 'Irâk.

Wasit was founded about the year 84 (703) by Hajjaj, the famous viceroy of Mesopotamia in the reign of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik. The city occupied both banks of the Tigris, the two halves being connected by a bridge of boats, and there were two Friday Mosques, one for each half of the city. Ya'kûbî states that eastern Wasit had been a town before the days of Hajjaj, and here in the 3rd (oth) century the population was still for the most part Persian. In the western half of the city stood the Green Palace, built by Ḥajjāj, and called Al-Kubbat Al-Khadrà, celebrated for its great dome, from the summit of which Fam-as-Silh seven leagues distant to the north could be seen. The lands round Wasit were extremely fertile, and their crops provisioned Baghdad in time of scarcity; also paying yearly into the treasury a million of dirhams (£,40,000) from taxes, as reported by Ibn Hawkal, who was at Wasit in 358 (969). Mukaddasi states that the mosque in the eastern half of Wasit likewise was built by Hajjaj. The town markets were magnificent and well stocked, also at either end of the bridge of boats were two small harbours where boats moored for convenience of discharging cargo:

During the whole period of the Caliphate Wasit continued to be one of the most important cities of 'Irak, and apparently the eastern quarter was the first to fall to ruin, for Kazwini, who was Judge at Wasit in the latter half of the 7th (13th) century, speaks of the town as lying solely on the western Tigris bank. Ibn Batútah, who was here in the early part of the following century, praises the fine buildings of the city, especially a great Madrasah, or college, with 300 rooms for students, and Mustawfi his contemporary speaks of the immense palm-groves lying round the town which made its climate very damp. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Wasit is frequently mentioned as a place of importance during the various campaigns of Tîmûr, who kept a strong garrison here; but about a century after this, as already described in the beginning of the last chapter, the Tigris ceased to flow past Wasit, taking the eastern course down by Kurnah, and the city fell to complete ruin. Hâjjl Khalfah, writing in the beginning of the 11th (17th) century, speaks of it as then standing in the desert, but the canal was famous for its reeds from which pens were made1.

Below Wasit, according to Yakût, the Tigris flowed out into the Great Swamp by five navigable waterways, the names of which he gives, and this statement is corroborated by the accounts of earlier writers. Ibn Serapion mentions a number of towns lying on the main arm of the river below Wasit, and above Al-Katr, where in the 4th (10th) century the swamp began. The first of these towns was Ar-Ruṣāfah, 'the Causeway,' lying on the left bank, ten leagues from Wasit, and near it flowing eastward into the swamp was the canal called Nahr Ban, with the town of the same name,

¹ Ykb. 322. I. R. 187. Ist. 82. I. H. 162. Muk. 118. Kaz. ii. 320. I. B. ii. 2. Mst. 141. A. Y. i. 640, 657; ii. 517. J. N. 463. The ruins of Wasit do not appear to have been examined by any recent explorer. Their position on the Shatt-al-Hayy is fixed within narrow limits by the Arab itineraries. Chesney (Report of the Euphrates and Tigris Expedition, i. 37) states that these ruins were visited by Ormsby and Elliott in 1831—2, but he does not mark their position.

also spelt Nahr Aban, at its exit. Below this came Al-Faruth and then Dayr-al-'Ummål, 'the Convent of the Governors.' These were on the eastern bank, opposite to which and flowing west into the swamp were three canals, first the Nahr Kuraysh with a great village on it of the same name; then Nahr-as-Sib, on which stood the towns of Al-Jawamid, 'the Dried-lands,' and Al-'Ukr; finally, the Nahr Bardûdâ on which lay the town of Ash-Shadîdiyah. All these were important towns lying in the swamp, round and about Al-Jâmidah, otherwise called (in the plural) Al-Jawâmid; further, Mukaddasi describes a large town in this region called As-Salik, standing on an open lagoon which was surrounded by farmsteads and well cultivated lands. Over against these places and on the eastern bank of the main arm of the Tigris was Al-Hawanit, 'the Taverns,' where there was a toll-bar moored across the river, like the one already described at Dayr-al-'Akûl (p. 36), and this was close to Al-Katr, 12 leagues below Rusafah, where, according to Ibn Rustah, the Tigris in the 3rd (9th) century dividing into three arms finally entered the swamp1.

The Swamps were called Al-Bațăih (the plural form of Al-Batihah, signifying a 'lagoon') and their history has been already described (p. 26). The whole area covered by them was dotted with towns and villages, each standing on its canal, and though the climate was very feverish the soil, when drained, was most fertile. Ibn Rustah writing at the close of the 3rd (9th) century describes the Great Swamp as everywhere covered by reed-beds. intersected by water channels, where immense quantities of fish were caught, which, after being salted, were despatched to all the neighbouring provinces. In regard to the Tigris waters, it appears that from Katr eastward-and probably following, approximately, the line of the present channel of the Euphrates-the waterway led through a succession of open lagoons to the Abu-l-Asad canal, by which the waters of the swamp drained out to the Basrah estuary. These lagoons of open water, clear of reeds, were called Hower or Hatel by the Arabs, and the lagoons were connected by channels navigable for small boats. The great river barges,

¹ I. S. 9, 20. Kud. 194. I. R. 184, 185. Muk. 119. Yak. ii. 10, 553; iii. 209, 415, 840; iv. 217, 758.

according to Ibn Rustah, did not pass below Katr, but here transferred their cargoes to wherries, so light of draught as to pass through the channels threading the lagoons. All along these channels, stations on platforms had been made, where in huts built of reeds, and thus raised above the plague of gnats, guards were posted to keep the course clear and to protect wayfarers, for the recesses of the Great Swamp were the natural hiding-place of outlaws.

Ibn Serapion gives the names of four of the great lagoons (Hawr, or Hawl) through which the waterway went towards Basrah. The first was called Bahassa, the second was the Bakamsi lagoon. then the Basrayatha, and the fourth was the Hawr-al-Muhammadiyah, the largest of all, on which stood the tower called Minarah Hassan, after Hassan the Nabathæan who had been employed by the Omayyad viceroy Hajjāj to drain and reclaim lands in the Great Swamp. Beyond this last lagoon came the channel passing the villages of Al-Hâlah and Al-Kawânîn, and ending in the canal of Abu-l-Asad, which finally carried the waters of the swamp to the head of the Tigris estuary. This Abu-l-Asad, whose canal roughly corresponds with the last reach of the present course of the Euphrates above Kurnah, had been a freedman of the Caliph Mansur, and when in command of troops at Basrah he dug, or more probably widened, the boat channel which, as Yakût remarks, had doubtless existed here from Sassanian times. Kurnah, at the present point of junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, is not mentioned by any of the Arab geographers, and the first notice of this castle appears in the Turkish Johan Numa at the beginning of the 11th (17th) century.

The last reach of the eastern course of the Tigris—that of Sassanian times, as also of the present day—existed, as already said, in the middle-ages as a back-water, stopped at its northern end by a dam. This back-water, called the Nahr-al-Madhår, was six leagues in length, and led to the two cities of 'Abdasi (or 'Abdasi') and Al-Madhår; the exact sites of which are unknown. The surrounding district—along the then desiccated eastern bed of the Tigris—was called Jûkhå, and it stretched north-westward to Kaskar, the district of Wåsit. Madhår had been a city of much importance at the time of the Moslem conquest, and was then

the capital of the district of Maysan, otherwise called Dasti-Maysan. Madhar is described as lying four days' journey from Basrah, and was celebrated for its beautiful mosque and the much venerated tomb of 'Abd-Allah, son of the Caliph 'Ali. The neighbouring town of 'Abdasi, according to Yakût, was of Persian origin, that name being the Arabic form of the older Afdasahi, which had been a hamlet of the Kaskar district before the conquest. Kaskar and Maysan were the two districts of the eastern part of the Great Swamp, and Kaskar, according to Kazwini, produced much excellent rice which was exported. On its pastures buffaloes, oxen, and goats were fattened; the reedbeds sheltered ducks and water-fowl that were snared and sent in to the markets of the surrounding towns, while in its canals the shad-fish (called Shabbût) was caught in great numbers, salted and exported. Further, in Maysan might be seen the tomb of the prophet 'Uzayr, otherwise Ezra, which Kazwini says was at a place settled entirely by lews, who served the shrine. This was renowned throughout the countryside as a spot where prayers were answered, and in consequence the shrine was made rich by votive offerings'.

The broad estuary formed by the combined Tigris and Euphrates waters, nearly a hundred miles in length, began at the exit of the Abu-l-Asad canal, and flowed out to the Persian Gulf at 'Abbâdân. This estuary was variously known as the Blind Tigris (Dijlah-al-'Awrâ), or the Fayd (the estuary) of Baṣrah, and the Persians named it Bahmanshîr; at the present day it is generally known as the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab, 'the Arab River.' The tide from the Persian Gulf came up it, reaching as far north as the head of the channel at Madhâr and 'Abdasî, also filling and emptying the numerous canals of Baṣrah, and those irrigating the lands east and west of the estuary. Baṣrah, the great commercial port of 'Irâk, lay close to the border of the desert, at some distance to the west of the estuary, with which it was in water communication by means of two canals. Both north and south of Baṣrah numerous canals drained the lower waters of the Great Swamp

¹ I. R. 94, 185. I. S. 28. Kud. 240. Baladhuri, 293, 342. Kaz. ii. 297, 310. Yak. i. 669; iii. 663; iv. 468, 830. J. N. 455.

into the Blind Tigris, and on the east side of the estuary several other canals came in, while a broad artificial channel called the Nahr Bayân, at a point about 30 miles above 'Abbâdân, joined the estuary of the Tigris with that of the Dujayl (the Kârûn river), which flows down from the Khûzistân province into the Persian Gulf at Sulaymânân'.

Al-Basrah-the name is said to mean 'the Black Pebbles'was founded in the reign of 'Omar in the year 17 (638), and its lands were divided among the Arab tribes who were then in garrison here after the conquest of the Sassanian empire. The city grew quickly to be, with Kûfah, one of the new capitals of 'Irâk; and in the year 36 (656) near Basrah 'Alî gained the barren victory, the famous Battle of the Camel, over those who were responsible for the death of the Caliph 'Othman; in which battle Talhah and Zubayr, two well-known Companions of the Prophet, were slain. Basrah lay about 12 miles in a direct line from the Tigris estuary, being reached by two great canals, the Nahr Ma'kil from the N.E. down which ships came from Baghdad, and the Nahr-al-Ubullah by which the traffic passed from Basrah going S.E. to the Persian Gulf at 'Abbâdân. These two canals, with the waters of the estuary to the east for the third side, formed the Great Island as it was called; and the city of Ubullah stood at its S.E. angle, above where the Ubullah canal joined the estuary.

Başrah city had its greatest length along the junction canal, of the two arms just named, and its houses extending westward in a semicircle reached the border of the desert, where a single gate called Bāb-al-Bādiyah (the Desert Gate) gave egress. The width of the city, from the canal bank to this gate, was in the 4th (10th) century three miles, but its length greatly exceeded this measurement. The houses of the town were for the most part of kilnburnt bricks, the walls were surrounded by rich pasture lands.

¹ I. S. 28. The word 'Awrd, meaning 'blind of an eye,' is applied to rivers that have silted up, and to roads along which there is no thoroughfare. At first the name of the Blind Tigris appears to have been given to the 'Abdas' channel; and only at a later date to the lower estuary. Mas. Tanbih 52. Yak. i. 770. J. N. 454. This last gives the Tigris estuary under the name of the Shatt-al-'Arab.

watered by numerous minor canals, and beyond these lay extensive palm-groves. Mukaddasi states that Basrah had three Friday Mosques, one at the western gate, close on the desert, and this was the oldest; a second mosque, the finest, built with beautiful columns, stood in the chief market place, and it was 'unequalled among the mosques of all 'Irâk'; the third was situated among the houses of the town. There were also three great market streets, full of shops and warehouses, and these equalled the Baghdad markets in extent. The Mirbad (the Kneeling-place for Camels) was the famous quarter at the western gate, where the desert caravans halted, and this was one of the busiest parts of the city. Near here were the shrines at the tombs of Talhah and Zubayr, but even when Mukaddasi wrote many quarters of the city had already gone to ruin'. Among other institutions, Mukaddasi mentioned a public library, which existed in Basrah during the 4th (10th) century, having been founded and endowed by a certain Ibn Sawwâr, who had also provided the town of Râmhurmuz in Khûzistân with a similar institution. In both a stipend provided for the entertainment of students, and for the copying of books; and the number of these stored in the Basrah library was considerable.

During the many wars and insurrections recorded in the history of the Abbasids Başrah suffered much. In 257 (871) when the great rebellion of the Zanj was at its height, their leader—who gave himself out as a descendant of the Caliph 'Alî—stormed Başrah, burnt the greater part of the town including the Great Mosque, and for three days his troops plundered the city. Then in 311 (923) Başrah was again sacked, and this time during 17 days, by the chief of the Carmathians. But the place in time partly regained its former opulence. In 443 (1052) it was visited by the Persian traveller Nâşir-i-Khusraw, who describes it as most populous, the city wall being in good repair though many quarters of the town were still in ruin. The palace of the Caliph 'Alī near the Great Mosque still existed, and there were thirteen shrines recalling divers events of the days when 'Alī was in

¹ The tomb of Zubayr is still marked by the ruins of that name which stand on the site of medieval Başrah. Modern Başrah, lying on the Tigris estuary, occupies the position of Ubullah at the exit of the canal.

residence here. Nasir also carefully enumerates the twenty districts surrounding the city.

In 517 (1123) the city wall, running half a league within the old line, was rebuilt by the Kadi 'Abd-as-Salam, and in the 8th (14th) century, after the Mongol invasion, when Ibn Batûtah was here, Basrah was still a very populous city. He speaks of the mosque of 'All, a fine tall edifice with seven minarets, which however was only opened for the Friday prayers and already stood two miles distant from the inhabited quarters of the town, being surrounded by ruins. The older city wall, lying two miles beyond this mosque, could still be traced, near which were the shrines of Talhah and Zubayr; but the town proper then consisted of only three inhabited quarters. Mustawfi, writing in the same century, gives a long account of Basrah. Its mosque, which he reports had only been rebuilt by the Caliph 'Ali, was the largest in Islam-and any mosque planned larger it was impossible ever to complete-and of this mosque 'All had set the Kiblah (or Mecca point) quite exactly in its right direction. Here, too, there was a minaret which shook or remained still according as an oath sworn to before it was true or false: a perpetual miracle established by the Caliph 'Ali who had built it. Mustawfi gives some further account of the Basrah shrines, and then speaks in high praise of the beautiful gardens and palmgroves surrounding the city, 'so thickly planted that you cannot see a hundred paces distant,' and the dates of so fine a quality that they were profitably exported to India and to China.

Başrah had at all times been famous for its canals, which according to Ibn Hawkal, in the 4th (10th) century, exceeded 100,000 in number, and of these 20,000 were navigable for boats. The Nahr Ma'kil, already mentioned as the main channel from the direction of Baghdâd, had been dug during the reign of 'Omar by Ma'kil ibn Yasar, a Companion of the Prophet. This and the Ubullah canal, going from Başrah towards the south-east, were each four leagues in length, and the gardens of the Ubullah canal along the south side of the Great Island were held to be one of the four earthly paradises'.

¹ As generally reported (but different authorities give different lists) the other three were, the Ghawtah, or Garden Lands, of Damascus; the Sha'b

Al-Ubullah, the Arab form of the Greek Apologos, dated from Sassanian or even earlier times, but it lay on the estuary and was feverish, and the Moslems when they founded their new city, Basrah, built this further inland near the desert border. Ubullah, as already said, was to the north at the mouth of its canal, and on the Great Island. Opposite, on the south side of the canal, was the town called Shikk 'Othman, 'Othman's breach' in the dyke (he is said to have been a grandson of his namesake the third Caliph); and over against the canal mouth, but on the east side of the estuary, was the station whence those who had crossed the Tigris took the road for Khûzistân. This was called 'Askar Abu Ja'far-' the Camp of Abu Ja'far,' in other words, of the Caliph Mansur. Ubullah was in the 4th (10th) century a town of considerable size, having its own Friday Mosque, and the like was the case with Shikk 'Othman, both according to Mukaddasi being fine buildings. Nasir-i-Khusraw, who was here half a century later, speaks of the palaces, markets, and mosques of both towns as then in excellent state, but the Mongol inroad a couple of centuries later affected all this countryside, and Kazwini writing in the 7th (13th) century describes these places as gone to ruin, though Shikk 'Othmân was held famous for its great Sidr or lotus trees. In the next century Ibn Batútah describes Ubullah as a mere village, from which condition it has arisen in modern times by the building, on the older site, of New Basrah.

Where the Nahr-al-Ubullah flowed into the Tigris estuary there had been a dangerous whirlpool, ships being often wrecked here in earlier times. According to Ibn Hawkal this peril to all mariners was done away with by a certain Abbasid princess—some say Zubaydah—who, loading many ships with stones, sunk them at this spot, and thus blocked the whirlpool. Ibn Serapion carefully enumerates the nine canals which came into the Tigris estuary on the western side; namely, three above the Nahr Ma'kil, and four south of Baṣrah, between the Ubullah canal and the

Bavván, or Vale of Bavván, in Fårs, which will be described in Chapter XVIII; and lastly the Wådi-aş-Şughd, or Valley of Soghdiana, lying between Samar-kand and Bukhárá, which will be mentioned in Chapter XXXIII. Ist. 80. I. H. 159, 160, note c. Muk. 117, 130, 413. N. K. 85—89. Yak. i. 636; iv. 845. I. B. ii. 8, 13, 14. Mst. 137.

mouth of the estuary. The only one of these canals which is of importance is the Nahr Abu-l-Khaṣib—so called after a certain freedman of the Caliph Manṣūr—on which in the middle years of the 3rd (9th) century the great stronghold of the Zanj rebels was built. This city, which they named Al-Mukhtārah, was so strongly fortified as to resist for a considerable time the armies sent against it by the Abbasid Caliph, and it was only after fifteen years of continuous warfare that the rebellion of the Zanj was finally crushed!

The chief canals on the eastern side of the Tigris estuary, according to Ibn Serapion, were the following. First the Rayyan, on or near which lay the two towns of Al-Maftah and Ad-Daskarah (the Flat-land); the exact position of these is unknown, though the first-named town was of sufficient importance for the estuary to be often named the Tigris of Al-Maftah. Below this was the Nahr Bayan, with the town of Bayan lying at its mouth five leagues distant from Ubullah on the opposite side of the estuary. The port of Muhammarah on the Haffar channel occupies its site at the present day, this channel connecting the upper reach of the Tigris estuary with that of the Dujayl (Kârûn). Mukaddasî, writing three-quarters of a century later than Ibn Serapion, says that this channel, four leagues in length, was widened and dug out by the order of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. Already in the previous century it is spoken of by Kudamah under the name of the New Canal (An-Nahr-al-Jadid), and it was navigable for cargoboats coming to Başrah from Ahwâz, which before the widening of the 'Adudi channel (as Mukaddasi calls it) had had to pass down the Dujayl estuary, out to sea, and then up the Tigris estuary past Bayan to Ubullah3.

The great island between the two estuaries which Yâkût names (in Persian) Miyân Rûdân (Betwixt the Rivers) is described by Mukaddasî as a Sabkhah or salt-marsh, with the town of 'Abbâdân on the seaboard at one angle, and Sulaymânân at the other angle on the Dujayl estuary. 'Abbâdân still exists, but now lies up the

Ist. 81. Baladhuri, 362.
 H. 160, 161. Muk. 118, 135.
 I. S. 29,
 N. K. 89. Kaz. ii. 190. Yak. ii. 675.
 I. B. ii. 17. Tabari, iii. 1982.
 I. S. 30.
 I. K. 12. Kud. 194. Ist. 95.
 I. H. 171. Muk. 419.
 Mas. Tanbih 52. Yak. iv. 586.

estuary more than twenty miles from the present coast-line of the Persian Gulf, for the sea has been pushed back thus far by the delta of the great river. Mukaddasi in the 4th (10th) century, however, describes 'Abbâdân as having only the open sea beyond it. It was inhabited by mat-weavers, who used the Halfa grass of the island for their trade; and there were great guard-houses round the town for the protection of the mouth of the estuary. Nāsir-i-Khusraw, who was here in 438 (1047), says that in his day the low tide left a couple of leagues dry between 'Abbådan and the sea, and to serve as a lighthouse to warn mariners they had built a scaffolding with great beams of teak-wood, very broad below and narrowing above, 40 yards in height, which was known as the Khashab (Wood-works). On its summit was the watchman's cabin, and the platform being stone-flagged and supported on arches was used at night for a brasier where a beacon-fire was lighted. 'Abbådån was still a flourishing town in the 7th (13th) century with many mosques and Rubâts (guardhouses), but in the next century when Ibn Batûtah passed through, it had sunk to the size of a village and already was three miles distant from the coast-line. Mustawfi, however, the contemporary of Ibn Baţûţah, speaks of 'Abbâdân as a considerable port, and states that its revenues, which amounted to 441,000 dinârs in the currency of his day, were paid in to the Başrah treasury. The harbour of Sulaymanan, a few leagues east of 'Abbadan, was often counted as of the Khûzistân province, and all that is recorded of it appears to be the fact that it was founded by a certain Sulayman ibn Jabir, surnamed 'the Ascetic'.'

Returning to the latitude of Baghdad the towns lying along the Tigris to the north of the capital as far as the limits of 'Irak have now to be described, with those which stood near the bank of the great Nahrawan canal. As already said (see p. 32) the

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¹ Baladhuri, 364. Ist. 90. I. H. 173. Muk. 118. Kaz. ii. 280. N. K. 89, 90. Yak. iv. 708. I. B. ii. 18. Mst. 137. Mas. i. 230. Yâkût (i. 645) notes that the people of Baarah had the habit of turning proper-names into place-names by the terminal syllable ân: e.g. Talhatân, 'the Talhah canal.' This explains the forms Sulaymânân and 'Abbâdân, the latter being called after a certain 'Abbâd. The shore line at the mouth of the Tigris estuary advances at the rate of about 72 feet in the year, or a mile and a half in the century; hence the present inland position of 'Abbâdân.

chief high road from Baghdad to Mosul and the northern towns went along the left or eastern bank of the Tigris. It left East Baghdåd by the Baradân Gate of the Shammasiyah quarter, and in about four leagues reached the small town of Al-Baradân, which still exists under the slightly altered form of Badran, Close to Baradân were two other important villages, Bazûghâ and Al-Mazrafah, the latter lying three leagues above Baghdad. At Ar-Râshidîyah near Baradân the Khâlis canal joined the Tigris, as will be explained presently; and immediately above this, at the present day, ends a great bend of the Tigris to the eastward, which bend begins at Kadisiyah 60 miles north of Baghdad. The river bed, however, during the middle-ages took an almost straight line from Kadisiyah to Baradan, and the ruins still exist on the eastern side of the dry channel, the names being marked on the map, of towns mentioned by Ibn Serapion and other early authorities.

The bed of the Tigris would indeed appear to have changed here more than once. What is the present (eastern) channel of the river the author of the Marasid, writing about the year 700 (1300), speaks of as the Shutaytah or 'Lesser Stream'; and one of the great alterations must have taken place during the reign of the Caliph Mustansir, namely between the years 623 and 640 (1226 to 1242), for it is chronicled that he dug many canals to irrigate the lands left dry by the shifting of the main stream. As early as the 4th (10th) century also, Mas'ûdî speaks of law-suits. to which this changing of the Tigris bed had given rise, between the landowners on the eastern and western banks above Baghdad. Of these towns then lying on the east bank of the Tigris (their ruins being now found on the dry channel far to the westward of the present river) one of the best known was 'Ukbara, close to which lay Awana, and then Buşra further down stream, the three places standing some 10 leagues from Baghdad. They lay surrounded by gardens, to which pleasure-seekers from the capital resorted, and Mukaddasî especially praises the grapes of 'Ukbarâ, which he says was a large and populous town. A short distance above 'Ukbara' was 'Alth or Al-'Alth, which is still marked on our maps, but now of the western bank, and Mukaddasi describes this as a large and very populous city, lying on a branch canal from the Tigris.

North-west of 'Alth, where the river at the present day turns off eastward for the great bend, stands Kādisīyah of the Tigris—not to be confused with the place of the same name to the west of the Euphrates. It was famous for its glass-works, and opposite to it the Dujayl canal branched from the Tigris going south'.

The Dujayl canal (this also not to be confounded with the Dujayl river, the Kârûn), as will be explained in the next chapter, had originally been a channel from the Euphrates to the Tigris, but by the beginning of the 4th (10th) century its western part had become silted up, and its eastern and lower course was then kept clear by a new channel, taken from the Tigris immediately below Kadisiyah. The Dujayl-meaning 'the Little Tigris'watered all the rich district of Maskin lying to the north of West Baghdåd beyond Katrabbul. The later Dujayl was therefore a loop-canal of the Tigris, which it rejoined opposite 'Ukbara after throwing off a number of branches, some of which ran so far south as to bring water to the Harbîyah, the great northern suburb of West Baghdad (see above, p. 31). The district of the Dujayl, otherwise called Maskin, included a great number of villages and towns, lying westward of 'Ukbara and the Tigris channel, the chief of which was Harba, which was visited by Ibn Jubayr in 580 (1184) and still exists. Here may be seen at the present day the ruins of a great stone bridge across the canal which, as the historian Fakhri records and the extant inscription still testifies, was built by the Caliph Mustansir in 629 (1232). Near Harbâ was Al-Hazîrah (the Enclosure), where the cotton stuffs called Kirbas were manufactured, being largely exported. Yākût further names a considerable number of villages -there were over a hundred in all-which were of this district, and many of these, as for example Al-Balad (the Hamlet) near Hazîrah, are still to be found on the map. As late as the 8th (14th) century the Dujayl district, with Harba for its chief town, is described by Mustawfl as of amazing fertility, and its pomegranates were the best to be found in the markets of Baghdåd.

¹ Kud. 214. Muk. 122, 123. Mas. i. 223. Yak. i. 395, 552, 606, 654; iii. 705; iv. 9, 520. Mar. ii. 270, 429.

Many other towns were of this district. About ten miles above Kādisīyah is Sāmarrā, which will be described in the next chapter, and Matirah lay half-way between the two, immediately above where three small canals branched from the left (east) bank of the Tigris. Midway between Matîrah and Kâdisiyah, below the exit of these canals, stood Barkuwara, otherwise Balkuwara, or Bazkuwar. The village of Al-Maţirah, according to Yâkût, had derived its name from a certain Matar of the Shayban tribe, who was a notable man of the Kharijite sect, and it had been originally called Al-Matariyah, this in time becoming corrupted to Al-Matirah'. Ten miles north again of Sâmarrâ was Karkh Fîrûz, also called Karkh of Sâmarrâ, to distinguish it from Karkh the southern quarter of West Baghdad, and further to the north lay Dûr, where the great Nahrawan canal branched from the left bank of the Tigris. At this point, but from the right or western bank of the Tigris, began the Ishákî canal which making a short loop rejoined the river again opposite Matîrah. The positions of all these places are fixed by the canals, some of them, in ruin, also still exist, but nothing is known of them beyond their names.

¹ Ykb. 265. I. S. 14. I. J. 233. Yak. i. 178, 605; ii. 235, 292, 555; iv. 529, 568. Mst. 138. Fakhri, 380. Commander J. F. Jones in the Records of the Bombay Government (new series, number XLIII, 1857, p. 252) gives a drawing of the Harbá bridge. He gives (p. 47) Barkuwara under the form Bez-guara.

CHAPTER IV.

TRAK (continued).

Sâmarrâ. Takrît. The Nahrawân canal. Ba'kûbâ and other towns. Nahrawân town, and the Khurâsân road. Jâlûtâ and Khânikîn. Bandanîjân and Bayât. Towns on the Euphrates from Ḥadîthah to Anbâr. The 'Îsâ canal. Muḥawwal, Ṣarṣar and the Nahr-al-Malik. The Kûthâ canal.

Sâmarrâ, which for more than half a century and during the reigns of seven Caliphs, from 221 to 279 (836 to 892), became the Abbasid capital, had existed as a town before the Arab conquest, and long after it had fallen from its temporary pre-eminence continued to be an important city. The name in Aramæan is written Sâmarrâ, which the Caliph Mu'taṣim when he took up his residence here changed, officially, to Surra-man-raa, 'for good augury,' these words in Arabic signifying 'Who sees it, rejoices.' Under this form it is a mint city on Abbasid coins; but the name was pronounced in many different ways, six forms are cited by Ibn Khallikân, Sâmarrâ being that most commonly used, and the one selected by Yâkût as the heading to his article on this city.

Ya'kûbî writing at the close of the 3rd (9th) century has left us a long and detailed account of Sâmarrâ and its palaces, for the seven Caliphs who lived here, mostly as the prisoners of their Turk bodyguard, occupied their enforced leisure in building, and in laying out pleasure-grounds. The city proper stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris and extended with its palaces for a distance of seven leagues along the river. On the western bank also many palaces were built, each Caliph in succession spending fabulous sums on new pleasure-grounds. The land where the

Caliph Mu'taşim (a younger son of Hârûn-ar-Rashid) built his first palace when he came to settle at Sâmarrâ in 221 (836) belonged to a Christian monastery (Dayr) which was bought for 4000 dînârs (£2000) and it was known as At-Tîrhân. His Turk bodyguard were granted fiefs at Karkh, and further up stream to Dûr, some also lay south of Sâmarrâ towards Maţirah; and the Caliph proceeded to build the first Friday Mosque near the east bank of the Tigris, and lay the foundations of his palace. Artificers were brought together from all parts of the empire, and immense quantities of teak-wood (Saj) were imported, also palm beams from Basrah and divers marbles from Antioch and Laodicea. A thoroughfare called the Great Road (Ash-Shari'-al-A'zam) was laid out along the Tigris bank, being bordered by the new palaces and the fiefs, and this road went from Matirah right up to Karkh, many by-roads and market streets branching from it. The new Treasury and Government Offices also were built, and the Great Hall called Dâr-al-'Âmmah (the Public Audience Chamber) where the Caliph sat in state on Mondays and Thursdays.

Besides his palace in Sâmarrâ, Mu'taşim laid out a pleasance on the west side of the Tigris opposite the new capital, with which it was connected by a bridge of boats, and the gardens were planted with palms brought up from Başrah, and with exotics sent for from provinces as far distant as Syria and Khurasan. These lands on the western side were irrigated by branch canals from the Nahr-al-Ishâkî, already mentioned, which was dug by Ishāk ibn Ibrāhîm, Chief of Police to Mu'tasim, and this was more especially the district called Tîrhân, which Ya'kûbî speaks of as 'the plain' of Sâmarrâ. When the Caliph Mu'tasim died in 227 (842) Sâmarrâ was in a fair way to rival Baghdâd in the grandeur of its palaces and public buildings. His two sons Wâthik and Mutawakkil, who became Caliphs in turn, completed the work of their father. Hârûn-al-Wâthik built the palace, called after his name the Kaşr-al-Hārūni, on the Tigris bank, and at either end of this, east and west, was a great platform. Wathik also dug a harbour from the river, where cargo-boats coming up from Baghdad might conveniently unload. He was succeeded by his brother Ja'far-al-Mutawakkil in 232 (847) who at first lived in the Hârûnî palace, but in 245 (859) he began to build himself a new palace three leagues north of Karkh, to which he extended the Great Road, and this with the new town which sprang up round it was called Al-Mutawakkiliyah or the Kaşr-al-Ja'fari. The ruins of the Ja'fari palace still exist in the angle formed by the branching of the Nahrawân canal, and the older town of Al-Mâḥūzah came to be incorporated with it.

· Mutawakkil also built a new and more magnificent Friday Mosque to replace that of his father, which had become too small for the population of the new capital, for the houses now extended in a continuous line with palaces and gardens from Matirah to Dûr. In his palace of the Mutawakkillyah, otherwise called the Ja'fariyah, Mutawakkil was murdered by his son Muntasir in 247 (861), and, during the troublous times that followed, the four next Caliphs had their abode at the Kasr-al-Jawsak (the Palace of the Kiosque) on the western side of the Tigris opposite Sâmarrâ, this being one of those built by Mu'tasim. Mu'tamid, son of Mutawakkil, and the last of the Caliphs to reside at Sâmarrâ, lived first at the Jawsak, but afterwards built himself a new palace on the eastern bank, known as Kasr-al-Ma'shûk (the Palace of the Beloved), from whence he finally removed the seat of Government to Baghdad a short time before his death in 270 (802). The names of many other palaces are given by our authorities. Ibn Serapion for instance mentions the celebrated Kasr-al-Jiss (the Gypsum Palace) built by Mu'taşim on the Ishâkî canal; and Yākût, who names a great number of palaces, adds a long account of the almost fabulous prices which each had cost its builder, and the total he makes to be 204 million dirhams, equivalent to about eight million sterling.

The glory of Sâmarrâ, however, naturally came to an end with the return of the Caliphs to Baghdâd, and its many palaces rapidly fell to ruin. In the 4th (roth) century Ibn Hawkal praises its magnificent gardens, especially those on the western side of the Tigris, but Mukaddasi says that Karkh on the north was, in his day, become the more populous quarter of the town. The great Friday Mosque of Sâmarrâ, however, still remained, which Mukaddasi says was the equal of that of Damascus in magnificence. Its walls were covered with enamelled tiles (minå), it was paved with marble, and its roof was supported on

marble columns. The minaret was remarkable for its great height, and, Yâkût asserts, it had been the minaret of the first mosque, having been built by Mu'taşim, who wished the Call to Prayer to be audible over all the city. It was visible from a league distance all round. It is apparently this ancient minaret which still exists as the well-known Malwiyah tower, having a spiral outside stairway going to the top, which stands about half a mile to the north of modern Sâmarrâ; such was in any case the belief of Mustawft who, in the early part of the 8th (14th) century, says that the minaret then existing of the Friday Mosque was 170 ells (Gez) in height, 'with the gangway going up outside, the like of which was to be seen nowhere else,' and he adds that the Caliph Mu'taşim had been its builder.

Later authorities add little to our knowledge of Samarra, and in after years it came chiefly to be inhabited by Shi'ahs; for here were the tombs of the tenth and eleventh Imams, 'Ali-al-'Askari and his son Al-Hasan, and here above all, said they, was the mosque with the underground chamber where the twelfth Imam had disappeared in 264 (878), he being Al-Kaim, the promised Mahdi, who was to reappear in the fulness of time. The shrines where these Alids were buried stood in that part of Sâmarrâ called 'Askar Mu'taşim, 'the Camp of Mu'taşim,' and it is from this that the tenth Imam had his title of Al-'Askari. Writing in the early part of the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi, the Shl'ah, especially mentions these shrines, and adds that the Friday Mosque near by these tombs, besides its great minaret already referred to, was possessed of a famous stone basin called Kâs-i-Fir'awn (Pharaoh's Cup) measuring 23 paces in circumference by 7 ells high, and half an ell in thickness, which stood in the mosque court for the Ablution, and which the Caliph Mu'tasim had caused to be made. Mustawfi, however, adds that, in his day, Sâmarrâ was for the most part a ruin, only in part inhabited, and this statement is confirmed by the description left us by his contemporary Ibn Batûtah, who was here in the year 730 (1330)1.

Baladhuri, 297, 298. Ykb. 255—268. I. K. 94. I. S. 18. Ist. 85.
 I. H. 166. Muk. 122, 123. A. F. 289. Yak. iii. 14—22, 82, 675; iv. 110.
 Ibn Khallikan, No. 8, p. 15. Mst. 139. I. B. ii. 132.

Takrît, lying thirty miles north of Sâmarrâ on the west bank of the Tigris, was commonly counted as the last town of 'Irâk, and was famous for its strong castle which overlooked the river. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century states that the majority of its population were Christians, and that they possessed a great monastery here. Mukaddasî says the wool-workers of this town were famous, and in its neighbourhood much sesame was grown; Mustawfî adds, also water melons, of which three crops a year were produced in spite of the somewhat raw climate of Takrît. Ibn Jubayr states that the city wall was 6000 paces in circuit, with towers in good repair, when he passed through Takrît in 580 (1184), and Ibn Baţūṭah gives praise to both its markets and its numerous mosques.

The great Nahrawan canal left the Tigris a short distance below Dûr, as already said, and in its upper course was known as Al-Katûl-al-Kisrawî, 'the Cut of the Chosroes,' for it owed its origin to the Sassanian kings. It served to irrigate all the lands along the east bank of the Tigris from above Sâmarrâ to about a hundred miles south of Baghdad, and Ibn Serapion mentions a great number of towns along its banks with bridges and weirs, but most of these have now disappeared, though the line of the canal is still marked on the map. Leaving Dûr*, which, for distinction among the many towns of this name, was called Dûr-al-'Arabâyâ or of Al-Hârith, the canal passed to the back of the Mutawakkiliyah and other outlying quarters north of Sâmarrâ, and here it was crossed by a stone bridge. It next came to Îtâkhiyah, a village and fief called after Îtâkh the Turk, sometime captain of the guard to the Caliph Mu'taşim; this had originally been a monastery called Dayr Abu-Sufrah, and here stood the bridge of the Chosroes (Kantarah Kisrawiyah). The monastery took its name from Abu Sufrah the Khârijite. Next the Nahrawan came to Al-Muhammadiyah, a small town, where it was crossed by a bridge of skiffs (Jisr Zawarik)3, and according to

¹ Ist. 77. I. H. 156. Muk. 123. I. J. 234. Mst. 138. I. B. ii. 133.

³ Dûr means the 'Houses' or 'Habitations,' and is a common place-name, being the plural form of Dârah, 'a homestead.'

It is to be noted that in the classical usage Jisr stands for 'a bridge of boats,' while Kantarah is 'a masonry bridge of arches.' Shādhurwān, trans-

Yâkût this Muḥammadiyah was but a later name of Îtâkhîyah, the change having been effected by Mutawakkil in honour of his son Muhammad-al-Muntasir, who afterwards became Caliph by the murder of his father. At some distance below these places the Nahrawân was joined successively by the three lesser Katûls, namely the Yahûdî, the Mamûnî, and the canal of Abu-l-Jund, which were all three taken from the left bank of the Tigris near Matirah below Sâmarra, and which irrigated the fertile districts south of that city. Above their inflow, the Nahrawan was dammed back by the first of its many weirs (Ash-Shadhurwan), and where the first canal came in stood the large village of Al-Mamuniyah. This, the Yahûdî (or Jews') canal, was crossed between Mațirah and Mamûniyah by a stone bridge called Kantarah Wasif, after Wasif, one of the captains of the Turk bodyguard, in the reign of Mu'tasim. The second canal, called Al-Mamûnî, fell into the Nahrawân below the village of Al-Kanatir, 'the Bridges.' The third canal was called Abu-l-Jund-'Father, or Supplier, of the Army'-from the fact that the crops raised on the lands watered by it were used as rations for the troops. It was the largest canal of the three, and had been dug by Hārûn-ar-Rashîd, who built a palace there while superintending its construction. On its banks stood the town of Taffir, and here it was crossed by a bridge of boats. Yakût, who had himself visited Taffir, describes it as occupying in the 7th (13th) century a waterless and pastureless plain, where wild animals dwelt, lying between Ba'kûbâ and Dakûkâ. He passed through this going from Baghdad to Irbil; no habitations were to be met with, and Yākût says that his guide, when the caravan travelled by night over this plain, 'was wont to take his direction by the Pole-star, until, with the day, the plain had been crossed.'

lated by 'weir,' more properly designates a portion of a canal, or river bed, that has been paved and embanked to confine the stream. It should, however, be added that Jisr undoubtedly sometimes also designated a stone bridge of arches, as in the celebrated Jisr-al-Walld, the name given to the bridge over the river Sarus, between Adana and Mopsuestia, which was built by Justinian. The word Kantarah also designates any arched structure, as a viaduct or aqueduct, being borrowed from the Byzantines, who used the word κέντρον (the Latin centrum) to denote the central arch of a bridge, and by extension applied it to mean the whole structure.

Four leagues below where the last of these three canals joined the Nahrawân lay the town of Sûlâ or Salwa, otherwise called Bab Salwa or Basalwa. Below this again was the town of Ba'kûbâ, some ten leagues north of Baghdâd, and the capital of the Upper Nahrawân district. At Ba'kûbâ the Great Kâţûl canal changed its name, and became the Tâmarrâ, under which name it passed on to Båjisrå and thence to the city called Jisr Nahrawân, beyond which the main waterway was more especially known as the Nahrawan canal. Near Bâjisrâ (the Aramaic form of Bayt-al-Jisr, 'the bridge-house') which stood in a well cultivated district, surrounded by palm-trees, the Tamarra sent off a branch from its right bank known as the Nahr-al-Khâlis, which flowed out into the Tigris at Baradân to the north of Baghdâd, and from the Khâlis many of the canals of East Baghdad derived their water.

Jisr Nahrawân, the Bridge-town, where the Khurâsân road from Baghdâd crossed, will be described presently; and here a canal called the Nahr Bîn branched from the right bank of the Nahrawân, flowing ultimately into the Tigris at Kalwâdhâ. From this the water channels of the lower quarters of East Baghdâd derived their supply. One mile below Jisr Nahrawân the Diyâlâ canal branched south from the main stream, and after irrigating the outer gardens of East Baghdâd, reached the Tigris three miles below the capital.

South of Jisr Nahrawân the great canal took the name of the Nahrawân exclusively, and after passing the Upper Weir (Shâdhurwân) it came to Jisr Bûrân, the bridge named after the wife of the Caliph Mamûn. Below this stood Yarzâţiyah (or possibly Barzâţiyâ), and then the town of 'Abartâ, which Yâkût describes as of Persian origin, having important markets. Beyond 'Abartâ lay the Lower Weir and next Iskâf (or Uskâf) of the Banî Junayd, a city lying on both banks of the canal, and the Banî Junayd, Yâkût reports, had been chiefs of this district and famous for their hospitality. Yâkût adds that by the 7th (13th) century, when he wrote, the lands round here had entirely gone out of cultivation, for the Nahrawân had gradually silted up during the previous two centuries, the Saljûk Sultans having ever

been too much occupied with their wars to attend to the needful dredging, and the mending of dykes: 'further,' he adds, 'their armies had made a roadway of this same canal, whereby both district and canal have now gone to ruin.'

CHAP.

Beyond Uskâf the Nahrawân flowed on for nearly 60 miles, between a continuous line of villages and farmsteads, down to Mâdharâyâ where its waters finally rejoined the Tigris. Mâdharâyâ, as already said, stood to the south of Jabbul and above Al-Mubârak, which lay opposite the town of Nahr Sâbus. When Yâkût wrote it was in ruin, and its name is now no longer marked on the map, but it must have stood just below the present Kût-al-'Amârah where, as already explained, the Tigris now divides off from the Shatt-al-Hayy channel'.

This triple division of the Nahrawan canal (namely the Katul, the Tâmarrâ, and the Nahrawân proper), with the three branch canals (the Khâlis, the Nahr Bîn, and the Diyâlâ) which flowed back to the Tigris after watering the East Baghdad region, is the explanation which Ibn Serapion has given of a very complicated skein of waterways. In later times the names were not always applied as he gives them. A glance at the present map shows that the Nahrawan, two hundred miles in length, must have taken up all the streams from the Persian highlands which, had it not been dug, would have flowed (at flood time) down to the left bank of the Tigris. The Tamarra section was originally one of these streams, and Yakût describes how its bed had been artificially paved for a length of seven leagues to prevent the sands absorbing its waters, which were divided up to irrigate the several districts of East Baghdad. The Khalis and the Diyâlâ were according to his account branches of the Tâmarrâ (in any case the Khâliş of the Arab geographers cannot be the river known by this name at the present day, for this now flows at some distance to the north-west of Ba'kûbâ), and Khâlis in the time of Yakût was the name of the district, to the north of the Khurasan road, which on one side came right up to the walls

Yarzāṭiyah is possibly the present Razatiyah or Zatariyah lying above
 Abartā. Ykb. 321. I. S. 19, 20. Baladhuri, 297. I. R. 90. I. K. 175.
 Mas. Tanbih 53. Yak. i. 252, 454; iii. 539, 604; iv. 16, 381, 430.

of East Baghdåd. In the 3rd (9th) century Ibn Rustah and Ibn Khurdådbih give Nahrawân as the name of the mountain stream, which came into the Great Kâţûl at Şalwâ; in the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî writes that the Nahrawân was the name of the Diyâlâ river, which rose in the mountains of Kurdistân, and which was formed by the junction of two streams, one the Shirwân river which lower down was called the Taymarrâ, the other the Hulwân river, which flowed down past Kaṣr Shîrîn and Khânikîn; and these two streams united above Ba'kûbâ where they flowed into the Nahrawân canal.

In regard to Nahrawan town, otherwise called Jisr Nahrawan (Nahrawân Bridge), this was the first stage out of Baghdâd along the great Khurasan road, and it was of old a place of much importance, though now represented by the insignificant hamlet of Sifwah. Ibn Rustah in the 3rd (9th) century describes Nahrawan town as lying on both banks of the canal; in the western half were the chief markets, a Friday Mosque, and many waterwheels for irrigation purposes; while on the eastern side there was a second Friday Mosque, and other markets, with many hostelries round the mosque where the Mecca pilgrims and travellers were wont to put up. Ibn Hawkal in the following century speaks of the fertile lands lying round the town, and Mukaddasi adds that the eastern part in his day was the most populous, its Friday Mosque being then the only one in use. In the 8th (14th) century, when Mustawfi wrote, Nahrawan town was in ruin, for the Khurasan road no longer passed through it, but went north by Ba'kûbâ. The fertile district about here was still called the Tarîk-i-Khurâsân (the District of the Khurâsân road) of which Ba'kûbâ, Mustawfî states, was the chief town, and it was formed by a continuous line of gardens and palm-groves from which magnificent crops of oranges and shaddocks were harvested!

The town of Barâz-ar-Rûz (the Rice Field), now known as Bilâd-ar-Rûz, lay north-east of Nahrawân town, and is frequently mentioned by Yâkût. The Caliph Mu'tadid had built a palace here; it was counted as of the Tâmarrâ district, and lay eastward

¹ I. R. 90, 163. I. K. 175. Ist. 86. I. H. 167. Muk. 121. Yak. i. 812; ii. 390, 638. Mst. 139, 141, 216.

off the Khurasan high road, being also noticed by Mustawfi. Leaving Nahrawan town the next stage of the Khurasan road was Daskarah-al-Malik, 'of the King,' which Ibn Rustah describes as a considerable city, possessing a great walled castle of Sassanian times, to which a single gateway on the west side gave access. From its position this 'Daskarah of the King' appears to be identical with the celebrated Dastagird, where Khusraw Parwîz had his great palace, which history relates was plundered and burnt to the ground by Heraclius in 628 A.D. This palace, the ruins of which it would seem were in the 4th (10th) century still known as Dastagird Kisrawlyah (of the Chosroes), was seen by the traveller Ibn Muhalhal (quoted by Yâkût) who says that it then consisted of a wonderful edifice containing many halls and domes, so finely built as to appear carved, each wall in a single block of stone. In regard to the Arab town, Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Daskarah as possessing a strong castle, doubtless of Moslem foundation, and Mukaddasi speaks of the place as a small market town, with a Friday Mosque that had a finely vaulted roof. Not far distant from Daskarah was the village of Shahraban, mentioned by both Yakût and Mustawsi. the latter adding that eighty villages belonged to this town, which had been founded by Princess Gulban, a daughter of one of the Chosroes.

The town of Jalûlâ was the next stage on the Khurâsân road, surrounded by many trees but unfortified. Not far from the town, standing in the village of Hārûnîyah, was an ancient bridge of stone wrought with leadén joints, which had been built by one of the Chosroes, and this crossed the river by which, according to Yâkût, boats went down to Ba'kûbâ and Bâjisrâ. In history Jalûlâ was famous for the great victory gained over the Persians by the Moslems here in the year 16 (637), which resulted in the final overthrow and flight of King Yazdajird. At a later date Mustawfî names the place Rubâţ Jalûlâ, from the guard-house which had been built here by Malik Shâh the Saljûk; and the position of Jalûlâ corresponds with the modern station of Kizil Rubâţ, 'the Red Guard-house.' East of Jalûlâ was the town of Khânikîn, which is noticed by Mukaddasî as a city on the road to Hulwân. Here Ibn Rustah says there

was a great bridge of many arches over the river, built of well-mortared kiln-bricks. Near Khânikîn was a naphtha spring that produced a large revenue, and Yâkût describes the bridge aforesaid as having 24 arches in his day, the 7th (13th) century, across which passed the Khurâsân road. When Mustawfî wrote in the next century Khânikîn had fallen to ruin, and was merely a large village, but its district was still extremely productive.

Six leagues beyond Khânikîn, and half-way to Hulwân the first town of the Jibal province, lay Kasr Shirin, 'the Palace of Shîrin,' the mistress of King Khusraw Parwîz. There was a large walled village here, and the ruins of the Sassanian palace, which Ibn Rustah describes as consisting in the 3rd (9th) century of a mighty arched hall, built of burnt brick, rising in the midst of chambers, the walls of which were of solid masonry. Further there was a great platform before the arched hall, paved with marble slabs. Yakût and Mustawfî give long descriptions of Kaşr Shîrîn, the ruins of which still exist; and it is to be noted that the legends of Farhåd the lover of Queen Shîrîn, and of Pahlabådh the musician, and of Shabdiz the famous horse of King Parwiz, are found localised in many places of the surrounding district1. Overhanging Kasr Shirin is the great mountain wall forming the outpost of the Persian plateau, and Hulwan, the next stage on the Khurasan road, though often counted as of 'Irak, being in the mountain pass, will be described in a later chapter.

South of the line of the Khurasan road, and on the Khuzistan frontier, two important towns remain to be noticed—Bandanîjîn and Bayat. Bandanîjîn, a name no longer found on the map, was the chief town of the districts of Badaraya and Bakusaya, and the village of Bakusaya still exists near which the town of Bandanîjîn must have been situated. The two districts lay beyond and north-east of the Nahrawan canal, and comprised a great number of fertile villages. Bandanîjîn the capital, according to Yakut, was called in Persian Wandanîgan, and Mustawfî says in his day the name was pronounced Bandanîgan, being of the Lihf district, the 'Foot-hills' of the Kurdistan mountains, and its river came down from Ariwajan. According to Ibn

¹ I. R. 164. Ist. 87. I. H. 168. Muk. 121. Kaz. ii. 295. Yak. i. 534; ii. 107, 393, 573, 575, 813; iv. 112. Mst. 137, 138, 139, 193.

Khurdådbih Bandanîjîn was counted as of the same district as Barâz-ar-Rûz. Bayât, the ruins of which still exist, is mentioned by Mustawfi; he adds that its river, which rose in the Kurdistân mountains, became lost in the plains before reaching the Tigris, and though its water was brackish, many fertile districts were irrigated by it. Bayât appears to be practically the same place as the town of At-Tib, mentioned by Ibn Hawkal, where excellent belts, like the Armenian belts, were made. It was a city of some importance under the Abbasids, and its ruins lie close to those of the later town of Bayât. Yâkût says that in his day the inhabitants of Tib were Nabathæans, and still spoke their Aramaic dialect, tracing their descent direct from Seth, son of Adam¹.

The cities of 'Irak which lay on the Euphrates, and between the two rivers along the transverse canals, must now be described. As already said, a line carried west from the Tigris at Takrit to the Euphrates would cross that river a little below 'Anah, where its course makes a great bend south, and this is the natural frontier between Jazîrah and Irâk, as marked by Mustawfi. the south of this line begins the Sawad, or alluvial land, of Babylonia; to the north lie the more stony plains of Upper Mesopotamia. The city of Al-Hadithah on the Euphrates, about 35 miles below 'Anah, is the northernmost town on this side. The name signifies 'the New Town,' and to distinguish it from Al-Hadîthah on the Tigris, it was called Hadîthah-an-Nûrah, 'of the Chalk' pit. Yākût describes it as possessing a strong castle surrounded by the waters of the Euphrates, and it was founded during the Caliphate of 'Omar, not long after the Moslem conquest. Mustawfi describes it as in every way the opposite of Takrit, both in situation and climate. Between Hadithah and Hit, down stream, came the two towns of Alûsah and An-Nawûsah. lying on the Euphrates seven leagues distant one from the other. and Alûsah, which Yâkût refers to as a small town, still exists. Both are frequently mentioned in the records of the Moslem conquest :

¹ I. K. 6. Ist. 94. I. H. 176. Yak. i. 230, 459, 477, 745; iii. 566; iv. 353. Mst. 137, 138, 220. The Bådarâyâ district of Bandanîjîn must not be confused with Bådûrayâ, the name of the southern district of West Baghdåd.

further, An-Nawûsah was counted as a village of Hît, which last was a walled town with a strong castle, celebrated for its palm-groves and lying on the western side of the Euphrates. Ibn Hawkal speaks of Hît as very populous, and Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century describes more than 30 villages, among the rest Jibbah, as of its dependencies. Immense quantities of fruit, both of the cold and the hot regions, were grown here; nuts, dates, oranges and egg-plants all ripening freely, but the town was unpleasant to live in on account of the overpowering stench of the neighbouring bitumen springs.

At the time of the Moslem conquest the famous Trench of King Sapor II (Khandak Sâbûr) still existed. This had been dug by Sâbûr Dhû-l-Aktâf, as the Arabs called him, in the fourth century A.D. It began at Hît and ran down to Ubullah (near the later Baṣrah) where it reached the Gulf. Originally it carried water, being intended as a line of defence for the rich lands of Lower Mesopotamia against the desert tribes; and its dry bed may still, in part, be traced. 'Ayn-at-Tamr, 'the Spring of the Date Palm,' due south of Hît in the desert, is described by Mukaddasî as a small fortress, and a stream running from here entered the Euphrates below Hît. Dates and sugar-cane were exported from its district, the latter more especially from a neighbouring town called Shafāthā; but the exact site of these two places is unknown'.

Twelve leagues below Hit was the village of Ar-Rabb, where previous to the 4th (10th) century the (earlier) Dujayl canal left the Euphrates; and taking its course due east, after watering the Maskin and Katrabbul districts, reached the northern suburbs of West Baghdåd. As already mentioned, this western portion of the Dujayl soon became silted up; and by the time when Iṣṭakhrî wrote in 340 (951) the Dujayl already took its waters from the Tigris opposite Kâdisîyah, as described in the paragraphs on the Maskin district. Al-Anbâr, 'the Granaries,' standing on the left bank of the Euphrates, was one of the great cities of 'Irâk in Abbasid times. It dated from before the Moslem conquest, and by the Persians was called Firûz Sâbûr (or Fayrûz Sâbûr, in

LE S.

I. S. 10, 13. I. R. 107. Kud. 217. Baladhuri, 179. Ist. 77.
 I. H. 155. Muk. 117, 123, 135. Yak. i. 352; ii. 223; iii. 759; iv. 734, 997.
 Mst. 135, 141.

Greek Perisabor) from its founder King Shâpûr'; and under the Arabs Fîrûz Sâbûr became the name of the surrounding district. It is said that the town was called 'the Granaries' because of old the Persian kings had stored the wheat, barley, and straw for the rations of their troops in this city. The first Abbasid Caliph, Saffâh, had for a time made Anbâr his residence, and he died in the palace which he had built here. His brother Manşûr also for a time lived at Anbâr, and from here went to Baghdâd, where the new Abbasid capital had begun to be built. Mustawfî gives the tradition that the Jews whom Nebuchadnezzar brought from Jerusalem to Babylonia were interned at Anbâr. In the 8th (14th) century the town walls, he says, were 5000 paces in circuit.

The importance of Anbar lay in its position at the head of the first great navigable canal which flowed from the Euphrates to the Tigris, which it entered at the harbour (Al-Fardah) to the south of the Round City of West Baghdad. This canal, the Nahr 'Isâ, took its name from an Abbasid prince 'Îsâ who was either 'Îsâ ibn Mûsâ, nephew of Mansûr, or 'Îsâ ibn 'Ali (the more usual ascription), the uncle of that Caliph. In either case Prince 'Isa gave the canal its name, he having re-dug it, making thus a navigable channel from the Euphrates into Baghdad. Where the canal left the Euphrates, a little below Anbar, it was crossed by a magnificent bridge, called Kantarah Dimimma, from the village of Dimimma which was on the Euphrates bank close to the hamlet of Al-Fallûjah. The Nahr 'Îsâ, passing by many villages and farms of the Fîrûz Sâbûr district, at length came to the town of Al-Muhawwal, one league distant from the suburbs of West Baghdad. Just before reaching this town the Sarat canal branched from the left bank of the Nahr Isa, and this canal formed the dividing line between the Katrabbul district to the north and Bâdûrayâ to the south of West Baghdâd. The Sarât canal, following an almost parallel curve to the Nahr 'Isa, poured its waters into the Tigris immediately below the Basrah Gate of the Round City, and from these two streams all the watercourses

¹ Sâbûr is the Arab form of the Persian Shâpûr or Shâh-pûr, which the Greeks wrote Sapor.

of West Baghdåd were derived, with the exception of the few coming from the Dujayl canal.

Al-Muhawwal means 'the place of unloading,' and the town took its name from the fact that the river barges going from the Euphrates towns to Baghdad, had here to unload into small boats that could pass under the numerous bridges which below Muhawwal spanned the Isa canal where this traversed the suburb of Karkh. Muhawwal was a fine town, famous for its markets and its gardens, and as late as the 8th (14th) century possessed some magnificent buildings, among which Mustawfi counts a palace built by the Caliph Mu'tasim which stood on the summit of a mound, and which, by the spell of a powerful incantation, had been freed from the plague of mosquitoes. The exact site of Muhawwal is not now known, but it must lie to the north-east of the ancient Babylonian mound called the Hill of 'Akarkûf, which is frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, and which Mustawfi connects with the legends of the tyrant Nimrod who threw Abraham into the fiery furnace'.

Three leagues below the village of Dimimmā the second of the great transverse canals, the Nahr Ṣarṣar, flowed off towards the Tigris, which it entered four leagues above Madāin. This canal, in its lower reaches, traversed the Bâdûrayâ district, which lay south of West Baghdâd, and Ibn Serapion describes how along its banks numerous waterwheels (dâliyah) and levers (shadûf) were set up for irrigating the fields. Some way above where, near Zarīrān, the canal flowed into the Tigris, and almost in sight of the White Palace of the Chosroes at Madāin, was the flourishing town of Ṣarṣar, where a great bridge of boats carrying the Kûfah road crossed the canal. Ṣarṣar town lay a couple of leagues only from Karkh, the great southern suburb of West Baghdād; the Ṣarṣar canal, Ibn Ḥawkal writes, was navigable for boats, and Ṣarṣar

¹ I. S. 10, 14. I. K. 7, 72, 74. Kud. 217. Ist. 77. I. H. 155, 166. Muk. 123, 134. Vak. i. 367; ii. 600; iii. 697; iv. 432. Mst. 136, 138, 140, 141. The lower courses of the Nahr 'Isâ and of the Şarât canal belong to the topography of Baghdåd, and have been fully described in a former work. The site of Anbâr appears to be that marked by the ruins at Sufayrah, or possibly those to the north of this village of which Mr J. P. Peters has given a plan in Nippur, i. 177.

town stood in a forest of date-palms. Mukaddasi likens it to the towns of Palestine for the manner of its building; and Şarşar continued to be a place of importance down to the close of the 8th (14th) century when Tîmûr took possession of Baghdâd and garrisoned the surrounding districts.

The third transverse canal was the Nahr-al-Malik, which began at the village of Al-Fallûjah' five leagues below the head of the Nahr Şarşar, and flowed into the Tigris three leagues below Madâin. This, 'the King's Canal,' dated from ancient times, and is mentioned by the Greeks as the Nahar Malcha. Yâkût reports that tradition gave it as having been dug either by King Solomon or by Alexander the Great. On its banks was the town called Nahr-al-Malik, with a bridge of boats on the Kûfah road, this lying seven miles south of Ṣarṣar. According to Ibn Ḥawkal Nahr-al-Malik town was larger by a half than the latter town, being likewise famous for its corn lands and palm-groves; Mustawfi adding that over 300 villages were of its district.

The fourth transverse canal was the Nahr Kûthâ, its point of origin on the Euphrates being three leagues below that of the Nahr-al-Malik, and its outflow to leagues below Madain. The Kûthâ canal watered the district of this name, which was also known as the Ardashîr Bâbgân district (after the first Sassanian king), though part of it was counted as the Nahr Jawbar district on a branch canal. The city of Kûthâ Rabbå, with its bridge of boats, stood on the banks of the main channel, and is said to be identical with the Biblical Cuthah, mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 24, an important town of the neighbourhood of Babylon. According to Moslem tradition Kûthâ was the place where Abraham was thrown into the fire by the tyrant Nimrod, and the town took its name from Kûthâ, the grandfather of Abraham, according to the Moslem tradition. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Hawkal describes the place as a double city, Kûthâ-at-Tarîk, 'of the Road,' and Kûthâ Rabbâ, which last was a city larger than Bâbil (Babylon), and near here, he says, were great mounds of

¹ This is the Feluchia (Feluge or Felugia) of Cæsar Frederick, and other Elizabethan merchants, where coming down the Euphrates they left their boats and went by land across to Baghdåd; as narrated in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (Glægow, 1904), v. 367, 455, 466; vi. 4.

ashes said to mark the place of Nimrod's fiery furnace; Mukaddasî adding that near the high road might be seen an ancient tower, about which many legends were told. The Itineraries state that Kûthâ town, the site of which appears to be that marked on the map as Tall Ibrâhîm, 'the Hill of Abraham,' was four miles south of Nahr Malik town.

Some few miles to the north of the Kûthâ canal stood the large village of Al-Faráshah, the half-way stage between Baghdâd and Hillah, on the high road followed at the close of the 6th (12th) century by the Mecca pilgrims going down to Kûfah. Ibn Jubayr, who was here in 580 (1184), describes it as a populous well-watered village, where there was a great caravanserai for travellers, defended by battlemented walls; and Mustawfi also gives Farâshah in his itinerary, placing it seven leagues south of Şarşar¹.

I. S. 15. I. R. 182. Ist. 85, 86. I. H. 166, 168. Muk. 121. I. J. 217. Yak. i. 768; iv. 317, 846. Mar. ii. 363. A. Y. i. 633. Mst. 141, 193. The course of the Nahr 'Îsâ is more or less that of the modern Saklawiyah canal: the Sarşar appears to have followed the line of the Abu Ghurayb canal; the Nahr-al-Malik is the Radhwâniyah, and the Nahr Kûthâ is the Habl Ibrâhîm, 'Abraham's rope,' of the modern maps. These identifications, however, are only approximate, for naturally in over a thousand years the face of the alluvial Sawâd is entirely changed from what it was in Abbasid times.

CHAPTER V.

TRAK (continued).

The bifurcation of the Euphrates. The Sûrâ channel. Kaşr Ibn Hubayrah.

Nîl and its canal. The Nahr Nars. The Badât canal, and Pombedita.

The Kûfah channel. Kûfah city. Kâdisiyah. Mashhad 'Alî, and Karbalâ. The twelve Astâns of 'Irâķ. Trade. The high roads of 'Irâķ.

The river Euphrates in the 4th (10th) century bifurcated at a point some six leagues below where the Kûthâ canal was led off. The western branch, to the right, which was then considered the main stream of the Euphrates, passed down by Kûfah and thence to the Great Swamp; while the eastern branch, to the left, which now is the main stream of the river, is by Ibn Serapion and the other Arab geographers called the Nahr Sûrâ, or As-Sûrân; and this by many channels likewise poured its waters finally into the swamp. Taking the Sûrâ branch first (the present Euphrates channel) we find that Ibn Serapion admits this was greater even in his day than the Kûfah branch and more broad. Where the bifurcation took place, the Upper Sûrâ canal watered the three subdistricts of Sûrâ, Barbîsamâ, and Bârûsmâ, which formed part of the middle Bih Kubâdh district; then bearing south the channel passed a couple of miles to the westward of the city called Kasr Ibn Hubayrah, and here it was crossed by the great bridge of boats known as the Jisr Sûrâ (or Sûrân) by which the Pilgrim road went down from Kaşr Ibn Hubayrah to Kûfah.

The town of Al-Kaşr, as it was called for short, the Castle or Palace of Ibn Hubayrah, took the name from its founder, who had been governor of 'Irâk under Marwân II, the last Omayyad

Caliph. Ibn Hubayrah had not lived to complete his work, but after the fall of the Omayyads, the first Abbasid Caliph, Saffâh, took up his residence here, finished the palace, and called it Håshimîyah in honour of his own ancestor Håshim. The town which rapidly sprung up round the palace of the Caliph none the less continued to be called after the Omayyad governor, and even though Mansûr made Hâshimîyah for a time his residence, before the foundation of Baghdad, Kasr Ibn Hubayrah, or Madinah (the City of) Ibn Hubayrah, was always the name of the place in common use. In the 4th (10th) century Kasr Ibn Hubayrah was the largest town between Baghdad and Kufah, and it stood on a loop canal from the Sûrâ, called the Nahr Abu Rahâ, 'the Canal of the Mill.' The city was extremely populous, it had fine markets, many Jews residing here, as Mukaddasi writes, and the Friday Mosque was in the market place. By the early part of the 6th (12th) century, however, it appears to have fallen to decay, being eclipsed by the rising importance of Hillah; and at the present day even the site of it is unknown, though it is doubtless marked by one of the numerous ruins which lie a few miles north of the great mounds of ancient Babylon, or Bâbil as the Arabs name these.

The city of Hillah, lying a few miles below the Bâbil ruins, on the Euphrates, otherwise the Sura canal as it was called in the 4th (10th) century, was at this date known as Al-Jami'an, 'the Two Mosques,' and the town at first stood mostly on the eastern bank. It was a populous place, and its lands were extremely Then Al-Hillah, 'the Settlement,' was built on the opposite right bank, by Sayf-ad-Dawlah, chief of the Bani Mazyad, in about the year 405 (1102); and this quickly grew to importance, for its bridge of boats became the new Euphrates crossing for the Pilgrim road from Baghdåd to Kûfah, the high road no longer passing down by Kasr Ibn Hubayrah (then a ruin) and the Sûrâ bridge. By the 6th (12th) century, also, the Sûrâ arm comes to be considered the main stream of the Euphrates, as at the present day, and the name Nahr Sûrâ gradually goes out of use. In 580 (1184) Ibn Jubayr crossed the Euphrates by 'a great bridge of boats, bound by iron chains,' at Hillah, then already a large town stretching along the western side of the Euphrates. Ibn Batûtah.

who followed in his footsteps in the early part of the 8th (14th) century, gives a long account of this famous bridge of boats at Hillah, the double iron chains of which were secured at either end to immense wooden piles. He praises the town markets, and his account is fully borne out by Mustawfi, his contemporary, who speaks of Hillah as beginning to occupy the east as well as the west bank of the Euphrates. It was surrounded by date-groves and hence had a damp climate. Mustawfi adds that the population of Hillah were all bigoted Shi'ahs, and they possessed a shrine (Makām) here, where they believed that, in the fulness of time, the promised Mahdî, who had disappeared at Sâmarrâ in 264 (878), would reappear and convert all mankind to their faith (see above, p. 56)'.

Returning once more to the account given by Ibn Serapion in the 4th (10th) century of the Sûrâ canal, this, as already said, passed to the west of the great ruins of Babylon, or Bâbil. These ruins Mukaddasi describes as then occupied by the site of a village near a bridge of boats, and Mustawfi gives a long account of the great magicians who had lived in Bâbil, and of the well at the summit of the hill in which the fallen angels Hârût and Mârût were imprisoned until the day of judgment.

Above Bâbil, the last of the many canals flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris branched from the Sûrâ. This waterway, now known as the Shaṭṭ-an-Nil—'the Nile Stream'—Ibn Serapion calls the Great Ṣarāt, the name is the same as that of the more famous canal of West Baghdâd (see p. 66) in the upper reach lying to the west of the city of Nil. From its point of origin the Great Ṣarāt flowed eastward past many rich villages, throwing off numerous water channels, and shortly before reaching the city of Nil a loop canal, the Ṣarāt Jāmasp, branched left and rejoined the main stream below the city. This loop canal had been re-dug by Hajjāj, the famous governor of 'Irāk under the Omayyad Caliphs, but took its name, as was reported, from Jāmasp, the chief Mobed, or Fire-priest, who in ancient days had aided King Gushtâsp to establish the religion of Zoroaster in Persia. The

¹ I. S. 10, 16. Ykb. 309. Ist. 85, 86. I. H. 166, 168. Muk. 121. Yak. ii. 322; iii. 861; iv. 123. I. J. 214. I. B. ii. 97. Mst. 138.

city of An-Nil likewise was founded by Ḥajjāj; it became the chief town of all this district, its ruins being still marked on the map under the name of Niliyah; and the Nil canal was reported to have taken its name from the Nile of Egypt which it was said to recall. The main canal here, opposite Nil city, was spanned by a great masonry bridge named the Kanṭarah-al-Mâsî. In the time of Abu-i-Fidā that portion of the canal which lay west of the town, namely the Great Ṣarāt of Ibn Serapion, was also known as the Nahr-an-Nil, but Ibn Serapion gives this name exclusively to the reach beyond, east of Nil city.

This reach, therefore, passing on, watered the surrounding districts till it came to a place called Al-Hawl-'the Lagoon'near the Tigris, and opposite Nu'maniyah (see p. 37), whence a branch, called the Upper Zab canal, communicated directly with the river. The main channel of the Nil, here turning off south, flowed for some distance parallel to the Tigris, down to a point one league below the town of Nahr Sabus which lay one day's march above Wasit, where the canal finally discharged its waters into the Tigris, probably in part by the Lower Zab canal. It is to be added that this last reach of the Nîl, below the Lagoon, was known as the Nahr Sābus, 'the Canal of Sābus,' and this gave its name to the town on the right bank of the Tigris, already mentioned (see p. 38). The nomenclature of these channels changed at different epochs; in the 7th (13th) century Yakut says that all the reach from Nil city to Nu'maniyah was called the Upper Zâb canal, while his Lower Zâb canal is apparently identical with the Nahr Sabus of Ibn Serapion; both canals in the 7th (13th) century had, however, gone much to ruin, though still bordered by fertile lands.

Returning now to the ruins of Babylon on the Euphrates, the Sûrâ below here was crossed by a masonry bridge called the Kantarah-al-Kâmighân, 'through which its waters pour with a mighty rush' as Ibn Serapion reports. Six leagues below this bridge, and near Jâmi'ân, the later Hillah, the Sûrâ canal bifurcated, the right arm going south past that city, and the left arm, called the Nahr-an-Nars, turning off to the south-east, and after watering Hammâm 'Omar with other villages reached the town of Niffâr. This canal took its name from Nars (or Narses), the

Sassanian king who came to the throne in 202 A.D.; he having caused it to be dug. After running south for some distance both the Nahr Nars and the Sûrâ channel poured their waters finally into the Badat canal, which traversed the northern limit of the Great Swamp; and this Nahr-al-Badât (or Budât) was a long drainage channel taken from the left bank of the Kûfah arm of the Euphrates, at a point a day's journey to the north of Kûfah city. probably near the town of Kantarah-al-Kufah, otherwise called Al-Kanatir, 'the Bridges,' which doubtless carried the high road across the Badat. This city of 'the Bridges' lay 27 miles south of the great Sûrâ bridge of boats, and 28 miles north of Kûfah; and it probably lay adjacent to, or possibly was identical with, the Hebrew Pombedita (Arabic Fam-al-Badat, 'mouth of the Badat canal'), mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela in the 6th (12th) century as a great centre of Jewish learning in Babylonia. The Badât canal after a course of over 50 miles, and after receiving on its left bank the drainage of the Lower Sûrâ and Nars canals, discharged itself finally into the Great Swamp near the town of Niffar'.

The districts lying between the bifurcation of the Lower Euphrates, having the Sûrâ canal to the east and the main stream to the west, were known as the Upper and Lower Al-Fallûjah. Below these the main stream passed down by the town of Al-Kanţarah and the outflow of the Badât canal to the city of Kûfah, which lay on the western bank of the Euphrates over against the bridge of boats, and south of this its waters were discharged by various channels into the Great Swamp. This older arm of the river is named by Kudâmah and Mas'ûdî the channel of Al-Alkamî, and it appears to be identical with the modern Nahr Hindîyah which branches from the present Euphrates stream below Musayyib and, flowing past the ruins of Kûfah, rejoins the present main stream of the Euphrates by a winding course through marshes that are a part of the Great Swamp of Abbasid times.

The city of Al-Kûfah was founded immediately after the

I. S. 16. Baladhuri, 254, 290. I. R. 182. I. H. 167. Muk. 121.
 A. F. 53. Yak. i. 770; ii. 31, 903; iii. 4, 379; iv. 773, 798, 840, 861.
 Mst. 136. The Travels of Benjamin of Tudela (Asher), i. 112. See also De Goeje in Zeit. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell. for 1885, p. 10.

Moslem conquest of Mesopotamia, at the same time as Basrah was being built, namely, about the year 17 (638), in the Caliphate of 'Omar. It was intended to serve as a permanent camp on the Arab, or desert, side of the Euphrates, and occupied an extensive plain lying above the river bank, being close to the older Persian city of Al-Hîrah. Kûfah rapidly increased in population, and when in the year 36 (657) 'Alî came to reside here the city during four years was the capital of that half of Islam which recognised 'Alî as Caliph. In the mosque at Kûfah 'Alî was assassinated in the year 40 (661). Istakhri describes Kûfah as the equal in size of Başrah in the 4th (10th) century, but the former had the better climate, and its buildings were more spacious; also its markets were excellent, though in this point it stood second to Basrah. The Great Mosque, where 'Ali received his death-wound, was on the eastern side of the city, and had tall columns brought from the neighbouring town of Hîrah, which fell to ruin as Kûfah became more populous. One of the chief quarters of Kûfah was Al-Kunasah-'the place of the Sweepings'-which lay on the desert side of the town, and all round stood palm-groves which produced excellent dates. When Ibn Juhayr passed through Kûfah in 580 (1184) it was an unwalled town mostly in ruins, but its Friday Mosque still existed, and Ibn Batútah, in the 8th (14th) century, describes its roof as supported by pillars, formed of stone drums joined with lead. A Mihrâb or niche marked the place where 'Alî had been assassinated. Mustawfi, who gives a long account of Kûfah, says that its walls, 18,000 paces in circuit, had been built by the Caliph Mansûr. The sugar-cane grew here better than anywhere else in Irâk, and cotton crops yielded abundantly. In the mosque, on a column, was the mark of 'Ali's hand; and they also preserved here the oven (tannur) from the mouth of which the waters had poured forth at the time of the Deluge of Noah.

Less than a league south of Kûfah are the ruins of Hîrah, which had been a great city under the Sassanians. Near by stood the famous palaces of As-Sadîr and Al-Khawarnak, the latter built, according to tradition, by Nu'mân, prince of Hîrah, for King Bahrâm Gûr, the great hunter. The palace of Khawarnak with its magnificent halls had mightily astonished the early Moslems when they first took possession of Hîrah on the conquest of

Mesopotamia. In later times Khawarnak was sometimes used as a hunting lodge by the Caliphs, and apparently, though nothing now remains of it, some walls and domes were still standing, though in ruin, when Ibn Baṭūṭah passed by here in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century.

On the actual desert border, five leagues west of Kûfah, and the first stage on the road to Mecca, was the large hamlet of Al-Kâdisîyah surrounded by palm-groves, near which, in the year 14 (635), the Moslems had won their first great battle against the Persians, which led almost immediately to the subjugation of Mesopotamia. Mukaddasî describes Kâdisîyah—called Kâdisîyah of Kûfah to distinguish it from the city of the same name on the Tigris (see p. 51)-as a town much frequented during the season of the Pilgrimage. It was defended by a small fort, and had two gates. Its lands were watered by a canal from the Euphrates which entered the town at the Baghdad Gate; and at the Desert Gate (Bâb-al-Bâdiyah) was the Friday Mosque, before which, when the Pilgrims came, a great market was held. In the 8th (14th) century when Ibn Batütah travelled through Kādisíyah it had sunk to the size of a large village, and Mustawfi describes it as for the most part in ruin1.

Najaf, where the tomb of 'Al' (Mashhad 'Ali') is to the Shi'ahs a most venerated shrine, lies about four miles to the westward of the ruins of Kûfah, and is a populous town to the present day. The Shi'ah tradition, as given by Mustawfi, is that on receiving the fatal stab in the Kûfah mosque, 'Ali, knowing his death to be imminent, had immediately given orders that when the breath was out of his body, it was to be put on a camel and the beast turned loose; where the camel knelt, there his corpse was to be buried. All this was forthwith done, but during the time of the Omayyads no

¹ I. S. 10, 16. Kud. 233. Mas. Tanbih 52. Ist. 82. I. H. 162, 163. Muk. 116, 117. Yak. ii. 492; iii. 59; iv. 322. I. J. 213. I. B. i. 414; ii. 1, 94. Mst. 133, 138, 140. The broad shallow lake—known as the Bahr Najaf—which now extends to the westward of the ruins of Kûfah and the Najaf shrine, did not exist in the middle-ages, and the Pilgrim road from Kûfah to Mecca passed across what is now its bed.

Mashhad means 'the place of Martyrdom,' hence equivalent to Shrine; Al-Makam, 'the Place,' is used in the same sense.

tomb was erected at Mashhad 'Ali, for the place was kept hidden for security. Subsequently, however, in the year 175 (791), the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Harûn-ar-Rashîd. For, when hunting one day near Kûfah, he chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow the Caliph discovered that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. On enquiring of the peasants they informed him that this spot was known as the burial-place of the Caliph 'Ali, an inviolate sanctuary, where even wild beasts were safe from harm. Orders were given by Hârûn to dig, and the body of 'Alî being discovered, a Mashhad or shrine was, according to Mustawfi, forthwith built over the spot, which soon became a holy place of visitation. The early history of the shrine is obscure, the foregoing is the usual Shi'ah account, but though Hàrûn-ar-Rashid at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles certainly do not relate that he invented the tomb of 'Alî.

The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Ali is of the middle of the 4th (10th) century by Ibn Hawkal. He says that the Hamdanid prince Abu-l-Hayja-who was governor of Mosul in 292 (904) and died in 317 (929)-had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Ali, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings: also he surrounded the adjacent town with a wall. Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal, however, add that in their day the burial-place of 'Ali was shown in the corner of the Great Mosque at Kûfah, and this was credited by many persons of note, as is affirmed by other authorities. Mustawfi says, further, that in the year 366 (977) 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid crected the mausoleum which in his (Mustawfi's) day still existed, and the place then became a little town, 2500 paces in circuit. In the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir it is recorded that 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, at his own wish, was buried here, likewise his sons Sharaf and Baha-ad-Dawlah; and in subsequent times various other notable persons followed the example. In the year 443 (1051) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdad populace, who were zealous in persecuting the Shi'ahs. It must however have been quickly rebuilt, for Malik Shâh and his Wazir. the Nizam-al-Mulk, made their visitation here in 479 (1086).

Writing in the early part of the 8th (14th) century Mustawff

adds that Ghâzân, the Îl-Khân of his day, had recently erected at Mashhad 'All a home for Sayyids (descendants of the Prophet) called the Dâr-as-Siyâdah, also a Khânkâh or Darvish monastery. Yâkût in the previous century describes the dyke at Najaf which kept back the waters of the Euphrates from overflowing the town, but he gives no account of the shrine. The traveller Ibn Batûtah was here in the year 726 (1326) and speaks of Mashhad 'Ali as a fine city, which he entered by the Bâb-al-Hadrat-' the Gate of the Presence'-leading direct to the shrine. He gives a long description of its great markets and colleges, also of the mosque where 'Ali's tomb was shown, the walls of which were covered with enamelled tiles of Kashani work. He reports that at the tomb cripples were frequently healed of their infirmities, and he gives a long account of the many gold and silver lamps hung up as offerings, as well as the magnificent carpets, and describes the actual tomb as enclosed in a railing of chiselled gold plates, secured by silver nails. Four gates gave access to the shrine, each curtained. and having a silver doorstep, the walls also being hung with silk embroideries; and his account closes with the enumeration of the miracles vouchsafed here to all true believers'.

Karbalâ, or Mashhad Husayn, lies eight leagues to the northwest of Kûfah, and marks the site of the battlefield where in the year 61 (680) Husayn, son of 'Alî, and grandson of the Prophet, was slain, with nearly all his family. The place of martyrdom of Husayn is to Shî'ahs of the present day a more venerated place than Mashhad 'Alī. By whom the shrine was first built is not mentioned, but in the 3rd (9th) century some monument must have existed here, for in the year 236 (850) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shî'ahs by ordering the shrine of Husayn to be destroyed by flooding the place with water, also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. Mustawfi adds, when describing the palaces at Sâmarrâ, that this iniquity on the part of Mutawakkil was requited to him, in that none of the buildings he began at Sâmarrâ could ever be completed, but soon fell to the same state of ruin in which

¹ Ist. 82. I. H. 163. Muk. 130. Ibn-al-Athir, ix. 13, 42, 169, 394; x. 103. Mst. 134. Yak. iv. 760. I. B. i. 414-416.

the wicked Caliph had left the tomb of Ḥusayn. How long the place remained a ruin is not stated, but 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979) built a magnificent shrine here, doubtless an enlargement of the building noticed incidentally by the geographers Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawkal who wrote a little before this date.

In 407 (1016) the dome at Mashhad Husayn was burnt down, but must have been shortly afterwards restored, for the place was visited by Malik Shah in 479 (1086), when he went hunting in these districts. Yākût unfortunately gives no description of the shrines at Karbalâ, merely mentioning incidentally that the name Al-Hâir, meaning 'a garden pool,' was commonly given to the enclosure round the tomb of Husayn Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century speaks of the little town that had grown up round the shrine as being some 2400 paces in circuit, and his contemporary Ibn Batútah describes the fine college (Madrasah) which he visited here. The Holy Theshold of the actual tomb, which the pilgrims kissed on entry, was he says of solid silver; the shrine was lighted by numerous gold and silver lamps, and the doorways were closed by silken curtains. Ibn Batûtah adds that the little town was then mostly a ruin, from the ceaseless fighting of rival factions among its inhabitants, but it stood among many groves of date palms, well watered by canals coming from the Euphrates'.

When describing 'Irâk in the 3rd (9th) century, Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah state that the province was then divided into twelve districts called Astân, each containing a varying number of sub-districts, called Tassûj, and of these latter the total number was sixty. This division, which probably in its origin was made for fiscal purposes, is repeated in part by Mukaddasi in the following century, and it will be worth while to enumerate the twelve Astâns, giving at the same time the best known of their sub-districts or Tassûj. The list is divided into three groups according to the irrigation channels, and whence the water was taken.

The first group of four districts consists of those lying on the east side of the Tigris, and watered from that river and from the Tâmarrâ. These were (1) the Astân of Shâd Fîrûz or Ḥulwān

¹ Ist. 85. I. H. 166. Muk. 130. Yak. ii. 189. Mst. 134, 139. I. h. ii. 99. Ibn-al-Athir, vii. 36; viii. 518; ix. 109; x. 103.

(otherwise Shadh Fayrûz) comprising the sub-districts of Tamarra, and Khânikîn, with three others; five in all: (2) the Shâd Hurmuz district, round Baghdad, with the sub-districts of Nahr Bûk, of Kalwadha and Nahr Bin, of Al-Madinah-al-'Atikah (otherwise Madâin), of Upper and of Lower Râdhân, with two others; seven in all: (3) the Shadh Kubadh district, with the sub-districts of Jalûla, of Bandanijin, of Baráz-ar-Rûz, and of Daskarah, with four others, making a total of eight. Of these two last districts this is the nomenclature given by Ibn Khurdadbih; Kudamah on the contrary transposes the names, making the Astan of Shadh Kubådh the Baghdåd district, and giving Khusraw Shådh Hurmuz as the name of the Jalûlâ Tassûj with its seven neighbours. The last Astân to the east of the Tigris was (4) the district of Bâzijân Khusraw, otherwise of Nahrawân, which Kudamah names Arandin Kird, and this comprised five subdistricts, to wit: Upper, Middle, and Lower Nahrawan (with Iskaf of the Bani Junayd and Jarjarâyâ), next the Bâdarâyâ Tassûj, and lastly Bákusáyá.

The next group of two districts was of those watered partly from the Tigris, partly from the Euphrates; it consisted of (5) the Astân of Kaskar, otherwise called Shâdh Sâbûr, with four sub-districts lying round Wâsit; and (6) the Astân of Shâdh Bahman, or the Kûrah Dijlah, on the Lower Tigris, with four sub-districts, Maysân and Dasti-Maysân being two of them, the latter lying round Ubullah.

The remaining six districts all lay to the west of the Tigris, and were watered by the old Dujayl canal previously mentioned and by the great canals flowing eastward from the Euphrates to the Tigris. The first of these was: (7) Astân-al-A'lâ, 'the Upper District,' with the four sub-districts lying along the Nahr 'Îsâ, namely Fîrûz Sâbûr or Al-Anbâr, Maskin, Katrabbul, and Bâdûrayâ. Next below came: (8) the Astân of Ardashir Bâbgân, lying along the Kûthâ canal and the Nil, with the sub-districts of Bahurasîr and Rûmakân opposite Madâin, of Kûthâ, and of the two canals called Nahr Jawbar and Nahr Durkît. To the east of this was: (9) the district of the Zâb canals, called the Astân of Bih Dhîvmâsufân, comprising the sub-districts of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Zâb canals.

The last three districts were those respectively of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bih Kubadh, and of these the first (10) Upper Bih Kubâdh comprised six sub-districts, namely, Bâbil (the ruins round Babylon), Upper and Lower Al-Fallûjah, with two others, and the Tassûj of 'Ayn-at-Tamr some distance to the west of the Euphrates. The Astân (11) of Middle Bih Kubâdh included four sub-districts, to wit, those of the Badât canal, of Sûrâ with Barbîsamâ, of Bârûsamâ, and of Nahr-al-Malik. Finally (12) Lower Bih Kubadh comprised five sub-districts, all of which apparently lay adjacent to the lower course of the Euphrates where it entered the Great Swamp. The names in these lists show clearly that we have here the division of the country which the Arabs took over from the Sassanians; Ardashîr Bâbgân was the founder of the dynasty: Shad Firûz or Shadh Fayrûz means 'glorious fortune' in Persian. Bih Kubadh is 'the Goodness, or good land, of King Kubådh,' and the 'Glory' (Shådh) of Hurmuz, of Kubådh, of Shåpûr, and of Bahman recall the names of four of the most famous kings of Persia'.

The trade of 'Irâk consisted of imports rather than of exports, the capital province consuming the products of the outlying regions. Mukaddasi, however, gives a list of commodities and manufactures for which several cities were famous, and this though not very full is worth examining.

The markets of Baghdad were noted for all kinds of curious wares brought together here from foreign lands. Its manufactures were coloured silks—the famous 'Attabi or 'Tabby' silk in particular, named after one of its quarters—fine strong cloth, curtains and veils, stuffs for turbans, napkins of all sorts, and mats woven of reeds. In Başrah many stuffs were manufactured of raw silk and its markets were famous for the jewellers, who sold all manner of curiosities; further Başrah was the chief emporium for various ores and minerals, antimony, cinnabar, Mars-saffron, litharge and many others being mentioned. There were also exported dates, henna-dye and raw silk, as well as rose-water and essence of violets: while at Ubullah excellent linen was woven. Kûfah was famous for its dates, for its essence of violets, and for raw-silk stuffs of which turbans were made; Wasit exported lupins and

¹ I. K. 5-8. Kud. 235, 236. Muk. 133.

dried fish called .Shîm; finally Nu'mâniyah manufactured much cloth, and was famous for all sorts of woollen stuffs'.

As explained in the introductory chapter, the central point of the system of high roads during the Abbasid Caliphate naturally was Baghdad; whence five main roads—to Baṣrah, Kûfah, Anbâr, Takrît and Hulwân—set forth, communicating ultimately with the outposts of the empire.

The easiest route to Basrah from Baghdad was naturally by boat down the Tigris, and this, noting all the towns passed to right and left on the river bank, is given in much detail by both Ibn Rustah and Ya'kûbî. Down as far as Al-Katr the Tigris main channel was followed, then came the Great Swamp through which boats passed threading the lagoons (Hawl, see above, p. 42). The Abu-l-Asad canal led out to the head of the Tigris estuary, and from this Basrah was reached by the Nahr Ma'kil. The Ubullah canal led back to the estuary, and was followed by those bound for 'Abbadan and the Persian Gulf. 'The way by land from Baghdåd to Wåsit, which went down the eastern side of the Tigris through Madain, is also given by Ibn Rustah, and this enables the towns on the river bank to be set down on the map, for the distances are stated in farsakhs (leagues); Kudâmah also gives this route in detail, and in one or two cases where lacunæ occur they can generally be filled up from Abu-l-Fidå. The road from Wasit to Başrah by land, along the northern edge of the Great Swamp, is given by Kudâmah, and this too is the way by which Ibn Batûtah travelled in the 8th (14th) century. Ibn Rustah and Kudâmah likewise give the road from Wasit, eastward, to Ahwaz the capital of Khuzistan; and from the stage at Badhbin, one march east of Wasit on this road, a bifurcation went north-east to Tib, from which Sûs (Susa) in Khûzistân was reached .

The Pilgrim road, going south from Baghdad to Kûfah, left the Round City by the Kûfah Gate and passed through the Karkh quarter to Şarşar, and thence on to Kaşr Ibn Hubayrah. Beyond this it crossed the eastern arm of the Euphrates (the present main

¹ Muk. 128

^{2 1.} R. 184, 186—188. Ykb. 320. Kud. 193, 225, 226. Mst. 195. A. F. 305. I. B. ii. 8.

channel) called in the 4th (10th) century the Nahr Sûrâ, at the Sûrâ bridge of boats, and thence came down to Kufah, opposite to which the western arm of the Euphrates was crossed by the bridge of boats which led to the eastern suburbs of the city. From Kûfah the Pilgrim road went south-west to Kådisiyah, where it entered the Arabian desert. This road is given by all the earlier geographers, and in much detail by Ibn Rustah, who for some parts of the way from Baghdad to Kufah gives alternative routes, with the distances in miles and in leagues. After the beginning of the 6th (12th) century Kasr Ibn Hubayrah, the half-way stage between Baghdad and Kufah, fell to ruin; Hillah taking its place (see p. 71) to which the high road went down from Sarsar by Farashah. At Hillah the eastern arm of the Euphrates was crossed by a great bridge of boats similar to that which had formerly existed at Sûrâ. This is the route followed by Ibn Jubayr and all later travellers. From Kûfah to Basrah along the southern border of the Great Swamp was reckoned as 80 or 85 leagues, and this road, which branches to the left at the second desert stage south of Kådistyah, is described by Ibn Rustah and Ibn Khurdâdbih'.

As already said, two Pilgrim roads crossed the deserts of Arabia going from Mesopotamia to the Hijâz, one starting from Kûfah, the other from Baṣrah, and they came together at the stage of Dhât 'Irk, which was two days march north-east of Mecca. These two famous Pilgrim ways are described stage by stage, and the half-stage is also given, where the caravan halted for supper (Al-Muta'ashshā), with the number of miles between each halt carefully noted, in the Road Books of the 3rd (9th) century and by Mukaddasî. The road from Kûfah passed through Fayd,

¹ I. R. 174, 175, 180, 182. Ykb. 308. I. K. 125, 145. Kud. 185. A. F. 303. I. J. 214—219. Mst. 193. Mukaddasi (p. 252) estimates the distance from Başrah to Kûfah along the edge of the desert at ten long marches (Marhalah), and at the shortest reckoning it is over 250 miles. It is famous in history for having been traversed in a night and a day by a certain Bilâl ibn Abi Burdah, riding swift dromedaries (Jammázah), he having an urgent affair with Khâlid-al-Kasrl at Kûfah, in the year 120 (738), during the reign of the Omayyad Caliph Hishâm. Tabari, ii. 1627. (It will be remembered how Dick Turpin rode from London to York, 200 odd miles, in 18 hours: the rate is about the same.)

which lay a short distance south of Hâyil, the present chief town of Jabal Shammâr. The Başrah road went by Dariyah, the older capital of what later became the Wahhâbî kingdom, the ruins of which town still exist a few miles to the west of Ar-Riyâd, the present chief town of Najd. From both the Kûfah and the Başrah Pilgrim ways there were branch roads, bifurcating to the right, leading direct to Medina.

From Baghdåd at the Kûfah Gate of the Round City a second high road branched westward, and going first to Muḥawwal kept along the bank of the 'Îsâ canal to Anbâr on the Euphrates, whence following up stream it passed Hadîthah, the last town in 'Îrâk, and reached 'Ânah în Jazîrah. This is the first part of one of the roads (namely, by the Euphrates) going from Baghdâd to Syria, and it is given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah. The other road to Syria goes north along the Tigris by Mosul, and as far as Takrît lies in the 'Îrâk province. This, which was the post-road, left the Baradân Gate of East Baghdâd and keeping up the left bank of the river through 'Ukbarâ and Sâmarrâ came to Takrît. It was here joined by the caravan road which, leaving the

The Kafah road to Mecca and Medina is given in I. K. 125. Kud. 185. I. R. 175. Ykb. 311. Muk. 107, 251. The Basrah road is given in I. K. 146. Kud. 190. I. R. 180, 182. Muk. 109, 251. It is worth noting that the older chief town of Najd is invariably written Darlyah (with initial DAd) by the Arab geographers. Hajji Khalfah is the first (J. N. 327) to give the modern pronunciation and spelling Dara'lyah (with initial Dal and an 'Ayn) though once or twice and in the Itinerary (J. N. 527, 543) he writes Darlyah or Hisn Darlyah. The geography of the Hijaz, and of Arabia in general lying north of the Dahna or Great Desert, has been fully worked out (from Arabic sources) by Professor F. Wüstenfeld, in a series of articles published in the Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, These papers are provided with maps by Kiepert, and are well indexed; they include the following, of which I give the names in full, as they do not appear to be well known to English geographers. Die von Medina auslanfenden Hauptstrassen (vol. X1, 1862): Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der Arabischen Stämme (vol. XIV, 1869): Die Strasse von Basra nach Mekka mit der Landschaft Dharija (vol. XVI, 1871): Das Gebiet von Medina (vol. XVIII. 1873), which gives the Kufah-Mecca Pilgrim road: Bahrein und Jemama (vol. XIX, 1874): lastly, Geschichte der Stadt Medina (vol. IX, 1860, and published separately), also vol. IV of Chroniken der Stadt Mekka (Leipzig, 1861) which contains a summary (in German) of the history of Mecca, with topographical notes.

Harbîyah quarter in West Baghdåd, went up the Dujayl canal to Harbâ, and thence by the palace grounds opposite Sâmarrâ passed along the Ishâkî canal to Takrît. This last is the road followed by Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baţûţah¹.

Finally from the Khurasan Gate of East Baghdad started the great Khurasan road which, crossing Persia, went, as already said, through Transoxiana, ultimately reaching the borders of China. This road is described in great detail, stage by stage, by Ibn Rustah; and almost all the other geographers give the distances along the various portions of this great highway, which is thus one of the best known to us of all the trunk roads.

2 1. R. 163. Ykb. 169. I. K. 18. Kud. 197. Muk. 135. Mst. 193.

¹ I. K. 72, 93. Kud. 214, 216, 217. Muk. 134. L. J. 232. I. B. ii. 132. Mst. 195.

CHAPTER VI.

JAZÎRAH.

The three districts. The district of Diyâr Rabî'ah. Mosul, Nineveh, and the neighbouring towns. Great Zâb, Ḥadīthah, and Irbil. Little Zâb, Sinn, and Dakûk. The Lesser Khâbûr, Ḥasaniyah, and 'Imâdiyah. Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar and Mount Jūdī. Naṣībln and Râs-al-'Ayn. Mârdìn and Dunaysir. The Hirmâs and the Khâbûr. 'Arabân and the Tharthâr river. Sinjâr and Ḥaḍr. Balad and Adhramah.

As already explained the Arabs named Upper Mesopotamia Al-Jazîrah, 'the Island' or 'Peninsula,' for its plains lay encompassed by the upper courses of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The province was generally divided into three districts called Diyâr Rabî'ah, Diyâr Mudar, and Diyâr Bakr, after the Arab tribes of Rabi'ah, Mudar, and Bakr respectively, who, in pre-Islamic days, had settled here under Sassanian rule, each receiving its appointed Dar (plural Diyar) or 'Habitation' to which the tribe had subsequently given its name. Of Diyar Rabî'ah, Mosul on the Tigris was the chief town; of the district Divar Mudar, Rakkah on the Euphrates was the capital; while Åmid on the upper course of the Tigris was the chief city of Diyar Bakr, the northernmost of the three districts. Mukaddasi, on the other hand, describes the Jazirah province under the name of Iklim Akûr, 'the Akur Region'; the origin of the name is not clear, but Akur would appear to have been the proper name at one time of the great plain of northern Mesopotamia.

A reference to the map shows that in Upper Mesopotamia the rivers Tigris and Euphrates receive their affluents almost exclusively on their left bank, that is flowing from the northeast or north. During the period of the middle-ages an exception





PROVINCES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, WITH JAZIRAH AND ADHARBAYJAN

occurs to this rule, namely in the drainage of the affluent of the (greater) Khâbûr, the Hirmâs river from Nasîbîn. Just above its point of junction, the Hirmas was dammed back at Sukayr-al-'Abbås, and while a moiety passed on to join the Khåbûr which went to the Euphrates at Karkîsiyâ, the main stream of the Hirmâs flowed into the Tigris on its right bank at Takrit by the channel called the Nahr-ath-Tharthar. Further, it will be seen that the limits of the three districts are determined by the water parting. Divar Bakr was the country watered by the Tigris from its source to the great bend south made by the river below Tall (the Hill of) Fâfân, with the land to the northward traversed by the numerous affluents of the Tigris which join its left bank west of Tall Fáfán. To the south-west, Diyar Mudar comprised all the lands along the Euphrates from Sumaysat, where it left the mountain gorges, down to 'Anah, with the plains watered by its affluent the river Balikh, coming from Harran. Lastly Diyar Rabî'ah was the district east of Mudar; namely, of the (greater) Khabûr coming from Rås-al-'Ayn, with the Hirmas which, as we have seen, flowed eastward by the Tharthar to the Tigris, also the lands on both banks of the Tigris from Tall Fafan down to Takrit, namely those westward to Nasibin, and those eastward which included the plains watered by the Lower and Upper Zab and the Lesser Khābûr river.

Mosul (Al-Mawşil), the chief city of Diyâr Rabî'ah, stands on the western bank of the Tigris at the point where a series of loops in the river coalesce to form a single main stream, and Al-Mawşil, meaning 'the confluence,' is said to take its name from this fact. In Sassanian times the city which existed here was called Būdh Ardashîr. Under the Omayyads Mosul rose to importance, a bridge of boats was set across the Tigris, connecting the city on the western side with the ruins of Nineveh on the east bank, and Mosul became the capital of the Jazîrah province under Marwân II, the last of the Omayyad Caliphs, who also built here what afterwards came to be known as the Old Mosque'.

Ibn Hawkal who was at Mosul in 358 (969) describes it as a

Muk. 136-138. I. K. 17. Yak. iv. 682-684. Mar. i. 84. Yâkût gives the old Persian name of Mosul as Bawardashîr or Nawardashîr, but the latter form is undoubtedly a clerical error.

fine town with excellent markets, surrounded by fertile districts of which the most celebrated was that round Nînaway (Nineveh) where the prophet Yunis (Jonah) was buried. In the 4th (roth) century the population consisted chiefly of Kurds, and the numerous districts round Mosul, occupying all Diyar Rabi'ah, are carefully enumerated by Ibn Hawkal. Mukaddasi praises the numerous excellent hostelries of Mosul, and the town, he says, was extraordinarily well built, being in plan a semicircle, and about a third the size of Başrah. Its castle was named Al-Murabba'ah (the Square) and it stood on the affluent called the Nahr Zubaydah; within its precincts was held the Wednesday Market (Sûk-al-Arba'â) by which name also the castle was sometimes known. The Friday Mosque (that of Marwan II) stood a bowshot from the Tigris, on a height to which steps led up. The roof of this building was vaulted in stone, and it had no doors to close the doorways going from the main building of the mosque into its court. The market streets of Mosul were for the most part roofed over, eight of the chief thoroughfares are named by Mukaddasi, and the houses of the town stretched for a considerable distance along the Tigris bank. Mukaddasî adds that formerly Mosul had borne the name of Khawlân: and that the Kasr-al-Khalifah, 'the Palace of the Caliph,' stood on the opposite bank of the river, half a league from the town, overlooking Nineveh. This palace had of old been protected by strong ramparts, which the winds had overthrown, and the ruins, through which flowed the stream called the Nahr-al-Khawsar, were when Mukaddasi wrote occupied by fields.

In the year 580 (1184) Mosul was visited and described by Ibn Jubayr. Shortly before this date the famous Nûr-ad-Dîn, under whose banner Saladin began his career, had built the new Friday Mosque in the market place, but the old mosque of Marwân II still stood on the river bank, with its beautifully ornamented oratory and iron window-gratings. In the upper town was the great fortress, and the town walls with towers at intervals extended down to and along the river bank, a broad street connecting upper with lower Mosul. Beyond the walls were extensive suburbs with many small mosques, hostelries, and bath houses. The Māristân (or hospital) was famous, also the great

market buildings called the Kaysanyah', and there were also numerous colleges here. Kazwini gives a list of the various Dayrs or Christian convents which were found in the vicinity of Mosul, and he notes especially the deep ditch and high walls of the Mosul fortress. All round the town were numerous gardens irrigated, he says, by waterwheels.

In regard to the Nineveh mounds, these were known from the time of Mukaddasî as the Tall-at-Tawbah, 'the Hill of Repentance,' where the prophet Yunis, Jonah, had sought to convert the people of Nineveh. The spot was marked by a mosque, round which, Mukaddasi adds, were houses for pilgrims, built by Nåsir-ad-Dawlah the Hamdånid prince, and half a league distant was a celebrated healing spring called 'Ayn Yûnis after the prophet Jonah, with a mosque adjacent, and here might be seen the Shajarah-al-Yaktin, namely 'the Tree of the Gourd' planted by the prophet himself. Yakût adds that most of the houses of Mosul were built of limestone or marble, with vaulted roofs, and that in the city might be seen the tomb of the prophet Juris, or St George. In the 8th (14th) century Ibn Batutah passed through Mosul, which he describes as protected by a double wall and many high towers, 'like those of Dehlî.' The fortress was then known as Al-Hadbâ, 'the Hump-backed,' and in the new Friday Mosque (that of Nûr-ad-Dîn) was an octagonal marble basin with a fountain in its midst throwing up a jet of water a fathom high. A third Friday Mosque had recently been built overlooking the Tigris, and this is probably the building praised by Mustawfi, who says that the stone sculptured ornamentation of its oratory was so intricate that it might stand for wood-carving. In his day the circuit of Mosul measured a thousand paces, and he refers to the famous shrine of Jonah (Mashhad Yūnis) on the opposite bank of the Tigris, lying among the ruins of Ninevehs.

² I. H. 143—145. Muk. 138, 139, 146. I. J. 236—238. Yak. iv. 684. I. B. ii. 135. Kaz. ii. 247, 309. Mst. 165, 167.

The Arabs, more especially those of the west, called the great buildings of a market, often used as a hostelry or caravanserai, Al-Kayşariyah, or Kaysariyah, a term which they must have derived from the Greeks, though Kacoapeia does not occur, apparently, in the Byzantine historians, as applied to the Cæsarian, or royal market of a town. In any case the word seems hardly likely to have been taken by the Moslems from the name of the Cæsarion, the famous quarter of Alexandria; though this explanation is the one often given.

A few miles to the east of Mosul lie the two small towns of Bartalla and Karmalis, which are mentioned by Yakut and Mustawfi, and Bâ'ashîkâ is somewhat to the north of these, all three being of the dependencies of Mosul. Mukaddasi mentions Bâ'ashikâ as noted for yielding a plant that cured scrofula and hæmorrhoids. It was a small town, Yakût adds, with a stream that worked many mills and irrigated its orchards, where olives, dates, and oranges grew abundantly. There was a large market here or Kaysariyah, with excellent bath houses. The Friday Mosque had a fine minaret, though in the 7th (13th) century most of the population were Christians. Bartalla lying a few miles south of Bâ'ashikâ was likewise counted as of the Nineveh district. It was, Yâkût says, a place of great trade, mostly inhabited by Christians, though there was a fine mosque here, and many Moslems made the town their abode. The lettuces and greens of Bartalla were proverbial for their excellence, and Mustawfi praises its cotton crops. Karmalis, some miles further to the south again, had also a fine market according to Yakût, being a large village almost the size of a town, and much frequented by merchants. Mâr Juhaynah, or Marj (the meadow of) Juhaynah, was also near these places, but on the Tigris bank, being the first stage on the road from Mosul south to Baghdad. Mukaddasí describes it as having many pigeon towers. Its castle was strongly built of mortared stone, and a Friday Mosque stood in the midst of the town.

Between Mosul and Takrit the Tigris received, on its eastern bank, the waters of the two Zâbs, the one flowing in about a hundred miles above the other; and Ibn Hawkal praises the magnificent fields occupying the broad lands lying between the two rivers. The upper or Greater Zâb rose in the mountains between Armenia and Adharbâyjân, and joined the Tigris at Hadithah. The lower or Lesser Zâb, called also Majnûn, 'the Mad River,' from its impetuous current, flowed down from the Shahrazûr country, and came into the Tigris at Sinn. The country from which the Great Zâb flows is that known as Mushtakahar and Bâbghîsh according to Yâkût, and its waters at first were red in colour, but afterwards ran clear. Al-Hadithah, 'the New Town,' which stood a league above its junction with the Tigris (called Hadithah of Mosul, to distinguish it from Hadithah

on the Euphrates already mentioned, p. 64), had been rebuilt by the last Omayyad Caliph, Marwân II, on a height overlooking the swampy plain; it was surrounded by famous hunting grounds, and had many gardens. The town was built in a semicircle, steps led up to it from the Tigris, and the Friday Mosque which was constructed of stone overlooked the river. Under the Sassanians the town was known as Nawkird, meaning in Persian likewise 'new town,' and before the rise of Mosul this had been the capital of the province'.

The town of As-Sinn (the Tooth) lying one mile below the junction of the Lower Zab according to Mas'udi, but above it with the Lesser Zab flowing to the east according to Mukaddasi, was in the middle-ages chiefly inhabited by Christians, and Yakût says there were many churches here. It was known as Sinn of Bârimmâ, to distinguish it from other towns of this name, the Bårimmå chain of hills being cut through by the Tigris near this point. Sinn had in its market place a Friday Mosque, built of stone, and was surrounded by a wall. To the east of it, four leagues higher up the bank of the Lesser Zab, stood the town of Bawazîi (Madînat-al-Bawazii as Ibn Hawkal gives the name) which however appears at the present day to have left no trace on the map. This also is the case with both Sinn and Hadithah, and may be explained by the lower courses of both the Zábs having much changed since the 4th (10th) century. Yakût refers to the town as Bawazij-al-Malik, 'of the King,' and in the 8th (14th) century it still existed, for Mustawfi describes it as paying 14,000 dînârs to the treasury of the Îl-Khâns.

South of Sinn the post-road to Sâmarrâ and Baghdâd kept along the left bank of the Tigris, passing first Bârimmâ, a hamlet lying under the hills of this name otherwise known as the Jabal Humrîn, then coming to As-Sûdakâniyah, and finally reaching Jabiltâ (or Jabultâ) which appears to have been a mint city in 304 (916) lying on the east bank of the Tigris a little to the northward of Takrît. None of these small towns now appear on the map, but their positions are given very exactly in the Itineraries.

¹ Ist. 75. I. H. 147, 155. Muk. 139, 146. Yak. i. 446, 472, 567; ii. 168, 222, 552, 902; iv. 267. Mst. 165, 166, 214.

Rather more than a hundred miles due east of Sinn lies the town of Dakûkâ or Dakûk-the name is generally written Taûk or Tawûk in 'Alî of Yazd, as at the present day-which is frequently mentioned by Yakût and the later geographers. Mustawfi speaks of the river of Dakûk (as he spells the name) which, rising in the Kurdistân mountains near Darband-i-Khalîfah (the Caliph's Pass), flowed out below the town of Dakuk into the sandy plain, where, according to Mustawfi, there were most dangerous quicksands which swallowed up those who attempted to cross over. In flood time, he says, the Dakûk river reached the Tigris, and its lower course is the stream now known as the Nahr-al-A'zam (the Great River); but in early times when the Nahrawan canal existed in its entirety, the spring floods of the Dakûk river must have flowed into this. Mustawfi describes the town of Dakûk as of medium size; it had a more healthy climate than that of Baghdad, and near it were found naphtha springs. It is to be remarked that the place is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers'.

Irbil, the ancient Arbela, lay in the plain between the Greater and Lesser Zâb, and is described by Yâkût as a town much frequented by merchants. The castle, which crowned a hill, had a deep ditch and was in part enclosed by the town wall. A great market was held here, and the mosque, called Masjid-al-Kaff, 'of the Hand,' was celebrated for the mark of a man's palm on one of its stones. In the 7th (13th) century the market buildings had recently been restored, and great suburbs stretched beyond the city wall. Mustawfi praises the excellent crops, especially of cotton, that were produced by its lands. To the north of Mosul the city of 'Imâdiyah, near the head waters of the Upper Zâb, according to Mustawfi derived its name from its founder the Daylamite prince 'Imâd-ad-Dawlah who died in 338 (949). Other

Ist. 75. I. H. 153. Mas. Tanbih 53. Kud. 114. Muk. 123. Yak. i. 464, 750; ii. 581; iii. 169. Mst. 139, 165, 220. A. Y. i. 660. Karkük, not given by Yāķūt or the earlier geographers, is mentioned by 'Alf of Yazd (i. 661) as near Tāūk. In regard to Jabiltā, or Jabultā, on the Tigris opposite Takrīt, it is to be remarked that this name has often been misread Ḥabiltā (e.g. Muk. 135: the letters Ḥ and J being identical in Arabic script except for a diacritical point). The initial letter however is certainly J, for in Syriac the name frequently occurs under the form Gebhiltā, and in this script G and Ḥ do not resemble one another.

authorities, however, ascribe 'Imâdiyah, or at any rate the restoration of that town in 537 (1142), to 'Imâd-ad-Dîn Zangi, father of that famous prince of Upper Mesopotamia, Nûr-ad-Dîn, under whom Saladin began his career. Yâkût reports that of old a castle had existed here held by the Kurds, and known under the name of Åshib. Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century describes 'Imâdîyah as a town of considerable size.

In the neighbouring mountains were the head waters of the river Khâbûr-al-Ḥasanîyah, which flowed into the Tigris just north of the town of Faysâbûr, about 150 miles above Mosul. This river (not to be confounded with the Khâbûr of Râs-al-'Ayn) rose according to Yâkût in the district of Az-Zawzân, and at the town of Al-Ḥasanîyah it was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge, the remains of which still exist near the hamlet of Ḥasan Aghâ, which probably represents the older town. Ḥasaniyah, where there was a Friday Mosque, is described by Mukaddasî as a place of some importance, and one stage to the south of it on the road to Mosul was the small town of Ma'alathâyâ, where there was a Friday Mosque on a hill, the place being completely surrounded by gardens'.

To the north of Faysåbûr is the important town of the Jazîrah (the Island), called Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar for distinction, after a certain Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Omar of the tribe of Taghlîb, its founder; and the Tigris, as Yâkût explains, went half round the city in a semicircle, while a ditch filled with water on the land side made it an island. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Jazîrah as a walled town, whither the products of Armenia were brought for sale: its cheese and honey were famous. Its houses were of stone, and Mukaddasî adds that the mud at Jazîrah in winter time was phenomenal. Ibn Batûtah who was here in the 8th (14th) century found it much ruined. The old mosque, however, stood in the market place, and the town wall, built of stone, still existed. Mustawfî adds that over a hundred villages were of its dependencies. Opposite Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar, on the west bank of the Tigris, was Bâzabdâ of the Bâkirdâ district, this representing the well-known

¹ Muk. 139. Kar. il. 192. Yak. i. 186; ii. 384; iii. 717, 931. Mst. 165, 166.

Roman fortress of Bezabda, but no description is given of the place.

From Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar Jabal Júdî was visible to the eastward, with the Mosque of Noah on its summit, and Kariyat-ath-Thamanin (the Village of the Eighty) at the foot of the mountain. The Kuran (ch. xi. v. 46) states that 'the Ark rested upon Al-Jadi,' which Moslem tradition identifies with this mountain in Upper Mesopotamia, and eighty of the companions of Noah are said to have built the village of Thamanin named after their number. Mukaddasî describes Thamanin in the 4th (10th) century as a fairsized city, and it lay one march to the north of Al-Hasaniyah; Mustawfi who calls it Sûk-Thamanin-'the Market of the Eighty'says that in his day it had fallen to ruin. Various affluents entered the Tigris on its left bank near Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar, and these are enumerated by Yâkût, namely, the Yarnâ (or Yarnî) and the Bâ'aynâthâ (or Bâsânfâ as Ibn Serapion calls it), with a large village of the same name, above Jazîrah. Below this town, but to the north of the Khâbûr-al-Hasanîyah, and flowing down from the country of Az-Zawzán were the Al-Bûyâr and Dûshâ rivers'.

On the western side of the Tigris, in the latitude of Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar, is the hilly district of Tûr 'Abdîn, 'the Mountain of (God's) Servants,' peopled by the Jacobites, in which the rivers Hirmâs and the Khâbûr of Naşîbîn have their source.

Naşibîn, the Roman Nisibis, which Yâkût describes as celebrated for its white roses and its forty thousand gardens, stood on the upper waters of the Hirmâs river, called by the Greek geographers the Saocoras or Mygdonius, and it is still one of the most important towns of Upper Mesopotamia. Ibn Hawkal who was there in 358 (969) describes Naṣībīn as the finest town of the Jazīrah province, and its neighbourhood produced the best barley and wheat crops. The hill above, from which its water came, was called the Jabal Bâlûsâ, the town was most pleasant to live in, and the only drawback was the fear of scorpions. It was more spacious than Mo-ul, and Mukaddasî praises both its fine baths, and the private houses. The market extended right across from gate to gate, a Friday Mosque stood in its midst, and a strong

¹ Ist. 78. I. H. 152, 153, 157. Muk. 139. I. S. 18. A. F. 55, 275. Yak. i. 466, 472; ii. 79, 144, 552, 957; iv. 1017. I. B. ii. 139. Mst. 165, 166.

fortress built of mortared stone protected the town. Nasîbîn was visited by Ibn Jubayr in 580 (1184), who praises its gardens; in its Friday Mosque were two tanks, and a bridge crossed the river Hirmâs where it flowed by the town; also there was the hospital (Mâristân) and several colleges among other notable buildings. Ibn Baṭūṭah who was here in the 8th (14th) century describes Naṣîbîn as then for the most part in ruins, but its Friday Mosque was still standing with the two great tanks, and the gardens round the city produced the rose-water for which it was so celebrated. Mustawfi, who gives the circuit of the walls as 6500 paces, praises the grapes and other fruits grown here, and its wine, but the dampness of the climate, he says, made Naṣībîn an unhealthy place. He, too, speaks of the excellence of its roses, also the abomination of the scorpions, which were equalled in virulence by the plague of gnats'.

Rås-al-'Ayn, 'the Spring-head,' near the sources of the Khåbûr (the Roman Resaina, on the river Chaboras), was famous for its numerous springs, said to number 360 in all, and their waters made the surrounding country a great garden. Of these springs the 'Ayn-az-Zâhirîyah was supposed to be fathomless, and the stream flowing from this ran into the Khabur, by which pleasureboats are described as travelling down from garden to garden from Rås-al-'Ayn to Karkîsiya on the Euphrates. Rås-al-'Ayn is described by Ibn Hawkal as a walled town, having gardens and many mills within its circuit; and the arable fields stretched for 20 leagues beyond the houses. Mukaddasî describes a small lake at the chief spring, two fathoms deep, but the water so clear that a silver piece could clearly be seen at the bottom. The buildings of Ras-al-'Avn were of stone, well mortared, and Ibn Jubayr who passed through the town in 580 (1184) mentions its two Friday Mosques and the fine colleges and bath houses which stood along the banks of the Khâbûr. In his time the city apparently had no wall, though in the 8th (14th) century this must have been rebuilt, for Mustawfi describes it as 5000 paces in circuit. He adds that cotton, corn, and grapes were grown here abundantly.

¹ I. H. 140, 142, 143. I. S. 12. Muk. 140. I. J. 240. Yak. iii. 559; iv. 787. I. B. ii. 140. Mst. 167.

About half-way between Ras-al-'Ayn and Nasibin, but more to the north, stood the great rock fortress of Mardin, overlooking the city of Dunaysir in the plain below, some three leagues to the south. In the 4th (10th) century the castle of Mardin, called Al-Baz (the Falcon), was the stronghold of the Hamdanid princes. The fortress crowned the hill-top, and on the southern side a suburb was built which by the 6th (12th) century had become very populous. Here there were many markets, some hostelries, and a few colleges, but all the buildings rose one above the other in steps, and the roads were stairs, each house having its cistern for storing rain water. Ibn Batûtah, who visited Mardin in the 8th (14th) century, describes it as a fine town where much woollen stuff was woven. At that time the great fortress was known as Kal'atash-Shahba, 'the Grey Castle,' or Kal'at-i-Kûh, 'the Castle of the Hill.' Mustawfi describes Mardin as amply irrigated by the waters of the Sawr river, which flowed down from a hill of the same name in Tûr 'Abdîn, and this river ultimately joined the Khâbûr; he adds that corn, cotton, and abundant fruit was grown in all the neighbourhood.

Dunaysir, a few leagues distant (variously given as from 2 to 4, but its actual site appears to be unknown), was in the 7th (13th) century a great market town, and it was also known as Kûch Hisar. Yakût writes that when he was a boy, that is to say at the close of the 6th (12th) century, Dunaysir had been merely a large village, but in 623 (1225) it was become a great city, with extensive markets. Ibn Jubayr who had passed through it in 580 (1184) describes it as unwalled, but it was then a meeting place for caravans, and a college had recently been built with numerous bath houses. Dârâ, lying a few miles to the eastward, which had been a great fortress in Roman days, is mentioned as a small town by Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasi describes how each house was supplied with water by an underground channel, these channels ultimately flowing into the tank of the Friday Mosque. The houses were all built, he says, of black stone, and well mortared. The town stood on a hill side, and Yakût states that it was famous for its Mahlab or cherry-stone preserve, the gardens being most fruitful. When Ibn Batûtah passed Dârâ in the 8th (14th) century, however, its fortress had already become an

uninhabited ruin. Kafartûthâ, to the S.W. of Mârdîn and on its own small river, is described by Ibn Ḥawkal as already a town of some importance in the 4th (10th) century, being at the junction of the high road coming down from Âmid. It was at that time a larger place than Dârâ, but in the 7th (13th) century Yâkût refers to it as merely a large village.

The Greater Khâbûr from Râs-al-'Ayn received on its left bank the waters of the Mardin river, and below this again was joined by the Hirmas coming from Nasibin; but the major part of this latter stream, as already said, was diverted at the dam of Sukayr-al-'Abbas, a short distance above the junction with the Khâbûr, into the Tharthar channel. The Khâbûr now bearing the waters of three considerable streams, and-Mustawfi addsfurther swelled by the confluence of 300 rivulets, flowed down south to Karkîsiyâ on the Euphrates, which is the chief town of the Diyar Mudar district and will be described presently. Before coming to this the river ran by the towns of 'Arābān and Måkisîn, which were of the Khâbûr lands and counted of Diyâr Rabî'ah province. 'Arban or 'Araban, the ruins of which still exist, was in the 4th (10th) century a walled town where cotton stuffs were largely manufactured, cotton being grown in the surrounding country along the banks of the Khâbûr. Mukaddasî speaks of 'Arâbân as standing on a high hill and surrounded by gardens. To the south of it, half-way to Karklsiya, was the town of Makisin (or Maykasin) where a bridge of boats crossed the Khâbûr. Much cotton also was grown here, and near it lay the small lake of deep blue water called Al-Munkharik, about a third of an acre in extent and said to be unfathomable.

The source of the Hirmas river is described as at a spring six leagues north of Naşîbîn, where the water was dammed back by a masonry wall, clamped and with leaden joints. This, it was said, the Greeks had built, to preserve Naşîbîn from being flooded, and the Caliph Mutawakkil at one time had commanded that it should be demolished, but finding the water beginning to overflow the city had promptly ordered the restoration of the wall. A hundred

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Baladhuri, 176. Ist. 73, 74. I. H. 143, 149, 152. Muk. 140. I. J.
 242, 244. Kaz. ii. 172. Yak. ii. 516, 612, 733, 911; iii. 435; iv. 287, 390.
 Mst. 166, 205, 219. I. B. ii. 142. A. Y. i. 677.

miles or more south of Naşîbîn was the dam or weir called Sukayr-al-'Abbâs, where in the 4th (10th) century there was a considerable town with a Friday Mosque and markets. This was at the head of the Tharthâr river, which, as already stated, flowed to the Tigris. At the present day its stream is so shrunken in volume that it no longer forms a waterway, and this shrinkage had already begun in the 7th (13th) century when Yâkût wrote, for he reports that though when the rains were plentiful the flood still passed down its channel, in summer the bed was only marked by pools of water and brackish springs. Yâkût had himself travelled along its course, and adds it was reported that in old times boats used to pass down this stream from the Khâbûr to the Tigris; and in those days a succession of villages lined its banks, where, when he wrote, there was only a desert to be seen.

In the plain of Sinjar the river Tharthar cut through the line of hills called the Jabal Humrin, otherwise the Jabal Barimma, and received from the north a small stream which flowed down from the city of Sinjar. This in the 4th (10th) century was a walled town, surrounded by a most fertile district. Mukaddasî describes it as famous for its carpenters; oranges, lemons, and the date palm flourished abundantly here, and a large Friday Mosque stood in the midst of the town. Moslem tradition stated that the Ark first rested on the hill above Sinjar during the Flood; but afterwards, continuing on its course, came finally to rest on Jabal Judi on the east side of the Tigris. Further, Yakût adds that Sinjar was also famous as the birthplace of Sultan Sinjar or Sanjar, the last of the great Saljuks, son of Malik Shah. According to Kazwînî Sinjâr in the 7th (13th) century was remarkable for its bath houses, which had beautiful mosaic floors, and 1bn Batûtah who passed through the place in the 8th (14th) century refers to its fine mosque. The town wall, 3200 paces in circuit, was built according to Mustawfi of mortared stone; most of the houses went step-fashion up the hill slope, and its gardens produced great quantities of grapes. olives, and sumach. Al-Hadr, the Roman Hatra, mentioned by Ibn Serapion, stood lower down the Tharthar, about half-way between Sinjar and where that river joined the Tigris near Takrit. At Hadr are still to be seen the remains of a great Parthian

palace which Yākūt reports to have been built by a certain As-Sāṭirūn of squared stones, and there were many of its chambers whose ceilings and doors were likewise of stone slabs. Originally, he says, there had been sixty great towers, with nine turrets between each tower and its neighbour, while a palace stood over against each tower outside the walls.

The high road from Mosul to Nasibin went up the right bank of the Tigris, and at Balad (corresponding with the place now known as Eski, or Old, Mosul), seven leagues from Mosul, the road bifurcated, the branch to the left hand going to Sinjar by way of Tall A'far. Yakût writes that Balad, where there was an Alid shrine, occupied the site of the old Persian town of Shahrabadh, and that the name of Balad was often written Balat. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century refers to Balad as a considerable city, and Mukaddasi tells us of its houses built of stone, well mortared, its good markets, and its Friday Mosque standing in the centre of the town. The neighbourhood produced sugar-cane and was very fertile. On the solitary hill of Tall A'far, one stage to the west, stood a castle, dominating a large suburb through which ran a stream. The castle was strongly fortified, Yakût says, and the date palm grew in the surrounding district, which was known under the name of Al-Mahlabîyah, from the Mahlab perfume, or preserve, of cherry-stones chiefly made here.

The right-hand road at the bifurcation beyond Balad led to the town of Bâ'aynāthâ which Mukaddasî describes as lying in the midst of twenty-five fertile districts, the richest and pleasantest of all Mesopotamia, as he adds; and this Bâ'aynāthâ must not be confounded with 'the great village like a city' of the same name on the river which joins the Tigris to the north of Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar as mentioned on p. 94. Beyond Bâ'aynāthâ on the road to Naṣībîn came Barka'îd, a place evilly proverbial for the thieving ways of its people, practised against all strangers and their caravans. In the 3rd (9th) century it was a town of considerable size, with three gates, more than two hundred shops, and many

¹ The name of the town is written Sinjär, with the last α long; the name of the Sultan is generally written Sanjar, with both vowels short. I. S. 12, 18. Ist. 73, 74. I. H. 139, 148, 150. Muk. 140, 141. Yak. i. 464, 921; ii. 281; iii. 109, 158; iv. 962. Mst. 166, 219. I. B. ii. 141. Kar. ii. 263.

springs of excellent water. By the 7th (13th) century, however, though some traffic still passed through it, the evil reputation of its people had caused the place to be avoided by respectable travellers and it had fallen to the size of a village.

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Adhramah, rather less than half-way between Barka'id and Nasibin, was a place of about the same size as Barka'id; and its district was called Bayn-an-Nahrayn, 'Betwixt the Streams.' In the 3rd (9th) century it is stated that there had been a fine palace here, and a stone arched bridge crossed its stream. The little town then had double walls, surrounded by a deep ditch. Such at any rate is the description of the place left by the physician of the Caliph Mu'tadid, who passed through it, when in attendance on the latter. In the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi describes Adhramah as a small place standing in the desert near some wells, and there were vaulted buildings round about these'.

¹ Kud. 214. Ist. 73. I. H. 148, 149. Muk. 139, 140. Yak. i. 177, 472, 371, 715, 863. v. 428. Kaz. ii. 204.

CHAPTER VII.

JAZÍRAH (continued).

The district of Diyâr Muḍar. Rakkah and Râfikah. The river Balikh and Harrân, Edessa and Hiṣn-Maslamah. Karklsiyā. The Nahr Sa'ld, Rahbah and Dâliyah. Ruṣāfah of Syria. 'Ânah. Bâlis, Jisr Manbij, and Sumaysât. Sarûj. The district of Diyâr Bakr. Âmid, Hânl, and the source of the Tigris. Mayyāfarlkīn and Arzan. Hiṣn Kayfā and Tall Fâfan. Sâ'irt.

The district of Diyâr Mudar, as already explained, lay along the banks of the Euphrates, and the chief town was Ar-Rakkah situated just above where the river Balikh, coming down from the north, flows into the Euphrates. The site is that of the old Greek city of Callinicus or Nicephorium, for the Arab name Ar-Rakkah is merely descriptive; Rakkah being the term for the swampy land beside a river subject to periodical inundation, and as such Ar-Rakkah, 'the Morass,' is found elsewhere as a place-name, this particular Rakkah receiving the surname of As-Sawdâ, 'the Black,' for distinction.

In the 2nd (8th) century when the Abbasids had succeeded to the Caliphate, Rakkah, one of the chief cities of Upper Mesopotamia commanding the Syrian frontier, had to be secured, and for this purpose the Caliph Mansûr in 155 (772) proceeded to build some 300 ells distant from Rakkah the town of Ar-Rafikah (the Companion or Fellow), which was garrisoned by Khurasan troops entirely devoted to the new dynasty. Rafikah is said to have been laid out on the plan of Baghdad, and was a round city. Harûn-ar-Rashid added to the town and built himself a palace here called the Kasr-as-Salam (the Palace of Peace), for he at times resided in Rakkah, or Rafikah, when the climate of

Baghdad was too hot. Soon the older town of Rakkah fell to ruin, new buildings covered all the intervening space, enclosing 'the Morass,' now a shallow lake, lying between Rakkah and Rāfiķah, and the name of Rakkah passed to Rāfiķah, which last, once the suburb, took the place of the older city, and lost its name in the process. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century, however, speaks of the twin cities of Rakkah and Rafikah, each with its own Friday Mosque, and he especially mentions the magnificent trees which surrounded the towns. Mukaddasî describes only one town, namely Rakkah, as strongly fortified and having two gates; its markets were excellent and well supplied from the neighbouring villages; much traffic also centred here, and from the olive oil produced in the neighbourhood soap was manufactured. The Friday Mosque was, he says, a fine building standing in the Clothiers' market, and each of the great houses at Rakkah had its terraced roof. There were also excellent baths. Near by were the ruins of the old town, then known as Ar-Rakkah-al-Muhtarikah, 'Burnt Rakkah.' Mustawfi on the other hand speaks of Râfikah as still the name of a suburb, with its Friday Mosque standing in the Goldsmiths' market. Round this suburb grew mulberry and jujube trees, and a mosque stood near, overhanging the Euphrates bank.

On the right bank of the Euphrates opposite and above Rakkah was the celebrated plain of Siffin, which had been the battlefield between the partizans of the two Caliphs Mu'awiyah and 'Ali. 'The Martyrs,' as the Shi'ahs called those who had fallen in the cause of 'Ali, had their shrines here, and Ibn Hawkal, whose narrative is extended by Mustawfi, relates how miraculously, from afar off, each buried martyr was quite visible lying in his shroud underground, though, on coming up to the actual spot, no body could be perceived. Opposite the battlefield of Siffin on the north (left) bank of the Euphrates stands the fortress known as Kal'at Ja'bar, after its early possessor, an Arab of the Bani Numayr. Originally this castle had been called Dawsar. It is frequently mentioned in the later history of the Caliphate, and in the year 497 (1104) was taken possession of by the Franks from Edessa, during the time of the first Crusade. On its left bank below Rakkah the Euphrates receives the river Al-Ballkh.

which the Greeks knew as the Bilecha. Its source was at a spring called the 'Ayn-adh-Dhahbaniyah lying to the north of Harrân. The name of this spring is given variously by our authorities as Ad-Dahmanah or Adh-Dhahbanah, and Mustawsi (in Persian) writes of the Chashmah Dahanah'.

The Balikh took its course south and joined the Euphrates below Rakkah, passing by a number of important towns which were irrigated from it or from its tributaries. Harran (the ancient Carrhæ) near its source was famous as the home of the Sabians (not identical with the Sabæans, but often confounded with them) who professed to hold the religion of Abraham, and tradition stated that Harran was the first city to be built after the Flood. Mukaddasi describes Harrán as a pleasant town protected by a fortress, built of stones so finely set as to recall the masonry of the walls of Jerusalem. It possessed a Friday Mosque. According to Ibn Jubayr, who passed through Harran in 580 (1184), the city itself was also surrounded by a stone wall, and he describes the mosque as having a large court with nineteen doors, while its cupola was supported on marble columns. The markets were roofed over with beams of wood, and the city possessed both a hospital and a college. Mustawfi adds that the circuit of the castle wall was 1350 paces. Three leagues to the south was to be seen the shrine (Mashhad) of Abraham, and the surrounding territory was fully irrigated by innumerable small canals.

Edessa, which the Arabs call Ar-Ruhâ (a corruption of the Greek name Callirrhoe), lay on the head-waters of one of the tributaries of the Balikh. The city is not held of much account by the Moslem geographers, for the majority of its population continued to be Christians, and the town was chiefly remarkable for its numerous churches, which Ibn Hawkal estimates at more than 300 in number. Here originally had been preserved the famous relic known as 'the napkin of Jesus,' which had been given up by Moslem authorities to the Byzantines in 332 (944), in order to save Ruhâ from being stormed and plundered. Mukaddasî in the latter part of the 4th (10th) century, after speaking of the

Baladhuri, 179, 297. Ist. 75, 76. I. H. 153, 154. Muk. 141. I. S. 12.
 I. R. 90. I. K. 175. Yak, i. 734; ii. 621, 734; iv. 112, 164. Mst. 166, 219.
 Ibn-al-Athir, x. 253.

Friday Mosque, describes the magnificent cathedral of Edessa, celebrated as one of the four wonders of the world, whose vaulted ceiling was covered with mosaics. The Great Mosque of Al-Akså at Jerusalem had been built, he says, on its plan, Mukaddasi adds that the city was well fortified. Notwithstanding its Arab garrison at the time of the first Crusade in 492 (1098), Edessa was taken by Baldwin, and during half-a-century remained a Latin principality. In 540 (1145), however, Zangi retook the city from Jocelin II, and after that date Ruha was in the hands of the Moslems. The ruins of its many handsome buildings might still be seen in the 8th (14th) century, and Mustawfi describes a great cupola of finely worked stone, rising beyond a court that was over 100 yards square. Ruhâ is more than once mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd in his account of the campaigns of Timur, and it kept this name down to the beginning of the 9th After it passed into the possession of the (15th) century. Ottoman Turks its name was commonly pronounced Urfah, said to be a corruption of the Arabic Ar-Ruha, and as Urfah Edessa is known at the present day'.

To the south of Harran, and lying some distance to the east

1 Ist. 76. I. H. 154. Muk. 141, 147. I. J. 246. Yak. ii. 231, 591. A. Y. i. 662. Mst. 166. J. N. 443. In the matter of the famous napkin (Mandil) of Christ once preserved at Edessa, this is one of the many Veronicas, but competent authorities are not agreed as to whether the Edessa Veronica is that now preserved in Rome, or the one shown at Genoa, and there are others. Our earliest Moslem authority. Mas'ûdî, who wrote in the very year when this famous relic had been delivered up to the Greek Emperor, calls it 'the napkin of Jesus of Nazareth, wherewith He had dried Himself after His baptism,' and Mas'ddi mentions the year 332 (944) as that when the Byzantines got possession of it, to their great joy. Ibn Hawkal, writing in the same century, merely calls it 'the napkin of 'Îsâ, son of Mariyanı, on whom be peace.' Ibn-al-Athir in his chronicle under the year 331 (943) describes it as 'the napkin with which it was said the Messiah had wiped His face, whereby the likeness of His face was come thereon, and he proceeds to relate how the Caliph Muttaki had been induced to give up this napkin to the Emperor of the Greeks in return for the release of many Moslem captives, and to save Ar-Ruhâ from assault and pillage. The Christian legend concerning the Edessa napkin, as given by Moses of Chorene, is that this relic was a portrait of Christ, wonderfully impressed on a cloth, which He had sent to Abgarus, King of Edessa. Mas. ii. 331. Ibnal-Athir, viii. 302-

of the Balikh river, was the small town of Bajadda on the road to Râs-al-'Ayn. Its gardens were famous, and it was a dependency of Hisn Maslamah, which lay nearer to the Balikh river. This great castle took its name from Maslamah, son of the Omavvad Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, and it stood nine leagues south of Harran, lying about a mile and a half back from the actual river bank. From this point a canal brought water to the fortress to fill a cistern which Maslamah had caused to be dug here, 200 ells square by 20 deep, and lined throughout with stone. The cistern needed only to be filled once a year, and the canal served for irrigating the lands round Hisn Maslamah. The fortress buildings covered an area of a Jarib (equivalent to a third of an acre), and its walls were fifty ells in height. To the south of Hisn Maslamah on the road to Rakkah, from which it was three leagues distant, stood Bájarwán, which Ibn Hawkal describes as having been a fine town, though in the 4th (roth) century already falling to ruin. Yâkût, whose description of Hişn Maslamah has been given above, merely mentions Bájarwán as a village of the Diyâr Mudar district1.

Some two hundred miles below Rakkah stands Karkisiya, the ancient Circesium, on the left bank of the Tigris where, as already explained (p. 97), the moiety of the Khabûr river flows in. Ibn Hawkal describes it as a fine town surrounded by gardens; but Yâkût and Mustawfl both refer to it as a smaller place than the neighbouring Rahbah, which lay six leagues distant, standing back from the western side of the Euphrates. This Rahbah-the name means the Square or Plain-was called for distinction Rahbahash-Sham, 'of Syria,' or Rahbah Malik ibn Tawk after its founder, who had flourished during the reign of the Caliph Mamun. Near it stood the small town of Ad-Daliyah (the Waterwheel) and both places lay near the bank of a great loop canal, called the Nahr Sa'id, which branched from the right bank of the Euphrates some distance above Karkisiya and flowed back to it again above Dâliyah, which, like Rahbah, was also known for distinction as Dâliyah of Malik ibn Tawk. The canal had been dug by Prince Sa'id, son of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik; he was a man of great piety, being known as Sa'id-al-Khayr, 'the Good,' and was

¹ I. H. 156. Kud. 215. Vak. i. 453, 454, 734; ii. 278.

for some time Governor of Mosul. Raḥbah is described by Mukaddasî as one of the largest towns on the Euphrates in Upper Mesopotamia. Its houses spread out in a great semicircle standing back to the desert border, it was well fortified, and had a large suburb. Dâliyah was much smaller, but still an important place, standing on an elevation and overlooking the west bank of the Euphrates.

In the desert between Rahbah and Rakkah-and the ruins still exist four leagues south of the latter town-was Ruşâfah (the Causeway), called Rusafah-ash-Sham-of Syria-or Rusafah Hishâm, after its founder. The Caliph Hishâm, one of the many sons of 'Abd-al-Malik, built himself this palace in the desert as a place of safety to reside in at a time when the plague was raging throughout Syria. The spot had already been occupied by the Ghassanid princes before Islam, and there were ancient wells here, Yakût says, 120 ells deep. The physician Ibn Butlân, who wrote in 443 (1051), describes Rusâfah as possessing a church, said to have been built by the Emperor Constantine, the exterior of which was ornamented in gold mosaic work, and underneath was a crypt, as large as the church, with its roof supported on marble pillars. In the 5th (11th) century most of the inhabitants were still Christian, and they profitably combined brigandage with the convoying of caravans across the desert to Aleppo. On the eastern side of the Euphrates between Rakkah and Karkisiya, two days' march above the latter town, was Al-Khānûkah, a city of some size according to Ibn Ḥawkal, and Yâkût adds that in its vicinity was the territory of Al-Madik.

Below Karkîsiya the only town of importance within the limits of the Jazîrah province was 'Anah, the ancient Anatho, still found on the map, and mentioned by Ibn Serapion as on an island surrounded by the Euphrates. Ibn Hawkal, however, describes this as formed by a creek branching off from the stream. Yakût adds that 'Anah possessed a strong castle which overlooked the river, and here the Caliph Kaim found shelter in 450 (1058), when Basasirî the Daylamite, after taking possession of Baghdad, had caused the public prayers to be read there in the name of the heterodox Fatimid Caliph of Cairo. Mustawfi says that in the 8th (14th) century 'Anah was still a fine town, and

famous for its palm-groves. The harbour of Al-Furdah, called Furdah Nu'm for distinction, lay due west of 'Anah on the Euphrates, half-way to Karkîsiyâ, and probably marked the eastern bend of the Euphrates, but it is now no longer to be found on the map. This was an important station where the highway bifurcated, to the left-hand one road going direct across the desert by way of Ruṣāfah to Rakkah, while the right-hand road kept up stream along the river bank'.

Above Rakkah there were three towns on the Euphrates, namely Bális, Jisr Manbij, and Sumaysât, which were often counted as of Syria because they lay on the right or western bank of that river, though most authorities count them as belonging to Jazirah. Bális lies due west of Rakkah, at the limit of the plain of Siffin, where the Euphrates after running south turns east. It was the Roman Barbalissus, the great river-port for Syria on the Euphrates, and hence the centre point of many caravan routes. Ibn Hawkal describes Bâlis as having strong walls, with gardens lying between these and the Euphrates; of its lands the chief crops were wheat and barley. Though somewhat fallen to ruin, Mukaddasî says, Bâlis was still populous in the 4th (10th) century; but Yakût reports that, by a change of bed, the Euphrates in the 7th (13th) century had come to flow more than four miles distant from the town, and Abu-l-Fidá refers to Bâlis as a place that had long seen its best days.

Jisr Manbij, where a bridge of boats crossed the Euphrates, and the road led west up to Manbij (Hierapolis) of the Aleppo province, was a place of great importance during the middle-ages. The bridge was protected by a great fortress, and below this a small town stood on the Euphrates bank. The fortress was known as Kal'at-an-Najm, 'the Castle of the Star,' from its height on the hill, and it was also called Hisn Manbij, 'the Manbij Fortress.' When Ibn Jubayr passed Kal'at-an-Najm, coming from Harrân in 580 (1184), he speaks of the market which was held below its walls. Abu-1-Fidå says that the fort had been rebuilt by Sultan Nûr-ad-Dîn, son of Zangî, and its garrison freely harassed the neighbouring

¹ Ist. 77, 78. I. H. 155, 156. Muk. 142. Baladhuri, 179, 180, 332. I. S. 10, 14. Yak. ii. 394, 538, 764, 784, 955; iii. 595, 876; iv. 65, 560, 840. Mst. 139, 166.

towns occupied by the Crusaders. Kazwini, writing in the latter half of the 7th (13th) century, gives a long account of the frauds practised by sharpers here who, getting acquainted with rich travellers passing Kal'at-an-Najm, by means of games of hazard, aided by confederates, would win all their money and possessions. The play ran so high that, according to Kazwini, the stranger was often left 'with nothing but his drawers (sārawīl) of all his clothes or former possessions.' The sharpers, indeed, would sometimes hold the victim himself in pawn, until his companions could be induced to buy him off.

Sumaysât, the Roman Samosata, was still higher up the Euphrates, and lay on the right or north bank of the great river, which here runs west. It was a very strong fortress. Mas'ûdî states that Sumaysât was also known as Kal'at-at-Tîn, 'the Clay Castle,' and Yâkût reports that in the 7th (13th) century one of its quarters was exclusively inhabited by Armenians. Finally to complete the list of towns of the Mudar district Sarûj is to be mentioned, which lies about half-way on the direct road from Rakkah north, across the desert plain, to Sumaysât; this road forming the chord of the great semicircular sweep followed by the Euphrates. Sarûj was also on the caravan road from Harrân and Edessa to Jisr Manbij, and is described by Ibn Hawkal as a fine city, surrounded by fertile districts, a description which Yâkût, adding nothing further, corroborates'.

The cities of Diyâr Bakr, the smallest of the three districts into which the Jazîrah province was divided, lay exclusively on, or to the north of, the upper course of the Tigris. The chief town of the district was Âmid, sometimes written Hâmid, the Roman Amida. In later times the city was generally known under the name of the district, as it is at the present day, being called Diyâr Bakr, or else Ķārā Âmid (Black Âmid) from the colour of the stone used here.

The town stood on the right or west bank of the Tigris, and a hill roo fathoms in height dominated it. Ibn Hawkal states that its walls were built of black mill-stones. Mukaddasi describes its strong fortifications as being like those of Antioch, the outer walls,

¹ lst. 62, 76, 78. I. H. 119, 120, 154, 157. Muk. 155. Mas. i. 215. I. J. 250. Yak. i. 477; iii. 85, 151; iv. 165. A. F. 233, 269. Kaz. ii. 160.

battlemented and with gates, being separated from the inner fortifications by a clear space, afterwards occupied by the suburbs. There were springs of water within the town and Mukaddasi also remarks on the black stone of which, and on which, he says the city was built. Âmid possessed a fine Friday Mosque, and its walls were pierced by five chief gates, namely the Water gate, the Mountain gate, the Bâb-ar-Rûm (the Greek gate), the Hill gate, and the Postern gate (Bâb-as-Sirr) used in time of war. The line of fortified walls included the hill in their circuit, and in the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasî says that the Moslems possessed no stronger or better fortress than Âmid on their frontier against the Greek Empire.

Nåsir-i-Khusraw the Persian pilgrim passed through Âmid in 438 (1046), and has left a careful description of the city as he saw it. The town was 2000 paces in length and in breadth, and the wall built of black stone surrounded the hill overlooking it. This wall was 20 yards in height and 10 yards broad, no mortar was used in its construction, but each stone block was, Nasir estimates, of the weight of 1000 man (equivalent to about three tons). At every hundred yards along the wall was built a semicircular tower, and the crest had battlements of the aforesaid black stone, while stone gangways at intervals led up to the ramparts from within the circuit. There were four iron gates, facing the cardinal points; namely, to the east the Tigris gate, to the north the Armenian gate (Bâb-al-Arman), to the west the Greek gate, and to the south the Hill gate (Båb-at-Tall). Beyond the city wall ran the outer wall, ten yards in height, also of black stone, a suburb occupying the space between the two, in a ring that was fifteen yards across. This outer wall also had battlements, and a gangway along it for the defence, and there were here four iron gates corresponding with those of the inner wall. Amid, Nasir adds, was one of the strongest places he had seen.

In the centre of the town a great spring of water, sufficient to turn five mills, gushed out; the water was excellent, and its overflow irrigated the neighbouring gardens. The Friday Mosque was a beautiful building, of black stone like the rest of the town, with a great gable roof and containing over 200 columns, each a monolith, every two connected by an arch, which supported in turn a row of dwarf columns under the roof line. The ceiling was of carved wood, coloured and varnished. In the mosque court was a round stone basin, from the midst of which a brass jet shot up a column of clear water, which kept the level within the basin always the same. Near the mosque stood a great church, built of stone and paved with marble, the walls finely sculptured; and leading to its sanctuary Nâşir saw an iron gate of lattice-work, so beautifully wrought that never had he seen the equal thereof.

This description of the magnificence of Âmid is borne out by what the anonymous annotator of the Paris Ms. of Ibn Hawkal writes, who was here in 534 (1140). He notes that its markets were well built and full of merchandise. In the 7th (13th) century Yākūt and Ķazwinī repeat much of the foregoing description, and the latter speaks of Âmid as then covering a great half-circle of ground, with the Tigris flowing to the eastward, and surrounded on the other side by magnificent gardens. Mustawſī in the following century writes of it as a medium-sized town, paying the Îl-Khâns a revenue of 3000 gold pieces. At the close of this century Âmid was taken by Tīmūr¹.

To the north of Âmid, and near one of the eastern arms of the upper Tigris, stands the town of Ḥānī, which is said by Yākūt to be famous for the iron mine in its neighbourhood, which produced much metal for export. Ḥānī is also mentioned by Mustawfī. Some distance to the west of Ḥānī lies the chief source of the Tigris, which Mukaddasī describes as flowing with a rush of green water out of a dark cave. At first, he says, the stream is small, and only of sufficient volume to turn a single mill-wheel; but many affluents soon join and swell the current, the uppermost of these being the Nahr-adh-Dhib (the Wolf River), apparently identical with the Nahr-al-Kilāb (the River of Dogs) referred to by Yākūt, which came down from the hills near Shimshāt, to the north of Ḥānī. The source of the Tigris, according to Yākūt, was distant two and a half days' journey from Âmid, at a place known as Halūras, 'where 'Alī, the

¹ Ist. 75. I. H. 150, 151. Muk. 140. N. K. 8. Yak. i. 66. Kaz. ii. 331. Mst. 165. A. Y. i. 682.

Armenian, obtained martyrdom,' and he too speaks of the dark cavern from which its waters gushed forth. The names of many other affluents are mentioned both by Mukaddasi and Yâkût, whose accounts are not quite easy to reconcile, and probably the names of these streams varied considerably between the 4th and the 7th (10th and 13th) centuries.

Some distance below Âmid the Tigris turns due east at a right angle, and then from the north receives a stream called the Nahr-ar-Rams or the Nahr Salb. A more important affluent, however, is the river coming down from the north of Mayyafarikin, a tributary of which flowed by that city. This is the river Sâtîdamâ, or Sâtîdamâd, one branch of which was called the Wadf-az-Zûr flowing from the district of Al-Kalk, while the Sâtîdamâ river itself had its head-waters in the Darb-al-Kilāb-'the Dogs' Pass'-so called, Yâkût says, from a famous massacre of the Greeks, 'when these were all killed like dogs,' which the Persian army effected in the reign of King Anûshirwân, some time before the birth of the prophet Muhammad. This river Satidama, which is mentioned by Ibn Serapion, is that which Mukaddasî names the Nahr-al-Masúliyât, and is now known as the Batman Sû, one of whose affluents, as already said, flows down from Mayyafarikin'.

The Arabic Mayyâfarîkîn appears to be a corruption of the Aramaic name Maypharkath, or the Armenian Moufargin, and it is identical with the Greek town called Martyropolis. Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century describes it as a fine city, surrounded by a stone wall, with battlements and a deep ditch, beyond which stretched extensive suburbs. Its mosque was well built, but Mukaddasî remarks that its gardens were scanty. Mayyâfarîkîn was visited by Nâşîr-i-Khusraw in 438 (1046), who speaks of the town as surrounded by a wall built of great white stones, each of 500 man weight (about a ton and a half), and while all Âmid, as already said, was of black stone, in every building at Mayyâfarîkîn the stones used were notably white. The town wall was then new, it had good battlements and at every 50 yards rose a white stone tower. The city had but one gateway, opening to the west.

¹ I. S. 17, 18. Muk. 144. Yak. ii. 188, 551, 552, 563, 956; iii. 7, 413; iv. 300, 979. Mst. 165.

and this possessed a solid iron door, no wood having been used in its construction. There was according to Nâşir a fine mosque within the city, also a second Friday Mosque in the suburb outside, standing in the midst of the markets, and beyond lay many gardens. He adds that at a short distance to the north of Mayyâfarîkîn stood a second town called Muhdathah, 'the New Town,' with its own Friday Mosque, bath houses, and markets; while four leagues further distant was the city of Naṣrîyah, lately founded by the Mirdâsid Amîr Naṣr, surnamed Shibl-ad-Dawlah.

Both Yakut and Kazwini give a long account of various churches, of the three towers, and the eight town gates, which had existed of old at Mayyafarikin-the Greek name of which, Yakut says, was Madûrsâlâ, meaning 'the City of the Martyrs.' These buildings dated from the days of the Emperor Theodosius, and some of their remains, especially those of an ancient church built, it was said, 'in the time of the Messiah,' might still be seen in the 7th (13th) century. Thus there was in particular, on the summit of the south-western tower of the town wall, a great cross, set up to face Jerusalem, and this cross, it was reported, was the work of the same craftsman who had made the great cross that adorned the pinnacle of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, the two crosses being alike, and wonderful to behold. Further, in the Jews' quarter of Mayyafarikin near the Synagogue, was to be seen a black marble basin, in which was kept a glass belt (possibly a phylactery), wherein was preserved some of the blood of Joshua the son of Nun, this having been brought hither from Rome, and to touch it was a sovereign remedy against all disease. In the 8th (14th) century under the Mongols Mayyafarikin was still an important place, and Mustawfi praises its excellent climate and abundant fruits1.

Arzan, a short distance to the east of Mayyafarikin, stood onthe western side of the river called the Nahr, or Wadi, as-Sarbat. Arzan had a great castle, well fortified, and it was visited in 438 (1046) by Naşir-i-Khusraw. He writes of it as a flourishing place with excellent markets, being surrounded by fertile and well irrigated gardens. Yakut describes Arzan (which must not be

¹ I. H. 151. Mak. 140. N. K. 7. Yak. iv. 703-707. Kaz. ii. 379. Mst. 167.

confounded with Arzan-ar-Rûm or Erzerum which will be noticed in the next chapter) as in his day gone to ruin; but Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century, who generally spells the name Arzanah, speaks of it as though it were still a flourishing place.

On the southern bank of the Euphrates, between where the two rivers from Mayyafarikin and Arzan flow in from the north, stands the castle called Hisn Kayfa, or Kifa, which the Greeks called Kiphas or Cephe. Mukaddasi describes the place as a strongly fortified castle, and the markets of its suburbs were plentifully supplied. There were, he adds, many churches here, and the anonymous annotator of the Ms. of Ibn Hawkal, already referred to, writing in the 6th (12th) century, speaks of the great stone bridge which crossed the Tigris here, and which had been restored by the Amîr Fakhr-ad-Dîn Kârâ Arslân in the year 510 (1116). Below the castle, at that time, was a populous suburb, with many markets and hostelries, the houses being well built of mortared stone. The surrounding district was fertile, but the climate was bad, and the plague was often rife during the summer heats. Yâkût, who had been at Hisn Kayfâ, says that suburbs had formerly existed here on both banks of the Tigris, and he considered the great bridge as one of the finest works he had seen. It consisted of a single great arch, which rose above two smaller arches, and these, presumably by a central pier, divided the bed of the Tigris. In the next century Mustawfi describes Hisn Kayfa as a large town, but for the most part gone to ruin, though still inhabited by a numerous population.

The hill known as Tall Fāfān, with a town of this name at its foot, stood on the northern or left bank of the Tigris, some 50 miles east of Hisn Kayfā, where the river makes its great bend south. The town, Mukaddasi writes, in the 4th (10th) century was surrounded by gardens, its markets were well provisioned, and though the houses were mostly clay-built, the market streets were roofed over. The river which joins the Tigris at Tall Fāfān comes down from Badlis (Bitlis), rising in the mountains of Armenia to the south-west of Lake Vān. This river is joined by a great affluent rising to the south of the lake, which Mukaddasi and Yākūt name the Wādi-ar-Razm, and the Tigris below the junction of their united streams became navigable for boats. On

LE S. 8

the banks of the river Razm, north of Tall Fåfån, just above where the Badlis river runs in, stands the town of Så'irt, also written Si'ird and Is'irt, which was often counted as of Armenia. Yåkůt more than once refers to it, but gives no description; Mustawfi, however, speaks of Så'ird as a large town, famed for the excellent copper vessels made by its smiths; and the drinking cups from here were exported far and wide. Near Is'irt, according to Kazwini, was the small town of Hizân, where alone in all Mesopotamia the chestnut-tree (Shâh-balût) grew abundantly'.

¹ Ist, 76. 1. H. 152. Muk. 141, 145. N. K. 7. Yak. i. 205; ii. 277, 552, 776; iii. 68, 854. Kaz. ii. 241. Mst. 165, 166. The name of the river Razm is variously given in the MSS. as Zarm, Razb, or Zarb, and the true pronunciation is unknown.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UPPER EUPHRATES.

The Eastern Euphrates or Arsanâs. Milâsgird and Mûsh. Shimshât and Hişn Ziyâd or Kharpût. The Western Euphrates. Arzan-ar-Rûm or Kâlîkalâ. Arzanjân and Kamkh. The castle of Abrîk or Tephrîke. Malatiyah and Tarandah. Zibatrah and Hadath. Hişn Manşûr, Bahasnâ and the Sanjah bridge. Products of Upper Mesopotamia. The high roads.

The cities and districts lying along the banks of the Eastern and Western upper Euphrates (for the great river had two head-streams) were generally counted as dependent on northern Mesopotamia, and are often included in the Jazîrah province. The Eastern Euphrates, the southernmost of the two branches of the river, and by some geographers counted as the main source, is the Arsanias Flumen of Tacifus and Pliny. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Serapion still calls this the Nahr Arsanas, and the same name is given to it by Yakût as in use in the 7th (13th) century, who refers to the extreme coldness of its waters. At the present day it is generally known to the Turks as the Murad Şû, being so named, it is commonly said, in honour of Sultan Murad IV, who conquered Baghdad in 1048 (1638).

The Arsanás took its rise in the Tarûn country, a name the Armenians write Daron, and the Greeks knew of as Taronites, which includes the mountains lying to the north of Lake Vân. The first place of importance on the Arsanás was the town of Malázkird, which in the various dialects of this region was also known as Minázjird, Manzikart, and Milásgird. In the 4th (roth) century Mukaddasî describes Malázkird as a strong fortress with a mosque in its market street, the place being surrounded by

many gardens. In 463 (1071) Manzikart, as the Greeks called it, was the field of the decisive battle between the Byzantines and Moslems, when the Emperor Romanus IV (Diogenes) was taken prisoner by the Saljûks, this leading up to their conquest and permanent settlement in Asia Minor. Yâkût more than once refers to Minâzjird or Minâzkird, and Mustawfi, who gives the name as Malâzjird, praises its strong castle, its excellent climate, and its fertile lands. The town of Mûsh to the south of the Arsanâs, in the great plain on the west of Lake Vân, is often counted as of Armenia. It is mentioned by Yâkût, and Mustawfi describes it as having excellent pasture lands, watered by streams that flowed north to the Eastern Euphrates and south to the Tigris. The town was in his day in ruins'.

The Arsanas received on its right bank two affluents coming down from the north, and the Kalikala country. These affluents are important as they enable us to fix the approximate position of Shimshat, a town of some note, which has disappeared from the map, and which has often been confounded with Sumaysat on the Euphrates already mentioned (p. 108). Ibn Serapion states that the first affluent was the Nahr-adh-Dhib, 'the Wolf River,' which rising in Kalikala fell into the Arsanas a short distance above Shimshat; the second was the Salkit river, which rose in the mountains called Jabal Marûr (or Mazûr) and joined the Arsanas one mile below Shimshat. A reference to the map shows that these two streams are those now known respectively as the Gunek Şû and the Peri Chay; the Kalikala country representing the mountain region lying between the Arsanas and the Western Euphrates, and to the west of the Tarûn country.

Shamshât (Shimshât) was much the most important place on the Arsanâs, which Ibn Serapion also refers to as the river of Shimshât, and the town appears to have stood on the southern or left bank of the river. Shamshât is undoubtedly the Arsamosata of the Greeks, and Yâkût—who particularly remarks that it is not

¹ I. S. 11. Kud. 246, 251. Muk. 376. Yak. i. 207; iv. 648, 682. Mst. 165, 167. Hājjī Khālfah (J. N. 426) in 1010 (1600) is apparently our earliest authority for the Eastern Euphrates being called the Murād Sū, and as his work was apparently written before the reign of Sultan Murād IV, this goes to prove that the stream was not called after that monarch, as is commonly said.

to be confounded with Sumaysat-says that Shamshat lay between Pålûyah (modern Pålû) and Hisn Ziyad (modern Kharpût). In the 7th (13th) century when Yâkût wrote, Shamshât was already in ruins, but the data above given by Ibn Serapion and Yâkût enable us to fix its position within narrow limits. The fortress of Hisn Ziyad, which Ibn Khurdadbih mentions as situated at no great distance from Shamshåt, was on the authority of Yakût the Arab name for the Armenian Khartabirt, now more generally called Kharpût. Mustawfi gives the spelling Kharbirt, but adds no details, referring to it merely as a large town enjoying a good climate. In this district Balâdhuri and other early authorities mention the bridge of Yaghra, which crossed a stream that was probably some tributary of the Arsanas, and this bridge (Jisr) lay 10 miles distant from Shamshat; its exact position, however, is unknown. Then about a hundred miles to the westward of Shamshât the Arsanâs or Eastern Euphrates finally mingles its stream with the Western Euphrates1.

The Western Euphrates has generally been considered the main branch of the great river, and it is that now commonly known to the Turks as the Kara Sû (Black Water), and this is the Nahr-al-Furât of Ibn Serapion. According to him it took its rise in the mountains called Jabal Akradkhis (the name is apparently written Afradkhis by Mas'ûdî, and other variants occur) which are of the Kālîkalā country to the north of Erzerum. This important town, which the Arabs called Arzan-ar-Rûm or Ard-ar-Rûm (the Land of the Romans), the Armenians knew as Karin, and the Greeks as Theodosiopolis. It is the Moslem city of Kālikalā, and the chief place in this district, The origin of the name Kalikala, so frequently mentioned by all the earlier Arab geographers, appears to be unknown, but all agree that this was the country in which the Western Euphrates, the Araxes river, and the affluents of the Arsanas took their rise. Of the town of Erzerum the earlier Arab geographers afford no details, except to state that it was a great city: Mustawfi speaks of there being many fine churches here, one especially with a dome whose circle was fifty ells in diameter. Opposite this

¹ I. S. 10, 13, 30. I. K. 123. Baladhuri, 139. Yak. ii. 276, 417; iii. 319. Mst. 262.

church was a mosque built on the model of the Ka'bah at Mecca. Ibn Baṭûṭah, who was in Arz-ar-Rûm (as he writes the name) in 733 (1333), describes it as a large city, belonging to the Sultan of Irâk, for the most part in ruins, but still famous for its gardens, and three rivers ran through its suburbs. Eight leagues to the east of Arzan-ar-Rûm, on the summit of a mountain and near one of the head-streams of the Araxes, is Avnik, a great fortress, of which Mustawfi says that the town at its foot was named Abaskhûr (or Abshakhûr). It belonged to Arzan-ar-Rûm, and Yâkût adds that the district was called Bâsin. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Tîmûr took Avnik after a long siege, and it is frequently mentioned in the history of his campaigns.

Some 200 miles west of Arzan-ar-Rûm and on the right or north bank of the Euphrates, is the town of Arzanjan, which Yákût says was more often called Arzingán. He speaks of it as a fine town well provisioned, in his day inhabited for the most part by Armenians, who openly drank wine to the scandal of their Moslem fellow-citizens. Mustawfi adds that its walls had been restored by the Saljúk Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn Kaykubâd at the close of the 7th (13th) century, and that they were built of well-cut jointed stone masonry. Arzanján had an excellent climate, its lands producing corn, cotton, and grapes in abundance. Ibn Bathtah who passed through here in 733 (1333) writes of it as mostly inhabited by Turkish-speaking Armenians, who were Moslems. In the neighbourhood were copper mines, and the brass work of the native smiths was famous; the markets were good and much cloth was woven in the town. Babirt to the north of Arzanján is mentioned by Yákút as a considerable town, mostly peopled by Armenians; but Mustawfi adds that in his day it had much diminished in importance. The fortress of Kamkh (or Kamakh) lay on the Western Euphrates a day's journey below Arzanjan, on the left or south bank of the river. It is frequently mentioned by Ibn Serapion and the earlier Arab geographers, and was the Greek Kamacha. Mustawfi describes it as a great castle, with a town below on the river bank, and many fertile villages were of its dependencies1.

¹ I. S. 10. I. R. 89. L. K. 174. Mas. i. 214. Tanbih 52. Yak. i. 205.

Sixty miles or more to the west of Kamkh the Euphrates, which from Erzerum has flowed westward, makes a great bend and takes its course south, and it here receives on its right bank the river called by Ibn Serapion the Nahr Abrik, from the castle of Abrik which is on its upper course. This is the stream now known as the Chaltah Irmak, which comes down from Divrik or Dîvrigî. In Mustawfi and Ibn Bîbî the name is given as Difrîgî, which the Byzantines wrote Tephrike (the form Aphrike also occurs in the Greek MSS.), and the earlier Arab geographers shortened this to Abrik. The place was celebrated at the close of the 3rd (9th) century as the great stronghold of the Paulicians, a curious sect of Eastern Christians whose Manichæan beliefs caused them to be ruthlessly persecuted by the orthodox Emperors of Constantinople. The Paulicians, whose name the Arab writers give under the form of Al-Baylakani, took possession of Tephrike, fortified it, and countenanced or aided by the Caliphs, for some years successfully defied the armies of Constantinople. Kudamah and Mas'ûdî, who are nearly contemporary authorities, both refer to the castle of Abrik as 'the capital of the Baylakani'; and 'Ali of Herat (quoted by Yakût) writing in the 7th (13th) century has left a curious account of a great cave and a church near Al-Abrûk (as he spells the name) where were preserved the bodies of certain martyrs, which he considered to be those of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

A short distance to the south of the Chaltah Irmak and Divrik, the Şârichichek Şû joins the Euphrates, on which stands the fortress of 'Arabgir. This place does not appear to be mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers, though Ibn Bîbî in his Saljûk chronicle of the 8th (14th) century names it more than once; also under the form Arabraces it is found in the Byzantine chronicles. 'Arabgîr in any case does not represent Abrîk and Tephrike, as has been sometimes erroneously urged. Apparently the earliest occurrence of the name of 'Arabgîr or 'Arabkîr in any Moslem geographer is to be found in the Turkish Jahân Numû of Hâjjî Khalfah at the beginning of the 11th (17th) century.

^{206, 408, 444;} iii. 860; iv. 19, 304. Kaz. ii. 370. Mst. 162, 163. A. V. i. 691; ii. 252, 403. I. B. ii. 293, 294.

He also mentions Divriki (as the town is now called), but unfortunately we have no description of the old Paulician stronghold.

Malatiyah, which the Greeks called Melitene, was in early days one of the most important fortresses of the Moslem frontier against the Byzantines. Baladhuri states that its garrison held the bridge, three miles distant from the fort, where the high road crossed the Kubakib river near its junction with the Euphrates. The Kubākib is the river known to the Greeks as the Melas, and called by the Turks at the present time the Tukhmah Sû, and it rises far to the west of Malatiyah in the mountains from which the Jayhan, the ancient Pyramus, flows south-west (as will be noticed in the next chapter) to the Mediterranean in the Bay of Alexandretta. Except for the Arsanas the river Kubakib is by far the most important of the many affluents of the upper Euphrates, and the Kubākib itself has many tributaries that are duly named by Ibn Serapion. The city of Malatiyah was rebuilt by order of the Caliph Mansûr in 139 (756), who provided it with a fine mosque, and he garrisoned it with 4000 men. Istakhri describes it in the 4th (10th) century as a large town surrounded by hills on which grew vines, almonds, and nut-trees, for its lands produced the crops of both the hot and the cold regions. It was more than once taken by the Byzantines and retaken by the Moslems, and Yakût in the 7th (13th) century counts it as of the Greek country. Mustawfi in the next century speaks of Malatiyah as a fine town with a strong fortress. Its pasture lands were famous, corn, cotton, and abundant fruit being grown in the neighbourhood. On a mountain peak near Malariyah was the convent called Dayr Barsûmâ, which Kazwînî describes as greatly venerated by the Christians, and as inhabited by many monks.

The fortress of Tarandah, the modern Darandah—under which form it is mentioned in the Jahân Numâ—lay on the upper waters of the Kubâkib, three marches above Malatiyah. A Moslem garrison was placed here, to hold the pass, as early as the year 83 (702), but the post was subsequently abandoned in 100 (719) by order of the Caliph 'Omar II. In the Byzantine chronicles

¹ I. S. 11, 31. Kud. 254. Mas. viii. 74. Tanbih 151, 183. Yak. i. 87. Ibn Bibi, 210, 318. Mst. 162. J. N. 624. Cf. also J. R. A. S. 1895, p. 740, and the corrections given in J. R. A. S. 1896, p. 733.

this place is frequently mentioned as Taranta, and in the 3rd (9th) century it was one of the strongest of the Paulician fortresses¹.

The river Kubāķib had an important tributary, the Nahr Karakis, which joined it from the south, and on the upper waters of the Karakis stood the great fortress of Zibatrah, which the Byzantines called Sozopetra or Zapetra, the ruins of which are probably those of Vîrân Shahr, some leagues to the south of Malatiyah on the river Sultan Sû, the modern name of the Karakîs. Balâdhuri and Istakhrî both speak of Zibatrah as a great fortress on the Greek frontier, many times dismantled by the Byzantines and rebuilt by the Caliph Mansûr and later by Mamûn. Yâkût and other authorities couple together the names of Zibatrah and the fortress Al-Hadath, which will be noticed presently. In the Arab and Byzantine chronicles Zibatrah or Sozopetra is famous for its capture by the Emperor Theophilus, and again for its recapture by the Caliph Mu'tasim in his great expedition against 'Amuriyah, which will be mentioned in the next chapter. Zibatrah long continued a place of importance, but Abu-l-Fidå who visited it in the year 715 (1315) describes the fortress as then a ruin. The line of the old walls could at this time barely be traced, and its fields were completely wasted, so that Abu-l-Fida found excellent hunting in the oak woods near the formerly well-cultivated lands, the hares here being, he says, of a size not met with elsewhere. He describes the place as two marches south of Malatiyah and the same distance from Hisn Mansûr, which will be noticed below".

The fortress of Al-Hadath, the Byzantine Adata, was taken by the Moslems in the reign of the Caliph 'Omar, and is frequently mentioned in the chronicles. The word *Hadath* in Arabic means

^{1 1.} S. to, 12, 13. Baladhuri, 185, 187. Ist. 62. I. H. 120. Yak. iv. 26, 633. Mst. 163. Kaz. ii. 356. J. N. 624. The modern town of Malatiyah lies two leagues distant to the south of the medieval fortress. The ruins of the old town are at Eski-Shahr, a league from the ancient bridge, called Kirkgoz, crossing the Tukhmah Şû immediately above its junction with the Euphrates.

² I. S. 13. Baladhuri, 191. Ist. 63. Yak. ii. 914. A. F. 234. The identification of the sites of Zibatrah and Hadath are discussed by Mr J. G. C. Anderson in the Classical Review for April, 1896, in his paper on The Campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.

'news,' and more especially 'bad news,' and Baladhuri says that the road thither, of old called Darb-al-Hadath, 'the Road of Bad News,' was changed to Darb-as-Salâmah, 'the Road of Safety,' after the capture of the fortress by the Moslems. Darb-as-Salāmah, however, as will be mentioned in the following chapter, is more generally the name given to the Constantinople road, going by the Cilician Gates. There was a mosque at Hadath, and the town was rebuilt by the Caliph Mahdi in 162 (779), and again restored by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, who kept a garrison here of 2000 men. Istakhri mentions its fertile lands, and relates how this frontier fortress had been taken and retaken many times alternately by Byzantines and Moslems. According to Yakût and others Al-Hadath was called Al-Hamra, 'the Red,' because of the colour of the ground thereabout, and the castle stood on a hill called Al-Uhaydab, 'the Little Hump-back.' In 343 (954), after many vicissitudes, it was finally taken from the Greeks and rebuilt by Sayf-ad-Dawlah the Hamdanid, and in 545 (1150) it passed into the hands of Mas'ûd, son of Kilij Arslân the Saljûk.

The river near which Hadath stood was called the Jurith or Hurith; this Ibn Serapion, in error, gives as an affluent of the Kubâkib (the Malatiyah river), but Yâkût, who writes the name Hûrith, rightly says that it was a tributary of the Nahr Jayhan, the Pyramus. Ibn Serapion records that the source of the Hadath river was at a spring called 'Ayn Zanîthâ, and that before passing Hadath it ran through a series of small lakes; further, that the Jurith river (as he writes the name) was joined by the river Al-'Arjan, whose sources were in the Jabal-ar-Rish, the town of Hadath being supplied by water-channels from the 'Arian river, to which they again returned. To supplement this Abu-l-Fida states that Hadath lay twelve miles distant from a place on the main stream of the Jayhan where that river was crossed at 'the Ford of the Alid.' The exact site of Hadath has not been identified, but there is little doubt that it protected the pass going from Mar'ash (Germanicia) to Al-Bustân (Arabissus), and that it lay on the banks of the present Âk Sû, near Iniklî, the Âk Sû being in fact one of the head-waters of the Jayhan'.

Baladhuri, 189-191. I. S. 14. Ist. 62. I. H. 120, Yak. ii. 218; iv. 838. A. F. 263.

Each of the two fortresses of Hisn Mansur and Bahasna (which exist to the present day) lies on its own river, and both these are right-bank affluents of the Euphrates, joining it successively below Sumaysåt. Hisn Mansûr, in modern days more often called Adiamán, was by the Byzantines called Perrhe. It took its name from its builder, Mansûr of the tribe of Kays, who was commander of this frontier station during the reign of the last Omayyad Caliph, Marwan II, having been killed in 141 (758). Hisn Mansûr was re-fortified by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd during the Caliphate of his father Mahdi, and it is described by Ibn Hawkal as a small town with a Friday Mosque. Its fields were well irrigated, but Ibn Hawkal writes that the fate of this place, like other frontier fortresses, was to be ravaged and dismantled alternately by the Byzantines and the Moslems. Yakût adds that the town had a wall with three gates and a ditch outside; and that in its midst stood the fortress defended by a double wall. When Abu-l-Fida wrote in the 8th (14th) century Hisn Mansur was a ruin, though the fields round it were still cultivated.

The Nahr-al-Azrak (the Blue River) passed down to the north-west of Hisn Mansur, this fortress occupying the tablelands above the Euphrates, which flowed along their southern border. The fortress of Bahasna, which the crusading chronicles call Behesdin, lies to the west of Hisn Mansûr, and its district was called Kaysûm. Bahasnâ stood on a hill-top, and had a Friday Mosque in the town below, where there were excellent markets, the surrounding country being very fertile. Yakût speaks of it as an impregnable castle. The neighbouring Saniah river, which appears to be that which the Greeks called Singas, had on its banks the small town of Sanjah, near which the stream was crossed by a celebrated bridge, built of dressed stone, with well-set arches of beautiful workmanship. This bridge, the Kantarah Sanjah, was one of the wonders of the world according to Ibn Hawkal. Yakût, who speaks of the Sanjah and the Kaysûm rivers, reporting both as affluents of the Euphrates, describes this great bridge as being of a single arch, going from bank to bank, and over 200 paces in span. It was built, he adds, of huge well-dressed blocks of stone, each block being ten ells

long and five high, the width not being shown, and it had been constructed, he affirms, by aid of a talisman1.

In the matter of trade, the province of Jazirah or Upper Mesopotamia produced little. Mukaddasi gives us a list and the items are chiefly the natural products of the land. Mosul, the capital, exported grain, honey, charcoal, cheese, butter, the sumach fruit and pomegranate pips, manna, salted meat, and the tirrikh fish; also iron, and for artificers' work knives, arrows, chains, and goblets. The district of Sinjär produced almonds, pomegranates, sumach fruit, and sugar-cane; Nasîbîn, walnuts; Rakkah, olive oil, soap, and reeds for pens. Rahbah was famous for its quinces; Harran for its honey and the preserve called Kubbayt: Jazirah Ibn 'Omar for nuts, almonds, and butter, also excellent horses were reared on its pastures. Hasaniyah on the Little Khabur (on the east bank of the Tigris) produced cheese. partridges, fowls, and fruit preserve; the neighbouring Ma'alathâyâ, charcoal, grapes and other fresh fruits, salted meat, hemp seed and hemp stuffs; and finally Amid in Diyar Bakr was famous for its woollen and linen fabrics2.

The high roads of Upper Mesopotamia are in continuation

¹ Baladhuri, 192. Ist. 62. I. H. 120. Yak. i. 770; ii. 278; iii. 162, 860. A. F. 265, 269. The Sanjah bridge is always given as one of the four wonders of the world-the other three are the church at Edessa already mentioned, the Pharos at Alexandria, and the Great Mosque at Damascus (Yak. ii. 501). It is curious that Mukaddasi on two occasions confounds this bridge over the Sanjah, which last by all accounts was a right-bank affluent of the Euphrates joining it near Sumaysat, with the no less remarkable bridge at Al-Hasaniyah, which was built over the Lesser Khabûr, an affluent of the Tigris (Muk. 139, 147, and see above, p. 93). The stream now known as the Bolam Så which, after being joined by the Kakhtah Chay, falls into the Euphrates from the north a short distance above Sumaysat, is apparently the Nahr Sanjah of the Arab geographers; and the great bridge, so famous as one of the wonders of the world, still exists. It was built by Vespasian, and by a single arch of 112 feet span crosses the Bolam Sû just above the junction of the Kakhtah Chay. It is described as 'one of the most splendid monuments of the Roman period in existence,' and an illustration of it will be found in the Geographical Journal for October, 1896, p. 323; also, with more detail, in Humann and Puchstein. Reisen in Kleinasien, plates 41, 42, and 43.

² Muk. 145, 146.

of those of 'Irâk. The post-road from Baghdâd to Mosul, going up the eastern bank of the Tigris, entered the Jazîrah province at Takrît; it continued on the left bank of the river, going straight to Jabultâ, whence by way of Sinn and Hadîthah Mosul was reached. This road is given by our earlier Arab authorities and by Mustawfi'.

From Mosul the post-road, changing to the right or western bank of the Tigris, went up to Balad, where it bifurcated, the left road going by Sinjâr to Karkîsiyâ on the Euphrates, the right through Naşîbîn to Kafartûthâ, where again it bifurcated, the right leading to Âmid, the left by Râs-al-'Ayn down to Rakkah on the Euphrates. This main road from Mosul to Âmid is given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah, also—but in marches—by Mukaddasî; and the same authorities give the cross roads to the Euphrates. Mukaddasî also gives the marches from Mosul straight to Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar by Hasaniyah, and he mentions the road from Âmid by Arzan to Badlis near Lake Vân².

The post-road up the Euphrates kept along its right or western bank, from Alûsah passing 'Ânah to the river harbour of Al-Furḍah. Here it bifurcated, one road running beside the Euphrates up to Fâsh opposite Karkisiyâ, and thence still along the western side of the river to Rakkah; while the left road of the bifurcation at Furḍah went straight across the desert through Ruṣâfah to Rakkah, thus avoiding the windings of the Euphrates. Ruṣâfah, further, was an important station, for here two roads went off to the west across the Syrian desert, namely to Damascus and to Himş (Emessa). At Karkisiyâ and Rakkah, as already said, branch roads came in, one from Mosul viâ Sinjâr, the other from Naṣibîn viâ Râs-al-'Ayn and Bajarwân; while from Rakkah by Bajarwân a road went through Harrân and Ruhâ (Edessa) to Âmid.

Lastly from Rakkah, viā Sarūj, the direct road, avoiding the great bend of the Euphrates, reached Sumaysât; whence the various distances to Hişn Manşūr, Malaṭiyah, Kamkh and the other fortresses are mentioned in round numbers. Unfortunately,

¹ I. K. 93. Kud. 214. Muk. 135, 148, 149. Mst. 195.

² I. K. 95, 96. Kud. 214, 215, 216. Muk. 149, 150.

however, these last distances are not given with sufficient exactness to be of much use in fixing the positions of Hadath and Zibaṭrah, about which there is some question, though Mukaddasi often adds some useful indications even as regards these outlying frontier forts¹.

1 I. K. 96, 97, 98. Kud. 215, 216, 217. Muk. 149, 150.





PROVINCE OF RUM

CHAPTER IX.

RÛM OR ASIA MINOR.

Bilâd-ar-Rûm or the Greek country. The line of fortresses from Malatiyah to Tarsûs. The two chief passes across the Taurus. The Constantinople high road by the Cilician Gates. Trebizond. Three sieges of Constantinople, Moslem raids into Asia Minor. The sack of Amorion by Mu'taşim. Invasion of Asia Minor by the Saljûks. The kingdom of Little Armenia. The Crusaders. The chief towns of the Saljûk Sultanate of Rûm.

The provinces of the Byzantine empire were known collectively to the Moslems as Bilâd-ar-Rûm, 'the Lands of the Greeks'; the term 'Rûm' standing for the Romaioi or Romans, being in early Moslem times the equivalent for 'Christian,' whether Greek or Latin. The Mediterranean too, was generally known as the Bahr-ar-Rûm, 'the Roman Sea.' Then Bilâd-ar-Rûm, abbreviated to Rûm, in course of time came more especially to be the name of the Christian provinces nearest to the Moslem frontier, and hence became the usual Arab name for Asia Minor, which great province at the close of the 5th (11th) century finally passed under the rule of Islam when it was overrun by the Saljûks.

Unfortunately, for lack of contemporary authorities, we are extremely ill-informed concerning the details of the history and historical geography of Asia Minor during the middle-ages whether under Christian or Moslem rule¹. The earlier Arab

¹ The Historical Geography of Asia Minor by Professor W. M. Ramsay (referred to as H. G. A. M.) contains an admirable summary of all that is at present known on the subject, and is indispensable to any one who wishes to gain a clear understanding of this knotty problem. The present chapter owes far more to this work than appears from the citations in the notes, and reference

geographers not unnaturally knew little of the country that was in their day a province of the Roman empire, and after it had come under the rule of the Saljūk Turks our Moslem authorities unfortunately almost entirely neglect this outlying province of Islam. No systematic description of it, such as we possess of the other provinces, therefore has come down to us, and the first complete account of Moslem Asia Minor is that written by Hājjī Khalfah, which only dates from the beginning of the 11th (17th) century, when for nearly two hundred years this province had formed part of the Ottoman empire.

Under the Omayyads, as under the Abbasid Caliphs down to rather more than a century and a half before the final overthrow of their dynasty by the Mongols, the frontier line between the Moslems and the Byzantines was formed by the great ranges of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus. Here a long line of fortresses (called Ath-Thughûr in Arabic), stretching from Malatiyah on the upper Euphrates to Tarsus near the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, served to mark and guard the frontier; these, turn and turn about, being taken and retaken by Byzantines and Moslems as the tide of war ebbed or flowed. This line of fortresses was commonly divided into two groups-those guarding Mesopotamia (Thughûral-Jazîrah) to the north-east, and those guarding Syria (Thughūrash-Shâm) to the south-west. Of the former were Malatiyah, Zibatrah, Hisn Mansûr, Bahasnâ, Al-Hadath, which have been already described in the previous chapter, next Mar'ash, Al-Hârûnîyah, Al-Kanîsah and 'Ayn Zarbah. Of the latter group lying near the northern coast-line of the bay of Iskandariyah (Alexandretta), and protecting Syria, were Al-Massisah, Adhanah, and Tarsûs.

Mar'ash, the Byzantine Marasion, and it is said occupying the site of Germanicia, was rebuilt by the Caliph Mu'awiyah in the 1st (7th) century; under the later Omayyads it was strongly

must be made to Professor Ramsay's important papers in the Geographical Journal for September, 1902, p. 257, and October, 1903, p. 357.

In the eastern part of the Mediterranean the islands of Cyprus (Kubrus) and Rhodes (Rûdis) were both well known to the Arabs, the first having been raided by the Moslems as early as the year 28 (648) under the leadership of Mu'awiyah, afterwards Caliph. No geographical details, however, are given. Baladhuri, 153, 236. Yak, ii. 832; iv. 20.

fortified, and a large Moslem population settled here, for whose use a Friday Mosque was built. It was re-fortified by Hârûn-ar-Rashid with double walls and a ditch. Its inner castle, according to Yākût, was known as Al-Marwani, being so called after Marwan II, the last Omayyad Caliph. In 490 (1097) Mar'ash was captured by the Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon, and subsequently became an important town of Little Armenia (to be described later), remaining for the most part in Christian hands till the fall of that kingdom. The fortress of 'Ayn Zarbah, which the Crusaders knew as Anazarbus, still exists. It was rebuilt and well fortified by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd in 180 (796), and the place is described by Istakhrî as lying in a plain where palm-trees grew, the surrounding lands being very fertile, while the city had fine walls and its prosperity in the 4th (10th) century was considerable. About the middle of this century Sayf-ad-Dawlah the Hamdanid prince spent, it is said, three million dirhams (about £120,000) on its fortification, but it was taken more than once by the Greeks from the Moslems. Then at the close of the next century the Crusaders captured it and left it a ruin; afterwards it formed part of the dominions of the king of Little Armenia. Abu-l-Fidâ describes the town as lying at the base of a hill crowned by a strong castle, it being one day's march south of Sis, and south of it, he adds, flowed the Jayhan river. The name 'Ayn Zarbah had in the 8th (14th) century become corrupted into Nawarza.

The exact positions of Al-Hârûnîyah and Al-Kanîsah are unknown, but they lay in the hill country between Mar'ash and 'Ayn Zarbah. Hârûnîyah, which was one march to the west of Mar'ash and considered as its outlying bulwark, took its name from its founder Hârûn-ar-Rashîd who built it in 183 (799). The fortress lay in a valley to the west of the Lukkâm mountains, a name by which the Moslem geographers roughly indicate the chain of the Anti-Taurus. Ibn Hawkal appears to have visited it, for he says the hamlet was populous and the fort had been strongly built, but had been ruined by the Byzantines. This was in 348 (959), when, according to Yâkût, one thousand five hundred Moslems, men and women, were taken captive. Subsequently Hârûnîyah was rebuilt by Sayf-ad-Dawlah the Hamdânid, but

again the Christians took it, after which it remained a possession of the king of Little Armenia. Kanîsah, the full name being Kanîsah-as-Sawdâ, 'the Black Church,' was a very ancient fortress built of black stones, and by the Greeks, says Balâdhuri, who adds that Hârûn-ar-Rashîd had it strongly fortified and well garrisoned. It possessed a Friday Mosque and apparently lay to the south of the Jayhân, for Iṣṭakhrì describes it as 'at some distance from the sea-shore.' Abu-l-Fidâ adds that it was only 12 miles from Hârûnîyah; being in his day included like the latter place in the kingdom of Little Armenia.

Another fortress of this neighbourhood was that known to the Arabs under the name of Al-Muthakkab, 'the Pierced'; so called, according to Yākūt, 'because it stands among the mountains, all of which are pierced as though with great openings.' Its exact site appears to be unknown, but it stood not far from Al-Kanîsah, being at the foot of the Lukkām mountains, near the sea-shore, and in the vicinity of Maṣṣiṣah. The fortress was built by the Omayyad Caliph Hishâm; others say by 'Omar II; and a Kurân, written by the hand of 'Omar II, the most pious of the Omayyad Caliphs, was according to Ibn Ḥawkal preserved here. Further, Balâdhurî states that when the engineers first came to dig the ditch at Ḥiṣn-al-Muthakkab, they found buried in the earth a human leg, but of such monstrous size that it was considered a portent, and it was forthwith despatched to the Caliph Hishâm as a unique gift'.

The three cities of Al-Massisah (Mopsuestia), Adhanah (Adana) and Tarsüs (Tarsus), all of Greek foundation, still exist. Al-Massisah lies on the Nahr Jayhan (the river Pyramus). It was conquered by 'Abd-Allah, son of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, in the 1st (7th) century, who rebuilt its fortifications and established a strong garrison here. A mosque was erected on the summit of the hill, and the church in the fortress was turned into a granary. A suburb or second town was built shortly afterwards on the other bank of the Jayhan, called Kafarbayya, where the Caliph Omar II founded a second mosque and dug a great cistern. A third quarter, lying to the east of the Jayhan, was built by the

¹ Ist. 55, 63. L. H. 108, 121. Baladhuri, 166, 171, 188. Mas. i. 26; viii. 195. Yak. i. 927; iii. 761; iv. 314, 498, 945. A. F. 235, 251.

last Omayyad Caliph Marwân II, and named Al-Khuṣûṣ; he surrounded it by a wall with a ditch, and wooden doors closed its gateways. Under the Abbasids the Caliph Manṣûr turned an ancient temple into a Friday Mosque, making it thrice as large as the older mosque of 'Omar II. Hârûn-ar-Rashîd rebuilt Kafar-bayyâ, and its mosque was further enlarged by Mamûn. The two quarters of Kafarbayyâ and Maṣṣṣṣah proper were connected by a stone bridge across the Jaybân; the town bore the title of Al-Ma'mûrîyah, 'the Populous,' or 'Well-built,' said to have been bestowed upon it by the Caliph Manṣûr, who restored Maṣṣṣṣah after it had been partially destroyed by earthquake in 139 (756). At a later date Maṣṣṣah, like its neighbours, passed into the possession of the kings of Little Armenia.

The adjacent city of Adhanah lay on the Nahr Sayhan (the river Sarus), and on the road thither from Massisah was the great bridge which dated from the time of Justinian, but was restored in the year 125 (743) and called Jisr-al-Walid after the Omayyad Caliph Walid. This bridge was again restored in 225 (840) by the Abbasid Caliph Mu'tasim. Adhanah had been in part rebuilt in 141 (758) by Mansûr, and Istakhrî describes it as a very pleasant city, lying to the west of the Sayhan, well fortified and populous. The fortress was on the eastern bank of the river, and was connected with the town by a bridge of a single arch, according to Yâkût, and Adhanah itself was defended by a wall with eight gates and a deep ditch beyond it.

The rivers Sarus and Pyramus were known to the Moslems respectively as the Nahr Sayhân and the Nahr Jayhân. In early days they were the frontier rivers of the lands of Islam towards the Greek country. As such on the analogy, or in imitation, of the more famous Oxus and Jaxartes of Central Asia, which latter were called the Jayhûn and the Sayhûn by the Arab geographers, as will be more fully explained later, the rivers Pyramus and Sarus were named the Jayhân and Sayhân. Both had their sources in the highlands lying to the north of Little Armenia, and the Jayhân—which Abu-l-Fidâ compares for size to the Euphrates, adding that in his day the name was commonly pronounced Jahân—after passing Maṣṣṣṣah flowed out to the Mediterranean in the Bay of Ayâs to the north of the port

of Al-Mallûn (Mallus, later Malo). The Sayhan was of lesser size, and Adhanah was the only important town on its banks. It was however famous for the great bridge, already mentioned, and both the Jayhan and Sayhan, as reported by Mas'ûdî, were held to have been of the rivers of Paradise'.

The most important, however, of all the frontier fortresses was Tarsûs (Tarsus), where a great army of both horse and foot was kept in early times, for Tarsus commanded the southern entrance of the celebrated pass across the Taurus known as the Cilician Gates. Ibn Hawkal states that Tarsus was surrounded by a double stone wall, and garrisoned by 100,000 horse-soldiers; he adds, 'between this city and the Greek lands rises a high mountain range, an offshoot of the Jabal-al-Lukkâm, which stands as a barrier between the two worlds of Islam and Christendom.' Ibn Hawkal explains that the great garrison he saw here in 367 (978) was made up for the most part of volunteers coming from all the provinces of Islam to aid in fighting against the Byzantines, 'and the reason thereof,' he adds, 'is this, that from all the great towns within the borders of Persia and Mesopotamia, and Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Marocco, there is no city but has in Tarsus a hostelry (Dar) for its townsmen, where the warriors for the Faith (Ghāsi) from each particular country live. And when they have once reached Tarsus they settle there and remain to serve in the garrison; among them prayer and worship are most diligently performed; from all hands funds are sent to them, and they receive alms rich and plentiful, also there is hardly a Sultan who does not send hither some auxiliary troops.'

Already under the earlier Abbasid Caliphs, namely Mahdî and Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, Tarsus had been carefully re-fortified and well

¹ Baladhuri, 165, 166, 168. Ist. 63, 64. I. H. 122. Mas. ii. 336; viii. 295. Vak. i. 179; ii. 82; iv. 558, 579. A. F. 50. The names of both rivers are occasionally, but incorrectly, written Sayhūn and Jayhūn, like their Central Asian prototypes. In the matter of the ancient mouth of the Sarus, it is worth noting that Ibn Serapion (MS. folio 44 a) states that in his day, at the beginning of the 4th (10th) century, the Sayhūn (Sarus) flowed into the Jayhūn (Pyranus) five leagues above Maṣṣṣṣah, having but one mouth to the sea with the Jayhūn. At the present day the Sayhūn has its separate mouth to the westward near Marsinah, but the old bed may still be traced. See the Goographical Journal for Oct. 1903, p. 410.

garrisoned at first with 8000 troops; and from the celebrated Bâb-al-Jihâd, 'the Gate of the Holy War,' the yearly expeditions against the Christians were wont to set forth. The Caliph Mamun, who had died at the neighbouring Badhandun (Podandos), was buried at Tarsus, on the left-hand side of the great Friday Mosque. Through the city ran the Nahr-al-Baradan (the river Cydnus); the double walls of the town were pierced by six gates, and outside was a deep ditch. Tarsus, Yâkût adds, remained the frontier city of Islam until the year 354 (965), when the Emperor Nikfûr, Nicephorus Phocas, having conquered many of the frontier fortresses, laid siege to Tarsus and took it by capitulation. Among the Moslems, those who could left the city; those who remained were forced to pay the capitation tax. The mosques were all destroyed 'and Nikfûr burnt all the Kurâns, further he took all the arms away from the arsenals, and Tarsûs with all the country round has remained in the hands of the Christians to this day of the year 623 (1226).'

The ancient Cydnus river, as already said, was generally known as the Nahr-al-Baradân or Baradâ, and Ibn-al-Fakîh states it was also called the river Al-Ghadbân. It rose in the hill country to the north of Tarsus in a mountain known as Al-Akra', 'the Bald,' and flowed into the Mediterranean not far from the later mouth of the Sayhân. To the westward, one march from Tarsus, the frontier in early times was marked by the river Lamos, which the Arabs called the Nahr-al-Lamis, and here the ransoming of Moslem and Christian captives periodically took place. Beyond this was the Greek town of Salûkîyah (Seleucia of Cilicia) which in later times, under the Turks, came to be known as Selefkeh'.

The line of the Taurus was traversed by many passes, but two more especially were used by the Moslems in their annual raids into the Byzantine country. The first, to the north-east, was the Darb-al-Hadath which led from Mar'ash north to Abulustân, a town in later times known as Al-Bustân (Byzantine Ablastha and the Greek Arabissus), this pass being defended by the great fortress of Hadath (Adata) already noticed in the last chapter. The

¹ I. H. 122. I. F. 116. Baladhuri, 169. Mas. i. 264; vii. 2; viii. 72. Vak. i. 553, 558; iii. 526. Tabari, iii. 1237. In Ibn-al-Athir (vi. 340) the name of the Lamos river is incorrectly printed as Nahr-as-Sinn.

second, and most frequently used pass in early times was that of the Cilician Gates, leading north from Tarsus, and through this went the high road to Constantinople. This road, which was traversed by the post-couriers, and periodically by the embassies passing between the Cæsar and the Caliph, in addition to being followed more or less exactly in innumerable raiding expeditions whether of the Moslems or the Christians, is carefully described by Ibn Khurdådbih writing in 250 (864), and his account has been copied by many later writers. It was known in its southern part as the Darb-as-Salâmah, 'the Pass of Safety,' and threaded the Pylæ Ciliciæ—the celebrated Cilician Gates.

The account is as follows. Many of the places of course cannot now be exactly identified, but the names are added where possible in brackets. Ibn Khurdådbih writes:-From Tarsûs it is six miles to Al-'Ullayk and thence 12 to Ar-Rahwah ('the Water-meadow,' probably the ancient Mopsukrene) and Al-Jawzat, then seven miles on to Al-Iardakûb, and again seven to Al-Badhandûn (Podandos, the modern Bozanti), where is the spring called Rakah near which the Caliph Mamun died. And then on from Badhandun it is 10 miles to the (northern) end of the pass (of the Cilician Gates) at Luluah (Loulon) of Mu'askar-al-Malik, 'the King's Camp,' near the hot springs, and here is As-Safsaf, 'the Willows' (near Faustinopolis), also Hisn-as-Sakalibah, 'the Fortress of the Sclavonians.' From the King's Camp (where the Pylæ Ciliciæ end) it is 12 miles to the Wadf-at-Tarfa, 'the Tamarisk Valley,' thence 20 to Mina, thence 12 to the river of Hiraklah (later Arakliyah, the Greek Heraclia), the town which Harûn-ar-Rashid took by storm. From Hiraklah it is eight miles to the city of Al-Libn, thence 15 to Rås-al-Ghåbah, 'the Beginning of the Forest,' thence 16 to Al-Maskanin, thence 12 to 'Ayn Burghûth, 'the Spring of Bugs,' thence 18 to Nahr-al-Ahsa, 'the Underground River,' and thence 18 miles on to the suburb of Kûniyah (Iconium). From Kûniyah it is 15 miles to Al-'Alamayn, 'the Double Sign-posts,' thence 20 to Abrumasanah, thence 12 to Wadi-al-Jawz, 'Nut River,' and 12 miles on to 'Aminariyah (Amorion). But there is another route also going from Al-'Alamayn, 'the Double Sign-posts' aforesaid, to 'Ammūriyah; namely from Al-'Alamayn 15 miles to the villages of Nasr the Cretan, thence 10 to the head of the lake of Al-Bâsiliyûn (lake of the Forty Martyrs), thence 10 to As-Sind, thence 18 to Hişn Sinâdah (the fortress of Synades), thence 25 to Maghl, and then 30 miles on to the forest at 'Ammûriyah.

From 'Ammuriyah (Amorion) it is 15 miles to the villages of Al-Harrab, and two on to the river Saghari (the Sangarius) of 'Ammuriyah; thence 12 to Al-'Ilj, 'the Barbarian,' and thence 15 to Falami-al-Ghabah, 'Falami of the Forest,' then 12 to Hisn-al-Yahûd, 'the Jews' Fortress,' and 18 miles on to Sandâbarî (Santabaris), 35 miles beyond which lies the Meadow of the King's Asses at Darawliyah (Dorylæum). From Darawliyah it is 15 miles to the fortress of Gharubuli, and three on to Kanaisal-Malik, 'the King's Churches' (the Basilica of Anna Comnena), then 25 miles to At-Tulûl, 'the Hills,' and 15 to Al-Akwar, whence in 15 miles you reach Malajinah (Malagina). From here it is five miles to Istabl-al-Malik, 'the King's Stables,' and 30 on to Hisn-al-Ghabra, 'the Dusty Fortress' (namely Kibotos, whence the ferry goes over to Aigialos), and thence it is 24 miles on to Al-Khalfi, 'the Strait' (which is the Bosporus of Constantinople). And over against (namely south of) the fortress of Al-Ghabra is Nikîyah (Nicæa). This ends the account in Ibn Khurdadbih of the Constantinople road '.

Off the line of the great high road to Constantinople, the earlier Arab writers had but very incorrect notions of the geography of Asia Minor;—as is shown, for instance, by the confusion which Ibn Hawkal makes between the two very distinct rivers Alis and Saghirah, the Halys and Sangarius. The names of a number of Greek towns appear, in an Arabicized form, in the

¹ I. K. 100-102, 110, 113. Some other variants of this route are given by Ibn Khurdâdbih (pp. 102 and 103), for which the distances have been added by Idrīs! (Jaubert, ii. 308, 309), and compare especially Ramsay, H. G. A. M. pp. 236 and 445. Professor Ramsay (see Geographical Journal for Oct. 1903, p. 383) has identified the famous fortress of the Sclavonians (Hisn-as-Sakālibah) with the ruins of the Byzantine fortress, built of black marble, and now known as Anasha-Kal'ahsi, which is perched high on the mountain overlooking, from the south, the vale of Bozanti (Ba:lhandūn, Podandos). The Byzantine castle of Loulon, which the Arabs called Luluah, 'the Pearl,' he has also identified (lov. cit. pp. 401 and 404, where a photograph of the place is given). It lay to the north, above Aṣ-Ṣalṣāf, 'the Willows,' which marked the settlement in the valley below, where the Greek town of Faustinopolis had stood.

earlier chronicles, and these names for the most part recur, but in an altered form after the Turkish conquest; the Arab authors, however, have unfortunately left no descriptions of these towns. Their identity is not disputed, and we have, to name but a few, Aṭ-Tawânah (Tyana), Dabâsah (Thebasa), Malakûbiyah (Malacopia), Hiraklah (Heraclia), Lâdhik (Laodicea), Kayṣariyah (Cæsarea Mazaka, of Cappadocia), Anṭâkiyah (Antioch of Pisidia), Kuṭiyah (Cotyæum), Ankurah (Angora), Afsûs (Ephesus), Abidûs (Abydos) and Nikmûdiyah (Nicomedia), with some others.

Trebizond, written Tarâbazandah or Atrabazandah, according to Ibn Hawkal, was the chief port by which goods from Constantinople, in early Abbasid times, were brought for sale to Moslems. Arab merchants or their agents took the goods thence across the mountains to Malatiyah and other towns on the upper Euphrates. The carrying trade was in the hands of Armenians, according to Ibn Hawkal, but many Moslem merchants, he adds, resided permanently at Trebizond. Greek linen and woollen stuffs are more especially mentioned and Roman brocades, all of which were brought by sea from the Khalij or Bosporus. The fame and importance of Trebizond at this time is also proved by the Black Sea being then commonly known as the Sea of Trebizond (Bahr Tarâbazandah). Its official name, however, was the Bahr Buntus or Puntush, the Greek Pontos, which by a clerical error (from the misplacing of the diacritical points of the Arabic character) had from a very early time been incorrectly written and pronounced Nitus or Nitush, under which form the name is still often quoted by Persian and Turkish writers, and the mistake is now become so stereotyped as to be beyond recall1.

Although so little topographical information is recorded in the Arab writers about the towns of Asia Minor previous to the Saljūk conquest in the latter half of the 5th (11th) century, the Moslems must have had ample practical acquaintance with much of the country; for almost yearly, and often twice a year in spring and autumn, under the Omayyads and the earlier Abbasids, raids

¹ I. H. 129, 132, 245, 246. I. K. 103. Baladhuri, 161. Tabari, iii. 709, 710. A. F. 34. Yak. i. 401, 499. Mas. i. 260. The Black Sea is also occasionally called the Baḥr-al-Khazar, the Sea of the Khazars, a name more generally applied only to the Caspian. I. K. 103.

were made across the Taurus passes into the Greek country, and their ultimate object was ever the capture of Constantinople. Three times, in fact, under the Omayyad Caliphs was Constantinople besieged by Moslem armies, but the result was in each case disastrous to the assailants, which is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that the Bosporus, measuring in a direct line across the mountainous plateau of Asia Minor, is over 450 miles from Tarsus, the base of the Arab attack.

These three famous sieges are: the first in the year 32 (652), under the reign of 'Othman, when Mu'awiyah the future Caliph raided across Asia Minor and attempted to take Constantinople, first by assault, and then by siege, which last he had to raise when news came of the murder of the Caliph 'Othman. The events which followed soon led to the foundation of the Omayyad dynasty. The second siege was in 49 (669), when Mu'awiyah, established as Caliph, sent his son and successor Yazîd against the Emperor Constantine IV; but the generals were incapable, the Moslem army suffered a crushing defeat, and Yazîd, succeeding to the Caliphate on his father's death, had to return home. The third and best known attempt against Constantinople was the great siege lasting, off and on, for many years in the reign of the Caliph Sulayman, who sent his brother Maslamah in 96 (715) against Leo the Isaurian. Of this campaign, which again ended in a defeat for the Moslems, we have very full accounts both from the Arab and the Greek chroniclers; and it was in these wars that 'Abd-Allah, surnamed Al-Battal, 'the Champion,' made himself famous, who long after, among the Turks, came to be regarded as their national hero, the invincible warrior of Islam.

In spite of frequent defeat and disaster the raids continued, year by year, with a brief interlude while the Abbasids were establishing themselves in power, till more than a century after the date when the latter, having supplanted the Omayyads, became Caliphs; and though again to besiege Constantinople was beyond their power, they raided, sacked, and burnt again and again throughout Asia Minor. One of the most famous of these expeditions was that of the Caliph Mu'taṣim, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, in 223 (838) against 'Ammūriyah (Amorion), described

as the most splendid city of the East, 'the strongest fortress of the Bilâd-ar-Rûm and the very eye of the Christians,' which none the less was plundered and burnt to the ground by the Caliph, who returned unmolested, laden with the spoils.'

The division of Asia Minor into Themes, under the Byzantine Emperors, has been carefully described by Ibn Khurdadbih, and his account is of use in correcting the confused details given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This however need not be discussed here, as it belongs of right to the geography of the Byzantine empire. Besides the towns already mentioned the Arab writers, when recounting the Moslem expeditions across the frontier, notice a number of places which, either from the vagueness of the statement or the ambiguity in the name, can now hardly be identified. Thus Marj-al-Uskuf, 'the Bishop's Meadow,' is frequently mentioned, which from one of the itineraries given by Ibn Khurdâdbih lay some distance west of Podandos. Al-Matmûrah", or (in the plural) Al-Matamir, 'the Cellars,' or 'Grottos,' also frequently occurs, and must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Malacopia. Dhu-l-Kula' (the Strong Castle), otherwise spelt Dhu-l-Kilâ' (the Castle of the Rocks), was a famous fortress, which Baladhuri states was called 'the Fortress

¹ The long list of Moslem raids into Asia Minor, from Arab sources, has been fully worked out and annotated by Mr E. W. Brooks in his papers 'The Arabs in Asia Minor, 641 to 750' (published in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xVIII, 1898) and 'Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the early Abbasids, 750 to 813' (published part i. in the English Historical Review for October. 1900, and part ii. in the January number, 1901). The great siege of Constantinople during the Caliphate of Sulayman he has separately treated of in the Journal of Hellenic Studies (vol. XIX, 1899) in a paper on 'The Campaign of 716-718 from Arabic sources.' From the Byzantine side this famous siege has been fully discussed by Professor J. B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, ii. 401. The Moslems called Constantinople Al-Kustantinivah, but in regard to the Byzantine name, from which the modern Turkish Istambûl is said to be derived, it is worth noting that Mas'udt, in the early part of the 4th (10th) century, writes (Tanbih p. 138) that the Greeks in his day spoke of their capital as Bûlin (i.e. Polin-for πόλις, 'the city'), also as Istan-Bûlin (els τήν πόλω), and he notes that they did not generally use the name Constantinople (Al-Kustantiniyah), as did the Arabs.

² Masmorra in Sp. 'a dangeon' = Scotch Massamora (v. The Antiquary, ch. xxxiii, note).

of the Stars' by the Greeks, which would seem to identify it with Sideropolis in Cappadocia.

The town of Luluah (the Pearl), as the Arabs, to give the name a meaning, called the Byzantine Loulon, stood as already mentioned at the northern end of the pass of the Cilician Gates. Still further north was Tyana (Tawânah or Tuwânah), which for a time Hârûn-ar-Rashîd strongly garrisoned and where a mosque was built. The town or fortress called Ṣaṣâf, 'the Willows,' was on the Constantinople road near Luluah, probably as already said (p. 134) at the site of Faustinopolis, while immediately to the south of Podandos was the fortress of the Sclavonians (Ḥiṣn-aṣ-Ṣaḥâlibah) already mentioned, where according to Balâdhurî certain Sclavonians who had deserted from the Byzantines were quartered to guard the pass by Marwân II, the last of the Omayyad Caliphs'.

After the year 223 (838) the date of the Caliph Mu'taṣim's famous expedition against Amorion, the Moslem raids into the Greek country became less frequent, for the recurrent disorders at Baghdâd left the Abbasid Caliphs less and less free to think of invading the Byzantine territory. Still, from the middle of the 3rd (9th) century to the 5th (11th) century, many of the great semi-independent vassals of the Caliph led Moslem armies across the passes, and at different times the line of the frontier varied considerably, backwards and forwards, though speaking generally it may be stated that no land was ever permanently held by the Moslems beyond the Taurus.

The rise, however, of the Saljûk Turks in the 5th (11th) century, which followed the epoch of the Crusades, entirely changed the face of affairs in Asia Minor. In the spring of the year 463 (1071) Alp Arslân the Saljûk gained the battle of Malasjird (Manzikart), completely routing the Byzantine forces, and taking the Emperor Romanus Diogenes prisoner. Moreover, previously to this, in 456 (1064), Alp Arslân had taken Ânî, the capital of Christian Armenia, an event which broke up the older

¹ For the themes see 'Arabic lists of the Byzantine themes; by E. W. Brooks,' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXI, 1901. I. K. 102, 105. Baladhuri, 150, 170. Tabari, iii. 710, 1237. Ibn-al-Athir, vi. 341. Ramsay, H. G. A. M. 340, 354, 356.

Armenian kingdom of the Bagratids, and led to the founding by Rupen, their kinsman, of the kingdom of Little Armenia in the Taurus country. The result of the battle of Malasjird was that Alp Arslân sent his cousin Sulaymân, son of Kutlumish, into Asia Minor; and then the Saljûks permanently settled down, after their nomadic fashion, in all the high plateau lands forming the centre of the province, and the kingdom of Rûm became from henceforth one of the lands of Islam. In their first flush of victory the Saljûks had raided so far west as Nicæa, which for a short time they held, making it temporarily their capital. From here they were driven back by the first Crusade, and retiring to the central plateau, Iconium or Kûniyah, which was conquered by them in 477 (1084), became and remained the centre of their government.

The line of the Saljūk Sultans of Kūniyah lasted over two centuries, from 470 (1077) to 700 (1300), but their real power was ended by the Mongol conquest of Kūniyah in 655 (1257), the year previous to the fall of Baghdåd. The establishment of the Saljūks in the plateau of Asia Minor was coincident with the rise of the Christian kingdom of Little Armenia in the Taurus

¹ Ibn-al-Athir, x. 25, 44; xii. 125. J. N. 621. On the battle of Manzikart see History of the Art of War by C. Oman, pp. 216-221. The history of the Saljûks in Rûm, and their successors the ten Turkoman Amirs, ending in the establishment of the Ottoman Sultans, is unfortunately the most obscure period in all the Moslem annals. The Persian historians Mirkhwand and Khwandamir have nothing to add to the bald summary on the Saljüks of Rûm given by Mustawil in his Tarthh-i-Gualdah. Perhaps the fullest account of the dynasty is that given by Ibn Khaldûn in his Universal History (volume v. pp. 162-175); but this is in fact little more than a list of names and dates. The Chronicle of Ibn Bibi, lately published by Professor Houtsma, unfortunately begins only with the reign of Kilij Arslân II, in the year 551 (1156). and regarding the first seventy years of Saljuk rule, when they were conquering and establishing themselves in Asia Minor, we know next to nothing. The battle of Manzikart is the only great victory that is alluded to, all the fighting that resulted in the ejection of the Byzantines from the high lands of Asia Minor passes unrecorded. Also there is no mention of a treaty, which must have been made, formally or informally, between the Byzantines and the Saljûks after Manzikart. For a summary of all that is known of the Turkoman Amirs who succeeded to the Sultans of Rûm see Professor Lane-Poole, 'The successors of the Saljúks in Asia Minor in the J. R. A. S. for 1882, p. 773.

country. Sis, otherwise called Sisiyah, soon after 473 (1080) became the capital of Rupen, the founder of the new dynasty. After a century Leo took the title of king in 594 (1198), and the kings of Little Armenia, weathering the Mongol invasion, only came to an end in 743 (1342). From Sis the kingdom grew to include all the mountainous country watered by the Sayhan and Jayhan rivers, down to the Mediterranean, with the cities of Massisah, Adhanah, and Tarsûs, as well as much of the coast-line to the west of Tarsûs. Sîs, or Sîsîyah, the ancient Flaviopolis, under the early Abbasids had been counted an outlying fortress of 'Ayn Zarbah, and its walls were rebuilt by the Caliph Mutawakkil. grandson of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. It was afterwards taken by the Byzantines, and when Abu-l-Fida wrote in 721 (1321) he alludes to it as having been recently rebuilt by Leo II (Ibn Lawan), surnamed the Great, king of Little Armenia. Its castle, surrounded by a triple wall, crowned the hill, and the gardens descended to the river, which was an affluent of the Jayhan. Yakût adds that, in his day, Sis was the commonly used form of the name.

To the west and north of this kingdom of Little Armenia stretched the territories of the Saljûk Sultans, and during the first hundred years of their occupation of the plateau lands of Asia Minor this province was three times traversed by the armies of the Crusades. The first Crusade in 490 (1097) resulted in the expulsion of Kilij Arslân I (son and successor of Sulaymân, the first Sultan of Rûm) from Nicrea, and the rabble of the Crusaders passing by Kûniyah regained the sea at Tarsus, and took ship for Palestine. In the second Crusade Louis VII of France defeated Sultan Mas'ûd (son of Kilij Arslân) on the banks of the Meander in 542 (1147), but the Franks in their passage onward to the port of Antaliyah suffered great losses in the mountain country. In the third Crusade the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa is said in 586 (1190) to have captured Kûniyah, the Saljûk capital, from Kilij Arslân II (son of Mas'ûd), but marching onward Barbarossa was accidentally drowned in a river near Salûkiyah (Seleucia of Cilicia), possibly in the Lamos or Nahr-al-Lamis, already mentioned (p. 133), where under the earlier Abbasids Moslem and Christian captives were exchanged or ransomed.

The extent of the country governed by the Saljuk Sultans of Rûm varied of course at different times, according to the waning or recovered power of the Byzantine empire, the growth of the Christian kingdom of Little Armenia, and the condition of the neighbouring Moslem principalities, which the Crusaders had in part overcome, and where for a time Frank princes ruled over Moslem subjects. The chief towns of the Saljûk Sultanate in Rûm as it existed in 587 (1191) are made known to us by the division of his dominions which Kilij Arslân II made in that year among his eleven sons. Kûniyah (Iconium), as already stated, was the capital, and the second city of the Sultanate was Kaysariyah (Cæsarea Mazaka). Malatiyah (Melitene) was the chief town of the eastern province on the Euphrates boundary. To the north Sivas (Sebastia), Nakîsâr (or Nîksâr, the older Neo-Cæsarea), Tûkât and Amasiyah (Amasia) each became the appanage of a Saljúk prince, likewise Angūriyah (Angora) to the north-west, and on the western border Burughlû, probably identical with the modern Ulû Burlû, lying to the west of the Egridûr lake. On the southern frontier, lying eastwards of Kuniyah, the chief towns were Arâkliyah (Heraclia), Nakîdah or Nigdah, and Abulustân, later called Al-Bustan (Arabissus).

Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn, who succeeded in 616 (1219) and was the grandson of Kilij Arslân II, extended his rule north and south from the shores of the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. He took Sînûb (Sinope) on the former, and on the southern coast made a great harbour at 'Alâyâ-named after him-where the slips for ship-building and remains of other constructions connected with the great navy of the Saljûks may still be seen : and on the northwest he extended his power to the town of Sari Ball. His reign was made famous by the writings of the great Sûfî poet Jalâl-ad-Dîn Rûmî, who lived and died at Kûniyah. Thirty years after the death of 'Alâ-ad-Dîn, which occurred in 634 (1237), the Mongol armies broke up the power of the Saljuks; the four last Sultans were in fact merely governors under the Îl-Khâns of Persia, and in the year 700 (1300) the province of Rûm was divided up among the ten Turkoman Amirs, who originally had been the vassals of the Saljûk Sultans'.

⁴ Baladhuri, 170. Yak. iii. 217. A. F. 257. Ibn Bibl, 5. J. N. 621,

612. Idrist, who wrote in 548 (1153), and who, according to his own testimony (Jaubert, ii. 300), was at Amorion and visited the cave of the Seven Sleepers in 510 (1116), is the one Moslem geographer who gives us an account of Asia Minor in the time of the Saljûks. Unfortunately his text has come down to us in a most corrupt form. He gives a number of routes, traversing Asia Minor in all directions, which are very difficult to plot out, for the names of intermediate places are for the most part unrecognisable, though the terminal stages are beyond dispute. Idrisi, ii. 305-318. The limits of the Saliûk kingdom have been clearly traced by Professor Ramsay (H. G. A. M. pp. 78, 382, 384), and a description of the Great Mosques and other buildings of the Saljuk Sultans will be found in a series of papers by M. C. Huart entitled 'Épigraphie Arabe d'Asie Mineur,' in the Revue Sémitique, 1894, pp. 61, 120, 235, 324, and 1895, pp. 73, 175, 214, 344; and in the Journal Asiatique for 1901, i. 343, also by M. F. Grenard, 'Monuments Seljoukides de Sivas etc.,' J. As. 1900, ii. 451. See further a paper by Professor Ramsay, with remarks of Sir C. Wilson and others, in the Geographical Journal for September, 1902, p. 257.

CHAPTER X.

RÛM (continued).

The ten Turkoman Amirates. Ibn Baṭūṭah and Mustawft. Kaysāriyah, and Sivās. The Sultan of Mesopotamia. The Amir of Karamān. Kūniyah. The Amir of Tekkeh, 'Alāyā, and Anṭāliyah. The Amir of Hamīd, Egridūr. The Amīr of Germiyān, Kutāhīyah, and Sivri Ḥiṣār. The Amīr of Menteshā, Mītās. The Amīr of Aydīn, Ephesus, and Smyrna. The Amīr of Ṣārūkhān, Magnesia. The Amīr of Karāsi, Pergamos. The 'Othmānil territory, Brusā. The Amīr of Kizil Aḥmadīt: Sinūb.

The limits of the ten Turkoman Amirates of the 8th (14th) century very roughly corresponded with the following ancient Greek provinces of Asia Minor. Karâmân or Karamân, the largest, was the older Lycaonia; on the Mediterranean coast Tekkeh included Lycia and Pamphylia; inland Hamid corresponded with Pisidia and Isauria; Kermiyân or Germiyân with Phrygia; and on the coast of the Black Sea Kizil Aḥmadlî, sometimes called Isfandiyâr, had been Paphlagonia. On the Ægean shores Menteshâ was the older Caria; Aydîn and Şârûkhân combined were the kingdom of Lydia; Karâsî was Mysia; and lastly the 'Othmânli territory (of those Ottomans who ultimately conquered all the other nine provinces) was at first only the small province of Phrygia Epictetus, backed by the high lands of Bythia which the 'Othmanlis had recently conquered from the Byzantines.

Of the state of Asia Minor under these Turkoman Amîrs we possess an extremely curious account in the travels of Ibn Baţûţah the Berber, who landing from Syria at 'Alâyâ, in 733 (1333), visited many of the petty courts on his way to Şinûb (Sinope), where he took ship across the Black Sea to the Crimea. Unfortunately, a part of his account appears to be missing. From

'Alâyâ he journeyed along the sea-shore to Antâliyah, and then struck north across the hills to Egridûr in Hamid, on the lake of that name. From here by a devious road through Ladhik (Laodicea ad Lycum) he travelled to Mîlâs in Menteshâ, and thence right across Asia Minor diagonally, by Kûniyah and Kaysáriyah, to Sîvâs and Arzan-ar-Rům. Here a lacuna occurs, for the next town mentioned is Birki in Aydin, whence Aya Sulûk (Ephesus) was visited. Finally, going north and east, Ibn Batûtah takes Brusa and other towns on his road to the Black Sea coast at Sinûb (Sinope). His contemporary Mustawfî, in the chapter of his Geography on Rûm, has added some details to the description of towns given by Ibn Batûtah. Mustawfi, however, though writing in 740 (1340) works on earlier sources, and his information gives the state of Rûm under the later Saljûks, rather than the country as it existed when the ten Amirs had established their power.

At the beginning of the 9th (15th) century the irruption of Timûr into Asia Minor temporarily altered the course of affairs, and threw back the rising Ottoman power for a quarter of a century. The account of his campaigns given by 'Alî of Yazd again adds something to our knowledge of the country, some further details also being given in the pages of the Turkish Jahân Numâ, which, though written in the beginning of the 11th (17th) century, when the Ottoman power had long been established in Asia Minor, makes mention of the chief monuments left by the Saljûk Sultans.

Before describing the ten provinces, already named, of the Turkoman Amîrs, some account must be given of the towns lying to the eastward of the boundary of Karâmân, which may be taken as marked by the lower course of the Halys (the Kizil Irmâk of the Turks) continued by a line going south to the Jayhân. East of this boundary Asia Minor in the 8th (14th) century belonged to the Îl-Khâns, the Mongol princes who ruled in Mesopotamia and Persia, and sent hither their governors to keep the peace among the smaller hordes of Turkoman nomads who had settled down in this country after the great Mongol invasion. The chief city east of the Karamân frontier was Kayṣariyah (also spelt Kaysârîyah, namely Cæsarea Mazaka, of Cappadocia), which under

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the Saljuks had been the second city of Rum, and which indeed Kazwînî names as their capital. Here among other shrines might be seen the Friday Mosque dedicated to the hero of Omayyad days, Al-Battâl. Mustawfi describes Kaysariyah as surrounded by the stone walls built by Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Din the Saljûk; it was a great town with a castle and lay at the base of Mount Arjâish (Argæus). Mount Arjáish, Mustawfi adds, was an extremely high mountain, its summit never being free from snow, and from it many streams descended. At its foot lay Davalû, a place which will be mentioned below. On the summit of the mountain might be seen a great church. In Kaysariyah stood the famous and greatly venerated shrine of Muhammad ibn Hanasiyah, a son of the Caliph 'Ali, and when Ibn Batûtah visited Kaysariyah (as he writes the name) the city was occupied by a strong garrison in the pay of the Mongol Sultan of 'Irâk. In the beginning of the 9th (15th) century Kaysariyah was the first great city in Asia Minor occupied by the armies of Tîmûr,

Abulustan (Arabissus) to the east of Kaysariyah, the frontier fortress of Byzantine times, is also mentioned in the conquests of Timûr; and Mustawfi speaks of Abulustân as a medium-sized town. In the Jahân Numâ the modern spelling Al-Bustân (with the signification of 'the Garden') is given. Kirshahr (Byzantine Justinianopolis Mokissus), about 80 miles west of Kaysariyah, was a place of great importance and is frequently mentioned in the account of the campaigns of Tîmûr. Mustawfi describes Kîrshahr as a large town with fine buildings, and in the Jahan Numa it is counted as one of the cities of Karaman. Amasiyah or Amasiyah (Amasia) under the Saljuks had been one of their centres of government; and Mustawfi relates that it had been rebuilt by Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn. Ibn Batûtah, who passed through it, describes it as a great city with broad streets and fine markets. surrounded by splendid gardens irrigated by means of waterwheels erected along the river. In his day it was under the Sultan of Mesopotamia, and not far distant from it was the town of Sûnusâ (spelt Sûnîsâ in the Jahân Numâ) with a population of fanatical Shi'ahs. To the north of Amasiyah lies Ladik (Laodicea Pontica), a place of importance under the Saljuks, and frequently mentioned in the chronicle of Ibn Bibi. The port of Samsun

(or Ṣâmṣūn, the Greek Amysos) is described by Mustawfi as a great harbour for ships, and already by the latter part of the 8th (14th) century it was growing rich on the trade diverted to it from the older port of Sanūb or Ṣinūb (Sinope).

Nîksâr (or Nakisâr, the Greek Neo-Cæsarea) had been an important place under the Saljûks, and is frequently mentioned by Ibn Bîbî; Mustawfî describes it as a médium-sized town, with many gardens producing much fruit. Tûkât (also spelt Dûkât) lies to the west of Nîksâr on the road to Amâsiyah, and was one of the great governments under the Saljûks; further west again lies Zîlah, mentioned by Ibn Bîbî and later authorities. The city of Sîvâs (Sebastia), on the Kizil Irmâk (Halys), had been rebuilt by Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn, who used hewn stone for all the new masonry. Mustawfî reports that the place was famous for its woollen stuffs, which were largely exported; it had a cold climate, but cotton was grown here, as well as much grain. Ibn Baţûţah speaks of Sîvâs as the largest city in the province ruled by the Sultan of Mesopotamia. Here were a Government House, fine streets and excellent markets, and a great Madrasah or college.

Mustawfi gives an account of the high road which went west from Sîvâs to Persia: two stages led to Zârah, a town of some importance, and two more to Ak Shahr (White Town), a place frequently mentioned in the Saljûk chronicle. North-west of Åk Shahr lies Kara Hisar (the Black Fortress) which is often referred to by Ibn Bîbî, who calls it Karâ Ḥiṣâr Dawlah-'of the State'-to distinguish this fortress, which is referred to also by Mustawfi, from other places of like name. In the Jahan Numâ it is called Karâ Hişâr Shâbîn, from the alum (Shâb) mines that lie near it. From Ak Shahr the high road to Persia went on in three stages to Arzanjan, and thence it was the like distance to Arzan-ar-Rûm. From here the way went south in three stages to Khanûs (or Khûnâs as Ibn Bîbî writes the name, Khinis being the modern form), whence it was to leagues to Malasjird (Manzikart), this being eight leagues distant from Arjish on the lake of Van2.

² Ibn Bihi, 26, 292, 308. I. B. ii. 289. Mst. 161, 163, 164, 199. J. N. 424, 622, 623.

¹ Kaz. ii. 371. I. B. ii. 287, 289, 292. Ibn Bibi, 26, 308. Mst. 162, 163, 164, 202. A. Y. ii. 270, 416, 417. J. N. 599, 615, 620, 622, 623.

The province of Karaman (or Karaman), the largest of the ten Amirates, took its name from the Turkoman tribe which had settled in this region, and the capital was Larandah, also called Karaman after the province. Larandah dated from Byzantine days, and Ibn Batûtah who visited it in the 8th (14th) century, and spells the name Al-Lârandah, describes it as a fine town standing in the midst of gardens, abundantly supplied with water. At the close of the century it was taken and plundered by the troops of Timur, but afterwards regained its former prosperity. To the south of Lârandah is Armanâk, which is spoken of by Mustawfi as having been formerly a large city, though in the 8th (14th) century it had sunk to the condition of a provincial town. It is also mentioned in the Jahan Numa, together with Selefkeh, the older Arabic Salûkiyah (Seleucia of Cilicia). Under the Ottoman rule these places were included in the province called 1ch 111, which in Turkish signifies 'the Interior Land,' and as this description is hardly applicable to the province in question, which lies along the coast, it has been suggested that Ich Ilî is in reality only a corruption, truncated, of the older Greek name Cilicia.

Kûniyah (Iconium), as already stated, had been the Saljûk capital, but under the Karamân Amîrs it sank to a city of the second rank. Mustawfî relates that the town possessed a great Aywân, or hall, in the palace which had been built by Sultan Kilij Arslân, by whom also the castle had been founded. At a later date 'Alâ-ad-Dîn had built, or restored, the town walls, making them of cut stone, 30 ells in height, with a ditch 20 ells deep outside. The walls were 10,000 paces in circuit, they were pierced by twelve gates, each having a great castellated gateway. Abundant water was brought down from a neighbouring hill, to be stored at one of the city gates in a great tank under a dome, whence over 300 conduits distributed it throughout the city. The neighbourhood of Kûniyah was renowned for its gardens, famous for yellow plums, and immense quantities of cotton and corn were grown in the fields around the town.

Mustawfi adds that in his day much of Kûniyah was in ruin, though the suburb immediately below the castle had a large population. In the city was the tomb of the great mystic, the Sûfî poet Jalâl-ad-Dîn Rûmî, already mentioned, which was an object of

pilgrimage. This shrine is noticed by Ibn Batútah, who praises the fine buildings and abundant water-supply of Kûniyah. He speaks of its gardens and the apricots grown here, called Kamar-ad-Din (Moon of Faith), which were exported largely to Syria. The streets were broad and the markets abundantly supplied, each trade keeping to its own quarter. Ibn Bîbî in his Saljûk chronicle incidentally mentions the names of three of the gates of Kûniyah, namely, the Gate of the Horse Bâzâr, the Gate of the Assay-house, and the Gate of the Aḥmad bridge.

The fortress of Karâ Hişâr of Kûniyah lies at some distance to the east of Kûniyah, and is mentioned by Mustawfi who says that it was built by one Bahrâm Shâh. Beyond this is Hiraklah (Heraclea), a name which in later times appears as Arâklîyah, and is frequently mentioned in the Jahân Numâ. To the north of Kûniyah is Lâdîk Sûkhtah, the Burnt Lâdîk (Laodicea Combusta, the Greek Katakekaumena), which Ibn Bîbî speaks of as the Village of Lâdîk to distinguish it from the other towns called Laodicea (Pontica and Ad Lycum). The Jahân Numâ refers to Laodicea Combusta as Yurgân Lâdîk, otherwise called Lâdhikiyah of Karamân.

In the northern part of the Karaman province is Angora (Greek Ancyra), the name of which is spelt by the earlier Arabic authorities Ankurah, and by later Persian and Turkish authors Angûriyah. Mustawfi speaks of it as a town possessing a cold climate; much corn, cotton, and fruit being grown in the neighbourhood. It is famous in history as the place where in 804 (1402) Timur defeated in a pitched battle, and took prisoner, the Ottoman Sultan Bayazîd Ilderim. Kûsh Hişâr, or Kûch Hişâr, on the eastern border of the great Salt Lake, is mentioned by Mustawff as a medium-sized town, and its name also occurs in the Jahan Numa. Some distance east of the southern end of the lake stands Ak Sarây (the White Palace) built by Sultan Kilij Arslân II in 566 (1171), and described by Mustawfl as a fine town surrounded by fruitful lands. Åk Sarå (as Ibn Batûtah spelt the name) stood on three streams, and its gardens were magnificent, also there were many vineyards within the walls.

¹ I. B. ii. 281, 284. Mst. 162, 163. A. Y. ii. 458. J. N. 611, 615, 616. Ibn Bibi, 8, 9, 287, 324.

The townspeople in the 8th (14th) century made excellent carpets from the wool of their sheep, and these carpets were largely exported to Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Ibn Baṭūṭah adds that in his day Âk Sarā was in the government of the Sultan of Mesopotamia.

Some fifty miles east of Åk Sarå is Malankûbiyah (Malacopia), which is mentioned by Mustawfi as a place of importance in the 8th (14th) century. To the north of this is another Kara Hisar, described by Mustawfi as of the Nigdah district, and east of this again is Davalů (in the Jahân Numâ the name is written Davahlů), a place already spoken of as at the foot of Mount Arjaish. It occurs more than once in the history of Ibn Bibi in connection with Kaysariyah. Mustawfî describes Davalû as a town of medium size, and its walls had been rebuilt by Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn the Saljûk. South of Malankûbiyah is Nigdah (in Ibn Bîbî written Nakidah) which had taken the place of the earlier Tuwanah (Tyanah), having been built by Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn. Nigdah is described by Mustawfi as a medium-sized town, and Ibn Batûtah, who passed through it, notes that the greater part was already in ruin. It lay, he adds, in the territories of the Sultan of Mesopotamia; its stream was called the Nahr-al-Aswad, 'the Black River,' and was crossed by three stone bridges. The gardens of Nigdah were most fruitful; and waterwheels were employed for their irrigation. To the south of Nigdah was Luluah (Loulon). frequently mentioned by Ibn Bibi, a great fortress which, as already said, marked the northern end of the pass of the Cilician Gates. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi describes Luluah as a small town, surrounded by excellent pasture lands. It had a cold climate, and in the neighbourhood there were famous hunting grounds'.

In the territories of the Amîr of Tekkeh the most important towns appear to have been 'Alâyâ and Anţâliyah, famed for their harbours. The first, as already mentioned, had been founded by the Saljûk Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn on the site of the ruins of Coracesium. Ibn Baţûţah landed here from Syria in 733 (1333), and describes 'Alâyâ as at that time the great port for the trade with Alexandria.

¹ Ibn Bibi, 5, 34, 44, 279, 314. I. B. ii. 285, 286. Mst. 162, 163, 164, 202. Yak. iv. 635. A. Y. ii. 429. J. N. 617, 620.

In the upper town, very strongly built by 'Alâ-ad-Dîn, was the castle, which Ibn Batûtah carefully examined; but in his day 'Alâyâ appears to have belonged to the Sultan of Karamân.

Antâliyah, the second harbour, lying a hundred miles to the westward of 'Alaya, at the head of the bay, was famous as the usual place of re-embarkation of the Crusaders for Palestine. It was a fine town, and was known to Yakut as the chief port of Rûm, being strongly fortified and surrounded by fruitful lands, with many vineyards. Here Sultan Kilij Arslân the Saljûk had built himself a palace on the hill overlooking the sea, and here, too, Ibn Batûtah found many Christian merchants settled, especially down at the Mînâ or port, their quarter being shut off by a wall, and each trade, he adds, had its own street in the markets. There was a Jews' quarter also, and the Moslems lived in their own part of the city, where stood the mosque and Madrasah (college). Antâliyah, the name of which occurs in the Crusading chronicles as Satalia or Attaleia, is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timur under the form 'Adâliyah. To the west of it, also mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd, is Istânûs, a town whose name in the Jahân Numâ is written Istanaz

To the north of Tekkeh the Amîr of Hamîd owned the country round the four lakes of Egridûr, Burdûr, Beg Shahr, and Âk Shahr. Under the Saljûks, according to Ibn Bîbî, the seat of government had been at Burughlû, apparently identical with the later Ulû Burlû (to the west of the Egridûr lake), the Byzantine Sozopolis or Apollonia. Antâkiyah (Antioch of Pisidia), which in the earlier Moslem chronicles is frequently referred to, in Turkish times took the name of Yalâvâch, and was situate in the plain between the lakes of Egridûr and Âk Shahr. The chief town of the province, according to Mustawîî in the 8th (14th) century, appears to have been the city of Egridûr (the ancient Prostanna) at the southern end of the lake of that name. Ibn Baţûţah describes it as a great place, well built, with fine markets, surrounded by abundantly watered gardens; and the lake (he adds) was traversed by the boats of the merchants, who thus transported

In the New Testament Attalia is mentioned in Acts xiv. 25. Yak. i. 388.
 B. ii. 257, 258. J. N. 611, 638, 639. A. Y. ii. 447, 449.

their goods to neighbouring places, and traded with the towns on the shores of the Åk Shahr and Beg Shahr lakes.

The town of Beg Shahr (or Bey Shahr, Karallia of the Byzantines) at the foot of its lake, according to the Jahân Numâ, had been founded by Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn the Saljûk. It had a stone wall with two gates, a Friday Mosque, and fine baths; also a market at a place called Alarghah. To the west of Egridûr lies Burdûr, on the lake of the same name, a small town, according to Ibn Baţûṭah, with many streams and gardens, protected by a castle on the neighbouring hill. Ispârtah, south of Egridûr, is given in the Jahân Numâ as the capital of Hamîd in later times. Ibn Baţûṭah writes the name Sabartâ; and describes it as a well-built city of many gardens, protected by a castle. This represents the Byzantine town of Baris, and Sparta is the common pronunciation of the present day'.

The lake of Ak Shahr is that which Ibn Khurdadbih (see above, p. 135) calls Bâsiliyûn, and which the Byzantines knew as the Lake of the Forty Martyrs. To the west of it is the great castle of Kara Hisar, which in connection with Ak Shahr is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timur. At Ak Shahr, according to 'Ali of Yazd, the unfortunate Sultan of the 'Othmanlis, Bayazîd Ilderim, whom Tîmûr had defeated at Angora, died broken-heated in 805 (1403), and both this Ak Shahr and this Karå Hisår are mentioned by Mustawfi among the many celebrated places of those names. This Kara Hisar, now surnamed Afyun from the quantity of opium grown round it, marks the site of the Greek town of Prymnessos or Akroenos, and local tradition asserts that Al-Battal, the champion of the earlier Omayyad wars against the Byzantines, was killed in battle near here. Tabari, however, our earliest authority, only says that in the year 122 (740) 'Abd-Allah-al-Battal was slain in the Greek country, and no indication of the place is given 1.

¹ Sabartâ or Ispârtah is the corruption of the Greek els Bánda: of. footnote, p. 157, on Izmld and Iznik (Nicomedia and Nicaea).

² Ibn Bibi, 5, 212, 251, 283. I. B. ii. 265, 266. Mst. 162, 163, 164. J. N. 618, 639, 640, 641. A. Y. ii. 457, 458, 489, 492. Ramsay, H. G. A. M. 87, 139, 396, 401, 406. Tabari, ii. 1716. The tomb of Al-Battâl is given in the fahân Numâ (p. 642) as existing in the 11th (17th) century at Stdt Ghâzt, more than fifty miles north of Karâ Hişâr to the east of Kûtâhiyah. At the present day it is shown at Kîrshahr. In regard to Antioch of Pisidia there was

North and west of the Hamid province was the country governed by the Amîr of Kermiyân, or Germiyân, whose capital was at Kûtâhiyah (Cotyæum). The Arab chroniclers wrote the name, as already mentioned, Kutiyah; but the Byzantine town must early have fallen to ruin, and according to the Jahan Numâ it was the Sultan of Germiyan to whom the later medieval town of Kûtâhiyah owed its foundation. Ibn Batûtah refers to it as inhabited by robbers. At the close of the 8th (14th) century the place is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timur, he for a time having made it his head-quarters. A hundred miles east of Kûtâhiyah, near the upper affluents of the Sangarius, stands the great fortress of Sivri Hisar, where Timur also for a time had his head-quarters. The name in Turkish means 'the Pointed Castle' (Kazwini spells it Sibri Hisar), and it stands above the site of the Roman Pessinus, which afterwards was renamed Justinianopolis Palia. Kazwînî reports that in the 7th (13th) century there was a famous church here called Bay'at Kamnanûs, and if animals suffering from stricture were seven times led round this church, the stricture would yield and they then recovered their health.

South of Sîvrî Ḥiṣâr lies 'Ammûriyah (Amorion, at the modern Assar Ḥal'ah), already spoken of (p. 137), which Mustawfî refers to as if in the 8th (14th) century it were still a place of importance. For some unexplained reason the common people, he adds, called it Angûriyah or Angûrah (Angora), and this strange misnomer is repeated in the Jahân Numâ, only that according to the latter authority it was Angûriyah, Angora, that was commonly called 'Ammûriyah. In the south-eastern part of Germiyân is Lâdhik (Laodicea ad Lycum), which the Turks called Denizlû, 'Many Waters,' from its abundant streams; the place is now known as Eskî Ḥiṣâr (Old Fort). Ibn Baṭûṭah describes it

at all times a tendency in the earlier Arab chronicles to confound this with other places of the same name, and especially with Antioch of Syria. Va'kūtū in his History (j. 177) refers to Antākiyah-al-Muḥtarikah, 'Burnt Antioch.' by which apparently the town of Pisidia is meant. The same author (ii. 285) speaks further of a raid made in the year 49 (669), and then mentions 'Black Antioch' (Antākiyah-as-Sawdā), by which name possibly Antioch of Isauria is intended.

as a great city, with seven mosques for the Friday prayers, and excellent markets. The Greek women of Lâdhik wove cotton stuffs, which they afterwards embroidered finely with gold, and these embroideries were famous for their wear. In the Jahân Numâ the older form of the name is given as Lâdhikiyah.

In the province governed by the Mentesha Amîr, Ibn Baţûţah visited the three neighbouring cities of Mughlah, Mîlâs, and Barjîn. The Amîr lived at Mughlah (the older Mobolla), the capital, according to the Jahan Numa, which Ibn Batatah describes as a fine town. Milâs (Mylasa, or Melisos) was also a great city with gardens, much fruit, and plentiful streams. Barjin (Bargylia, now known as Assarlik), a few miles from Mîlâs, was a newly built town, standing on a hill-top, with a fine mosque and good houses. In the eastern part of Mentesha, Ibn Batûtah visited Kul Hisår, which under the name of Gul is described by Mustawiî as a medium-sized town, and it is also spoken of in the campaigns of Tîmûr. Ibn Batûtah describes it as surrounded on all sides by the waters of the little lake on which it stood, this being almost entirely overgrown with reeds. A single road by a causeway led to the town across the lake, and the castle, which was very strong, crowned a hill rising immediately above the town. In the north of Mentesha was the castle of Hisn Tawas, at the present time called Daonas, a day and a half distant from Lâdhik (Laodicea ad Lycum). Ibn Batûtah describes Tawâs as a great fortress with a walled town below it. Tradition stated that Suhayb, a celebrated Companion of the prophet Muhammad, had been born here*.

North of Menteshâ was the territory of the Amîr of Aydîn, of which Tîrah (Teira) was the capital. Ibn Baţûṭah, who visited the Amîr of Aydîn here, says it was a fine city with many gardens and abundant streams. He also passed through Birkî (Pyrgion), one march north of Tîrah, of which he praises the magnificent trees. The city of Aydîn or Guzel Ḥiṣâr occupies the site of the Byzantine Tralleis, and was a town of secondary importance. Ephesus, on the coast, was well known to the earlier Arab

¹ Kaz. ii. 359. I. B. ii. 270, 271, 457. Mst. 162. A. Y. ii. 448, 449. J. N. 631, 632, 634, 643.

^{2 1.} B. ii. 269, 277, 278, 279, 280. Mst. 163. J. N. 638. A. Y. ii. 448.

geographers as Afasûs, or Abasûs, and was famous as the place where might be seen the Cave of the Seven Sleepers referred to in the Kurân (ch. xvIII, v. 8). In later times the town came to be known as Ayâsulûk (also written Ayâthulûkh or Ayâsalîgh), a corruption of the Greek Agiou Theologou, and so called from the great church to Saint John Theologos, built here by the Emperor Justinian. This church was visited by Ibn Batûtah when he was here in 733 (1333). He describes it as constructed of great stones, each ten ells in length, carefully hewn. Another church had, on the Moslem conquest, become the Friday Mosque, and this was a most beautiful building, the walls being faced with divers coloured marbles, while the pavement was of white marble, and the roof, which was formed of eleven domes, was covered with lead. Ibn Batûtah states that Ayâsulûk in his day had fifteen gates, a river (the Cayster) flowed past it to the sea, and the city was surrounded by jasmine gardens and vineyards.

The other great port of Aydin was Smyrna, called by the Turks Azmîr or Yazmîr, which was taken by Tîmûr from the Knights Hospitallers in the beginning of the 9th (15th) century. Ibn Batûtah, who was here in 733 (1333), describes it as then for the most part in ruin; there was a great castle on the hill hard by, and from this port, he adds, the Amir of Aydin was wont to send out ships to harass the Byzantines, and plunder the neighbouring Christian towns. Of these last was Fûjah (or Fûchah, Phocia) on the coast of the province of Sarûkhan, mentioned later on in the time of Timur as a Moslem castle, but which Ibn Batutah writes of in his travels as then in the hands 'of the infidels,' namely the Genoese. The capital of Sarûkhân was Maghnîsiyah (or Maghntsiya, Magnesia) which he speaks of as a fine city standing on the hill-side, surrounded by many gardens with abundant streams, and here the Amîr of Şârûkhân held his court. In the campaigns of Tîmûr the province round Maghnî Siyâh (as the name was then written) is called Saruhan-Ilî1.

North of Şârûkhân was the territory of the Karasi (or

¹ I. B. ii. 295, 307, 308, 309, 312. A. Y. ii. 466, 468, 470, 480. J. N. 634, 636, 637. Ramsay, H. G. A. M. 110, 228. Yak. i. 91; ii. 806. The legend of the Cave of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus I have already discussed in Palestine under the Moslems, p. 274.

Karah-Sî) Amîr, whose capitals were Bâlîkesrî and Barghamah (Pergamos). Ibn Baţûţah, who visited Pergamos in 733 (1333), describes it as a city for the most part in ruin, but defended by a huge castle perched on a hill-top near by. Bâlîkesrî, which he also visited, was a well-built and populous town with excellent markets. There was, however, no Friday Mosque here at this date, though the Sultan of Karâsî, Dumûr (or Tîmûr) Khân, generally lived here, and his father had built Bâlîkesrî. At a later period the town is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr.

From Balikesri Ibn Baţûţah travelled on to Bruṣa, at that time the capital of the 'Othmanli state, which already had begun to overshadow and absorb all the other Turkoman Amirates. Bruṣa or Bruṣah (Pruṣa) was already a great city, with fine markets and broad streets. The town was surrounded by extensive gardens, and within the city was a great tank where the water was collected for distribution to all the houses. At Bruṣa there was a hospital, with one ward for men and another for women, where the sick were attended to and supplied gratis with all necessities, and there was also a hot bath. The 'Othmanli Sultan whom Ibn Baţûţah visited was Orkhan (grandfather of that Bayazîd Ilderim, already mentioned as defeated at the beginning of the following century by Tīmūr), and the chief monument of his capital was the tomb of Sultan 'Othman, his father, who was buried in what had formerly been a church.

Mikhâlij (Miletopolis, which the Byzantines called Michaelitze), lying about 50 miles west of Bruṣâ, is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr, and in the Jahân Numâ. The most important town of the Ottoman territory in 733 (1333), however, was Nicæa, which had been taken from the Byzantines by Sultan Orkhân. Nicæa, which the earlier Arab geographers called Nîkiyah, the Turks knew as Yaznîk or Iznîk. Ibn Baţûţah describes the lake of Yaznîk as covered with reeds. At the eastern end of it the town stood, and was entered by a single causeway across the waters, so narrow that only one horseman at a time could approach. The town itself he describes as much in ruin, but its circuit enclosed many gardens; it was surrounded by four separate walls with a water ditch dug between

every two, traversed by drawbridges. To the north of Nicæa lies Nicomedia, which the earlier Arab authorities knew as Nikmûdiyah; the Turks called it Iznekmîd, as the Jahân Numâ writes the name, shortened later to Izmîd, which is that now in use. No description of this town is given by Ibn Baţūṭah or our other authorities.

The province of Kizil Ahmadli lay along the coast of the Black Sea from the neighbourhood of the Bosporus to Sinope. Travelling from Yaznik, after passing the river Sangarius, which the Turks called Sakari, the first large town which Ibn Batútah came to was Muturni or Müdurni (modern Mudurlü, and the ancient Modrene) which he speaks of as a place of considerable size; it is also mentioned in the Jahan Numâ. The town of Bûli (Claudiopolis), to the north-east of Muturni, Ibn Batútah describes as standing on a river of some volume; and Kerehdeh (or Geredi) Bûli, one march to the east of this, was a fine large city in a plain, with good markets and broad streets, each separate nation among its people having a distinct quarter. Geredi Bûlî in 733 (1333) was the residence of the Amîr, and appears to have been then the chief town of Kizil Ahmadlî.

In the eastern part of the province stands Kastamûniyah (or Kastamûnî, for Castamon) which Mustawfî describes as a mediumsized town. Ibn Batûtah speaks of it as one of the largest cities
which he visited in Asia Minor, and provisions, he notes, were
here both cheap and abundant. To the north-east of it lay the
great port of Sanûb (or Sînûb, Sinope), where he took ship for
the Crimea, and from his description we learn how Sinope was
surrounded on three sides by the sea, the town being entered by a
single gate to the east. It was a beautiful and populous harbour
and strongly defended. A fine Friday Mosque was to be seen
here, the dome supported on marble pillars; and a place of

¹ Iznekmid is a corruption of the Byzantine eis Νικομήδεια»: Iznik of eie Nίκαια». I. B. ii. 315, 316, 317, 322. A. Y. ii. 466. J. N. 631, 656, 661, 662. Ramsay, H. G. A. M. 179. The picture Ibn Baṭūṭah gives of Sultan Orkhān, the founder of the celebrated corps of the Janizaries, is very curious. Ibn Baṭūṭah states that this chief was already the most powerful of all the Turkoman Amīrs. He possessed a hundred castles, and never stayed a month in any one town, being always out campaigning and inspecting his frontiers.

popular veneration was the reputed tomb of Bilâl the Abyssinian, the Companion of the prophet Muḥammad, and his Muezzin who had been the first to call the Moslems to prayer.

The Byzantine city of Gangra Germanicopolis, which lies some 50 miles south of Kaṣṭamūni, the Turks called Kânkri. In the earlier Arab chronicles the name is given as Khanjarah, and a great raid was made by the Moslems in the reign of the Omayyad Caliph Hishâm as far into the Greek lands as this town. Kazwîni, who spells the name Ghanjarah, says that it stood on a river called the Nahr Maklūb, 'the stream which was turned over,'—because unlike other rivers it ran from south to north. He adds that in 442 (1050) Ghanjarah was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. Finally, to complete the list of towns in the Kizil Ahmadli province, Kūch Hiṣâr, which is named in the Jahân Numā, must be mentioned. It lies about midway between Kaṣṭamūni and Kānkri, and possibly is the Kūsh Hiṣâr of Mustawfi already noticed (p. 149), and there identified with the city of the same name on the great Salt Lake¹.

In regard to the high roads traversing Asia Minor, except for the road from Tarsus to Constantinople (given p. 134), and the road east from Sivas towards Tabriz (given p. 147), no itineraries that are of any use are forthcoming. In the Jahan Numa a certain number of roads are mentioned that radiated from Sivas as a centre, and along these the names of various villages and post-stations are set down, many of which may still be found on the map. Unfortunately the distances are in most cases omitted, and hence the amount of information to be derived from these routes is not of much account.

Mst. 163, 164.
 B. ii. 325, 332, 336, 338, 341, 348.
 J. N. 645, 646, 648, 649, 651, 652.
 Yak. ii. 475.
 Kaz. ii. 368.
 Tabari, ii. 1236.
 J. N. 627, 628.

CHAPTER XI.

ADHARBÂYJÂN.

The lake of Urmiyah. Tabriz. Saråv. Maråghah and its rivers. Pasawå and Ushnuh. Urmiyah city and Salmås; Khoi and Marand. Nakhchivān. Bridges over the Araxes. Mount Sablān. Ardabīl and Âhar. The Safīd Rūd and its affluents. Miyānij. Khalkhāl and Fīrūzābād. The Shāl river and Shāh Rūd district.

The mountainous province of Adharbâyjân—the name of which is pronounced Azarbîjân¹ in modern Persian—was of much less importance under the Caliphate than it became in the later middle-ages after the Mongol invasion. In the earlier period it lay off the line of traffic, which passed by the Khurâsân road through the Jibâl province (Media); and the remoteness of Adharbâyjân was also increased, according to Mukaddasî, by the fact that over seventy languages or dialects were spoken among its mountains and high plains, while none of the cities were of any very considerable size.

In successive epochs different towns rose one after another to the position of the provincial capital. At first, with the earlier Abbasids, it was Ardabíl; then, under the later Caliphs, Tabrîz took the first position, but after the Mongol invasion for a time gave place to Marâghah. Tabrîz, however, soon regained its pre-eminence under the Îl-Khâns, but again under the first

¹ See Map III. p. 87. The older form of the name in Persian was Adhar-bâdhagân, a name which the Greeks corrupted to Atropatene. Mukaddasī (p. 373) describes Adharbâyjân, Arrân and Armenia as forming part of a single great province, which he designates as the Iklim-ar-Rihâb, 'the region of the high plains'—in distinction to the mountains (Jibâl) of Media, and the lowlands (Akûr) of Mesopotamia.

Safavid kings was eclipsed by Ardabîl. At a later date, in the 11th (17th) century, when Isfahân was made the capital of all Persia by Shâh 'Abbâs and Ardabîl fell to decay, Tabrîz was reinstated once more in the position of chief city of Adharbâyjân, and so remains to the present day, being now by far the most important town in the north-western part of Persia.

The most remarkable natural feature of the province is the Lake of Urmiyah, the largest permanent sheet of water in Persia, being over 80 miles long from north to south and a third of this across in its broadest part. It lies to the west of Tabriz, and takes its name from the town of Urmiyah which lies on its western shore. Our authorities give the lake a variety of names. In the Zend Avesta it is called Chaechasta, and this, the old Persian form, is retained in Chichast, the name by which the lake is referred to in the Shah Namah, and which was still in use as late as the times of Mustawfi. Mas'ûdî and Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century call it the Buhayrah Kabûdhân, a name derived from the Armenian and meaning 'the Blue Lake' (gaboid being 'blue' in that language). Istakhrî calls it the lake of Urmiyah (being followed in this by Mukaddasi), otherwise the Buhayrahash-Shurât, 'the Lake of the Schismatics,' from the heterodox beliefs of the various peoples inhabiting its shores, and he describes its waters as very salt. It was, he adds, in those days covered with boats trafficking between Urmiyah and Maraghah, and on its shores were many most fertile districts.

In the middle of the lake was an island, called the Kabûdhân island by Ibn Serapion, with a small town, inhabited by boatmen. Its waters were full of fish according to Istakhrî (Ibn Hawkal, on the contrary, says there were none), and there was a curious fish found here known as the Water-dog (Kalb-al-Mâ); in winter time storms raised great waves, and the navigation was very dangerous. By Abu-l-Fidâ the lake is referred to as the Buḥayrah Tilâ—but the latter name is of unknown signification; Kazwînî speaks of the salt and the Tûtiyâ (tutty of zinc) which were produced here and largely exported. Mustawfî who, as already said, more generally writes of it as the Chîchast lake, also calls it the Daryâ-i-Shûr, 'the Salt Lake,' or else refers to it as the lake of Tarûj or Tasûj, from the name of an important town on its northern shore.

He and Hâfiz Abrû both refer to the island (a peninsula, when the waters are low) of Shâhâ, where there was a great castle crowning a hill, the burial-place of Hûlâgû and other of the Mongol princes. The fortress of Shâhâ is mentioned in the 3rd (9th) century, for Ibn Mashkuwayh when relating the events of the Caliphate of Mutawakkil, grandson of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, speaks of Shâhâ and Yakdur, two castles then held by rebel chieftains of these parts. In the 7th (13th) century Hûlâgû rebuilt the castle of Shâhâ—which Hâfiz Abrû calls the Kal'ah-i-Tilâ of the Urmiyah lake—and stored here all his treasures, the plunder of Baghdâd and the provinces of the Caliphate. This castle subsequently becoming his burial-place it was known in Persian as Gûr Kal'ah, 'the Castle of the Tomb,' and when Hâfiz Abrû wrote in the time of Tîmûr it was entirely uninhabited'.

The city of Tabrîz lies some thirty miles east from the lake shore on a river which debouches near the Shaha island or peninsula. Tabriz appears to have been a mere village till the ard (9th) century, when in the reign of Mutawakkil a certain Ibn-ar-Rawad settled here, he and his brother and son building themselves palaces and afterwards enclosing with a wall the town which gathered round these. A late tradition indeed refers the foundation of Tabrîz to Zubaydah, the wife of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. but the earlier chronicles give no support to this statement, moreover it is nowhere recorded that this princess ever visited Adharbáyján. Mukaddasí in the 4th (10th) century describes Tabrîz as a fine town, with a Friday Mosque, well watered by numerous streams, and surrounded by fruitful orchards. Yakût who was here in 610 (1213) speaks of it as at that time the chief town of Adharbayjan, Kazwini adding that it was famous for its 'Attabl (or tabby) silks, its velvets and woven stuffs. The Mongols

The name Urmiyah is now commonly pronounced Urumiyah, and this is the spelling given by Ibn Serapion, Ms. f. 25 a. Ist. 181, 189. I. H. 239, 247. Muk. 375, 380. Mas. i. 97. A. F. 41. Yak. i. 513. Kaz. ii. 194. Mst. 226. Hfz. 27 a. Ibn Mashkuwayh, 539. In the Shah Namah (Turner Macan, Calcutta, 1829), p. 1860, line 4, and p. 1927, line 6 from below, for Khanjast (a clerical error), 'Chichast' is to be read, the two names only differing by a shifting of the diacritical points.

who captured Tabriz in 618 (1221) were promptly bought off, and the city thus escaped the usual sack; and, as already said, under the subsequent Îl-Khān dynasty it became the largest town of these parts.

Mustawfi gives a long account of Tabriz. Twice, he says, it had been destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt, namely in 244 (858), and in 434 (1043) when 40,000 of its inhabitants perished. After being finally restored it was surrounded by a wall 6000 paces in circuit, with ten gates, and continued thus till the 8th (14th) century, when Gházán Khân began to build great suburbs beyond the older wall, surrounding these in turn by a new wall. This, which was pierced by six gates, included the hill of Valiyan in its circuit, and measured 25,000 paces round. Mustawfl gives the names of the inner and outer gates of Tabriz (the MSS. vary considerably in these), and he states that Ghazan Khan was buried in 703 (1303) in the great suburb of Sham, which he had laid out. His successors added many fine mosques and erected public buildings within the city and in the suburb of Rashîdî, which occupied the slopes of the hill of Valiyan. The orchards of Tabrîz were watered by the river Mihrân Rûd, which rose in Mount Sahand lying to the south of the city. Round Tabriz lay seven districts, called for the most part after their respective streams. These names, with the villages adjacent, are given in detail by Mustawfi, but the readings of the many proper names are very uncertain. Ibn Batûtah, who visited Tabrîz in the year 730 (1335), speaks of the Sham quarter lying outside the town, with its fine college built by Ghâzân Khân and the oratory. He entered the city by the Baghdad gate, and notes the market of Ghâzân, and the jewellers' market where an abundance of precious stones was offered for sale. Near by was the musk and ambergris market. The Friday Mosque, he says, had been built by the Wazîr 'Ali Shâh of Gîlân; its court was paved with marble. and to the tank a channel brought water. The walls were faced with enamelled tile-work (Kåshåni-ware), and to right and left of the mosque stood, on the one side an oratory, and on the other a college'.

The two rivers, called respectively the Mihran Rud, which ran

¹ Muk. 378. Yak. i. 822. Kaz. ii. 227. Mst. 153—155. J. N. 380. I. B. ii. 129.

through the suburbs of Tabriz, and the Sard Rûd (the Cold River), flowing to the south-west, which like the first named took its rise in Mount Sahand to the south of Tabriz, both joined the Sarâv river at a short distance to the north of the city. The Sarâv Rūd, which was also called the Sarkhab river, rose in the mountains of Sablan Kuh, which lay 200 miles to the eastward of Tabriz, overhanging Ardabîl. After a long and winding course, passing through successive salt marshes and receiving many affluents, the Sarav river flowed out into the Urmiyah lake at a point about 40 miles to the westward of the city of Tabrîz. The two mountains of Sahand and Sablan, and the rivers that flowed down from them, are described in much detail by Mustawfi. The town of Sarav or Sarâb, which gave its name to the river, lies on the road from Tabrîz to Ardabîl, and according to Mustawfi was surrounded by the four districts of Warzand, Darand, Baraghush, and Sakhir. The earlier Arab geographers spell the name of the town Sarât (for Saráb), and Ibn Ḥawkal describes it as a fine place with many mills, surrounded by fields and orchards where much corn and fruit was grown. In Sarât were found numerous hostelries and excellent markets. Yākût, who spells the name Saråv or Sarv, speaks of it as having been ruined by the Mongol invasion of the year 617 (1220), when most of its inhabitants were slaughtered. It had however recovered when Mustawfi wrote a century later; he adds that it lay three days' march from Tabriz and two from Ardabil.

On a left (south) bank affluent of the Saråv river stood the town of Awjân or Ûjân, which was ten leagues from Tabrîz on the road to Miyânah. Yâkût who had been here in the 7th (13th) century describes Ûjân as a walled town with an excellent market. It had, however, been ruined by the Mongols, and in Mustawsî's day was rebuilt by Ghâzân Khân, who at one time had resided here. He renamed it Shahr-i-Islâm, 'the City of Islam,' and enclosed it with a wall 3000 paces in circuit built of mortared stones. The surrounding districts were very fertile, growing cotton, corn, and much fruit. Its river, called the Åb-i-Ûjân, rose in an eastern spur of Mount Sahand. To the south-west of this mountain, and about 60 miles from Tabrîz, being four leagues from the shore of the lake, was the great

village of Dåkharrakån, as Ibn Hawkal and the Arab geographers spell the name, which the Persians write Dih Khuwârkân. Yākût gives Dih Nakhîrjân as an alternative reading, explaining this as meaning the village (Dih) of Nakhîrjân, treasurer of Chosroes, king of Persia. Mustawlî describes it as a small town, surrounded by dependencies and eight villages, where much fruit and corn was grown'.

The city of Maraghah stood about 70 miles south of Tabriz, on the river Safi, which flowed south down to it from Mount Sahand, and then turned west to reach the lake. Maraghah, an abbreviation for Kariyat-al-Maraghah, 'the Village of the Pastures,' is said to have been called Afrazah Rûdh by the Persians. In the 4th (10th) century Maraghah is described by Ibn Hawkal as a town of the size of Ardabil, at that time the chief city of Adharbayjan; he adds further that Maraghah had already even then been for a time the provincial capital, where the government treasury and offices were stationed, before they were permanently transferred to Ardabil. Maraghah was a most pleasant town, surrounded by a wall beyond which lay fruitful orchards. It was famous for a particular kind of perfumed melon grown here, green outside and red within, which tasted of honey. Mukaddasi speaks of its castle and fortifications, with a great suburb lying outside these. Yakût records that its fortifications were built under Harûn-ar-Rashid and restored by the Caliph Mamûn.

Under the earlier Mongols, as we have already seen, Marâghah became the capital of Adharbâyjân, and Mustawfi describes it as a great city surrounded by numerous and fertile districts, some of which he names, amply watered by many streams. Outside Marâghah stood the great observatory built by the astronomer Nâşir-ad-Dîn of Tûs, where by order of Hûlâgû the celebrated Îl-Khâni tables had been calculated and published. The observatory, of which the ruins still exist, was however already dilapidated when Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century. Kazwini mentions the castle, called Ruwîn Diz, which lay three leagues distant from Marâghah, having a stream flowing on either

¹ Ist. 190. I. H. 248, 253. Yak. I. 131, 198; ii. 425, 636; iii. 64. Mst. 155, 158, 204, 205, 217, 218.

side of it, and within the castle a famous garden called Umidabad with its own cistern to irrigate it. A league from here stood the village of Janbadhak, with a hot spring, of which many wonders were related.

The Şâfî river, which flowed into the lake to the west of Marâghah, mingled its waters in flood-time with those of the Jaghtû river and its affluent the Taghtû, both of which as described by Mustawfî rose in the Kurdistân mountains; and the whole of the southern shore of the lake at their outflow was a great swamp. Here surrounded by tortuous streams stood the small town of Laylân (or Naylân), among fruitful orchards, and inhabited in the time of Mustawfî by Mongols. Some way to the south of Laylân, according to the distances given in the Itineraries, was the village of Barzah, where the road coming up from Sisâr (in the Jibâl province) bifurcated. To the right one way went on north-east to Marâghah; while to the left, and by the west of the lake, lay the way to Urmiyah.

Fifty miles from the southern shore of the lake was Baswâ, by the Persians pronounced Pasawâ, which Yâkût had visited, and he states that in his day the inhabitants were mostly robbers. Mustawfî praises its fruitful orchards, and to the north-west of it lay the town of Ushnuh, which in the time of Ibn Hawkal was inhabited by Kurds. In the 4th (10th) century Ushnuh did a great trade in horses and cattle with the neighbouring towns of Mesopotamia, especially Mosul: its lands were very fertile and its sheep pastures were famous. Yâkût, who had visited it, speaks of its fine gardens, and Mustawfî, who spells the name Ushnûyah, describes it as a medium-sized town of the mountain region which he calls Dih Kiyāhān'.

The city of Urmiyah, which gave its name to the lake, lay at a short distance from its western shore. Tradition proclaimed Urmiyah to have been the birth-place of Zardûsht or Zoroaster. The town, according to Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (roth) century, was of the same size as Marâghah, being a pleasant place and surrounded by vineyards; its markets were well supplied with merchandise, among the rest being the clothiers' market,

¹ Ist. 181. I. H. 238, 239. Mak. 377. Yak. i. 284, 564, 626; iv. 476. Kaz. ii. 350, 358. Mst. 158, 159, 218.

where stood the Friday Mosque. Urmiyah was fortified and defended by a castle, and a stream flowed through it down to the lake, which was about a league distant. In the 8th (14th) century it had grown to be a large place, its wall measuring 10,000 paces in circuit, and a score of villages were of its dependencies. On the high road north of Urmiyah, and at some distance back from the north-western corner of the lake, is Salmas. Mukaddasî describes this as a fine town with good markets and a Friday Mosque built of stone; the population of the place in the 4th (10th) century was of Kurd origin. Yâkût says that in the 7th (13th) century Salmas lay for the most part in ruin; but the Wazîr 'Ali Shâh, Mustawfi writes, rebuilt its walls 8000 paces in circuit during the following century, in the reign of Ghàzan Khan, the Mongol, and the town had then regained its former importance. Its climate was cold, and a river which rose in the mountains to the west passed through it to the lake.

On the northern shore of the lake was the town called Tarûj or Tasúj, which is apparently identical with the modern Tursah. Mustawfi, as already said, often speaks of the Salt Lake of Tasuj or Tarûj, and the town therefore shared with Urmiyah the honour of giving its name to this sheet of water. In the 8th (14th) century l'asûj must have been an important place, it was warmer than Tabriz and damper, being so near the lake, and it was surrounded by gardens and orchards. To the north-east of Salmās lies Khawî, pronounced Khoi, on a stream that flows north to the river Aras (Araxes). Khawi was a strongly fortified and flourishing town according to Yakût and Kazwînî, surrounded by fertile lands and famous for its excellent brocades. There was also a spring here which had the reputation of being hot in winter and cold in summer. Mustawfi says that the enceinte of its town walls measured 6500 paces, and that its people were a whiteskinned race like the Khatâi (Chinese); eighty villages were of its dependencies.

The town of Marand which lay to the east of Khoi, on the banks of a stream which was a right bank affluent of the Khoi river, is described by Mukaddasi in the 4th (10th) century as a small fortress with a mosque, and a market in the suburb, which was surrounded by gardens. Yakut says that it was ruined by

the Kurds who had carried off most of its inhabitants after plundering the town. Its river according to Mustawsi was called the Zûlû (or Zakvîr), and a part of it was said to flow for four leagues underground. Mustawsi states that in his day Marand was only half its former size, but was still famous for the rearing of the Kirmiz-worm (cochineal), used for making the red dye, and that round the town were 60 villages that were of its dependencies.

Nakhchivân, or Nakjawân, to the north of the Aras river, was generally counted as of Adharbâyjân. It is identical with Nashawâ of the Arab geographers, and is often mentioned in the Itineraries, but no description of the town is given. Nakhchivân rose to importance under the Mongols, and Mustawfî describes it as a large town built of brick. Near it, to the eastward, was the fortress of Alanjik, and to the north rose the snow-clad mountain called Mâst Kûh. In Nakhchivân stood the dome built by Diyâ-al-Mulk, son of Nizâm-al-Mulk, the great Wazîr of Malik Shâh the Saljûk, and 'Ali of Yazd describes the famous bridge of Diyâ-al-Mulk (the ruins of which still exist) which crossed the Aras at the fortress of Karkar on the road to Marand, about 15 miles from Nakhchivân.

A little lower down on the Aras is Julfah, otherwise written Jūlāhah, which was destroyed by Shāh 'Abbās of Persia in 1014 (1605), when he transported all its Armenian inhabitants to the new suburb which he built to the south of Isfahān and named Julfah from the older Julfah on the Araxes. Among other towns on the banks of the Aras river Mustawfi mentions Urdūbād (which still exists), near where a river joins the Aras from the south, on whose banks stood the castle of Dizmār, which is also mentioned by Yākūt. Still lower down the Aras lay the town of Zangiyān in the Murdān Na'īm district, where a second bridge, still in existence, crosses the Araxes. This is called the Pūl-i-Khudā-Āfarīn in Persian, 'the Bridge of Praising God,' which Mustawfi says had been built by one of the Companions of the prophet Muhammad in the year 15 (636). The Murdān (or Murād) Na'īm territory comprised in its circuit over 30 villages."

¹ Ist. 181. I. H. 239. Muk. 377. Kaz. i. 180; ii. 354. Vak. i. 218; ii. 502; iii. 120; iv. 503. Mst. 156-159, 218.

² Yak. iv. 262, 767, 784. Mst. 157, 159, 206. A. Y. i. 398, 399; ii. 573.

The city of Ardabil stood on the upper waters of the river called Andarâb by Mustawfi, and the Ardabil river, after being ioined lower down on its left bank by the Ahar river, flowed into the Araxes some way below the bridge of Khuda-Afarin. The rivers of Ardabil and Ahar rose on the eastern and western slopes, respectively, of the great mountain called Sablan Kûh, which overhangs Ardabil, and from whose southern slopes the Saråv river, as already mentioned, takes its course westward to the Urmiyah lake. Mount Sablan is mentioned in the 4th (10th) century by Ibn Hawkal, who erroneously considered it as higher than Damavand, some miles to the north of Tihran. Its slopes were covered with trees, and here stood villages and many towns, which are enumerated by Mustawfi. The mountain, he adds, was visible 50 leagues away, its summit being always covered with snow, while near the top was a spring the surface of which remained always frozen. Near Mount Sablân also were two other peaks, Kûh Sarâhand north of Âhar, and Siyâh Kûh (the Black Mountain), which last towered above Kalantar, a small town with a castle which stood among woods, with a river flowing through its many comfields.

Ardabîl, as already said, was the capital city of Adharbâyjân in the 4th (10th) century. It is described by Istakhri as walled, and measuring two-thirds of a league across every way; the houses were of burnt brick and clay, and at that time troops were kept here in garrison. Its dependencies were extremely fertile, and the Ardabil honey was famous. Mukaddasi speaks of the fortress, and the markets of Ardabil were in four cross-streets, with the Friday Mosque standing at the intersection point. Outside the town was an extensive suburb. In 617 (1220) Ardabil was sacked by the Mongols and left a ruin; but just before this, when Yākût was here, it was a most populous city. Ardabîl had been known anciently by the Persian name of Bâdhân Fîrûz, When Mustawfl wrote in the 8th (14th) century, though no longer the chief town of Adharbâyjân, it had recovered much of its former splendour; and in the 10th (16th) century, as already stated, it became for a time the capital of the whole of Persia under the newly founded dynasty of the Safavids, before they removed, first to Tabriz and afterwards to Isfaban.

Âhar which lies 150 miles west of Ardabîl, on the Âhar river, is named in the lists of the earlier Arab geographers, and described by Yâkût as a well-built city, to the north of which lay Mount Sarâhand. It was surrounded by many small towns standing on the hill-slopes, the names of which are recorded by both Yâkût and Mustawfî, but these are difficult now to recognise or identify. The surrounding district was known as Pîshkîn (at the present day Mîshkîn), from the name of the ruling family who flourished here in the 8th (14th) century. The town of Pîshkîn lay one march from Âhar, and originally had been known as Varavî. The river Andarâb, just above where the Âhar river joined it, Mustawfî says, was crossed by a fine bridge that had been built by 'Ali Shâh, the Wazîr of Ghâzân Khân the Mongol'.

The Safid Rud, or White River, with its many affluents, drained all the south-eastern part of Adharbâyjân. Its main stream for most of its length formed the frontier dividing Adharbâyjân from the Jibal province, and the river finally flowed out to the Caspian Sea through the province of Gilân. Istakhrî and other Arab writers give the name as the Sabid-rûdh. Mustawfî says that in his time it was known to the Mongols as the Hûlân Mûlân (more exactly Ulân Mören), which in Mongolian means 'Red River'; and at the present day part of the Safid Rud is known as Kizil Uzen, which in Turkish also signifies 'Red Stream.' Mustawfi writes that the Safid Rud rose in the highlands of Kurdistån, in a mountain called Panj Angûsht (in Persian) or Besh Parmak (in Turkish), and both names mean 'the Five Fingers.' Flowing north the Safid Rud first received the Zanjan river on its right bank, coming from the city of that name, which will be described in a later chapter; then on its left bank there flowed in the Miyanij river, formed by the confluence of many streams coming down from the west. North of Miyanij the Safid Rud turned west, receiving on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjidah and Gadiv rivers coming down from Khalkhâl to the south of Ardabil, and next the Shâl river from the Shâh Rúd district of Khalkhâl. Below this on its right bank, and coming from the Jibal province (as will be described in

¹ Ist. 181. I. H. 237, 238, 240, 266. Muk. 374, 377. Yak. i. 197, 367, 409, 461; iv. 918. Mst. 156, 157, 204, 205, 217.

Chapter XV), the Țărum river joins the Safîd Rûd, and next the river Shâh Rûd (not to be confused with the district of Shâh Rûd just named) coming from the country of the Assassins, and then finally, after piercing the mountain barrier, the Safîd Rûd reaches the Caspian Sea at Kawtam in the province of Gîlân.

The Miyanij river, as already said, was the most important left bank affluent of the Safid Rûd. It came from the west, rising in the country south of Ûjân (see p. 163), and in the Garm Rûd district received on its left bank the waters of the Garm Rûd (Hot River), a stream which rose in the hills to the south of Sarav. Below the town of Miyanij the main stream receives on its right bank the waters of the Hasht Rûd, 'the Eight Streams,' which have their sources in the hills to the east of Maraghah; and, in the time of Mustawfi, where the Hasht Rûd joined the Miyanij river, there spanned it a great masonry bridge of thirty-two arches.

The town of Miyânij or Miyânah, 'the Middle Place,' which stands at the junction of all these streams, was an important centre from the earliest times. Ibn Hawkal writes of it as very populous in the 4th (10th) century, and its district—in later times known under the name of the Garm Rûd—produced great quantities of fruit. Mukaddasî, who gives the modern form of the name Miyânah, praises its store of goods, and Yâkût, who had visited it in the 6th (12th) century, extols its situation. In the following century, when Mustawfî wrote, it had sunk to the size of a large village, but was still an important stage on the road system inaugurated by the Mongols. The climate was hot, and insect pests were numerous (the Miyânah bug at the present day is a terror to travellers), but the Garm Rûd district comprised over a hundred fertile villages, and much corn was grown.

The three rivers called Sanjîdah, Gadiv (or Kadpû, in the Jahân Numâ), and Shâl, joined the Safîd Rûd from the north, coming down from the Khalkhâl district. Khalkhâl was also the name of the chief town of this district, the position of which is given in the Itinerary as 12 leagues south of Ardabil. Fîrûzâbâd, situated at the summit of the pass, where there was a boiling spring bubbling up in the midst of the snow-clad peaks, according to Mustawfî had in former times been the

residence of the governor, but when it fell into ruin Khalkhâl city took its place. The exact position of Fîrûzâbâd, however, cannot now be fixed. The small towns of Kalûr and Shâl, which are still to be found on the map, were of the Shâh Rûd district, and lay on the Shâl river (now called the Lesser Shâh Rûd) which rose in the Shâl hills. Mustawfî mentions a number of other places in Khalkhâl, the names of which, however, cannot now be identified'.

The few products of Adharbâyjân will be described at the end of the next chapter; and the summary of the high roads through this province must be deferred to the conclusion of Chapter XV, after describing the Jibâl province, for these roads all start from various points on the great Khurâsân road which traverses the latter province.

¹ Ist. 189. I. H. 246, 253. Muk. 378. Yak. i. 239; iv. 710. Mst. 156, 158, 198, 215, 218. J. N. 384, 388.

CHAPTER XII.

GÎLÂN AND THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

The Gilâns. Daylam and the Țâlish districts. Barvân, Dùlâb, and Khashm. Lâhījân, Rasht, and other towns of Gilân. The district of Mûghân. Bajarvân and Barzand. Maḥmūdābād. Warthân. The province of Arrân. Bardhâ'ah. Baylakân. Ganjah and Shamkûr. The rivers Kur and Aras. The province of Shirvân. Shamâkhî. Bâkûyah and Bâb-al-Abwâb. The province of Gurjistân, or Georgia. Tiflis and Karş. The province of Armenia. Dabil or Duwin. The lake of Vân. Akhlât, Arjish, Vân, and Bitlîs. Products of the northern provinces.

The Safid Rûd, as described in the last chapter, after traversing the chain of the Alburz mountains by a tortuous course, flows into the Caspian Sea at the western end of its southern shore, and here forms a delta with marshlands of some breadth backed by the mountain chain. This delta of the Safid Rûd, with the great amphitheatre of forest-clad foot-hills surrounding it on the south and west, is the small province of Gilân, which the Arabs called Jîl or Jîlân, and which comprised three very different districts'.

The alluvial delta lands are those more especially called Jil or Jilân by the Arab geographers, who when referring to the whole province often give the name in the plural form, Jilânât, 'the Gilâns,' which may then be taken to include the mountain districts. To the south and west, the mountain range bordering on the districts of Tâlikân and Târum in the Jibâl province, was the Daylam country, generally also given in the plural form as Ad-Daylamân; and this country became famous in history as the original home of the Buyids, or Daylamites, whose chiefs were masters of Baghdâd, and of the Caliphate for the most part,

¹ For Gilân see Map v, at the beginning of the following chapter.

during the 4th (toth) century. The narrow strip of shore and mountain slope, running north from the south-west corner of the Caspian, and facing east over that sea, is the Tâlish country, a name which Yâkût gives under the plural form Tâlishân or Tîlshân. To the east, on the Tabaristân frontier, was the mountain range of Ar-Rûbanj, beyond which came the hill district belonging to the great Kârin family, whose chiefs had from time immemorial been rulers of these fastnesses, as will be further mentioned in Chapter XXVI.

When Mukaddasî wrote in the 4th (10th) century, and the Buyid supremacy was at its height, all Gîlân, together with the mountain provinces to the eastward and along the shore of the Caspian, namely, Tabaristân, Jurjân, and Kûmis, were included in the province of Daylam, but in later times these eastern provinces came to be counted as separate. Afterwards the name of Daylam itself for the most part fell out of use, and the lowlands of the Safid Rûd delta gave their name to the whole of the adjacent district, which was commonly known as the Jîlân province. More exactly, however, Jîlân was the coast district, while Daylam was the mountain region overhanging it, and at different times either of these names in turn might be taken commonly to include the whole province lying round the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea¹.

The chief city of Daylam is said to have been called Rudhbār, but its situation is unknown. Mukaddasī on the other hand says the capital was known as Barvān, but unfortunately it no longer exists and none of the Itineraries give its exact position. Barvān, Mukaddasī adds, had neither good houses nor good markets, and possessed no Friday Mosque. Where the governor resided was called the Shahrastān, and the merchants living here were wealthy, so that it was a flourishing town. Of Jītān, Mukaddasī gives Dūlāb as the chief town, which he describes as a fine place, its houses being well built of stone; the market was excellent, and a Friday Mosque stood in it. According to Abu-l-Fidā Dūlāb is

Ist. 204, 205, 206. I. H. 267, 268. Muk. 353. Yak. i. 174. 812; ii. 179, 711; iii. 571. Mst. 147, 191. A. F. 426. The name of Tálish is written with either the soft 4, or the hard Arabic 4; and in the plural as Tálishán or Tilshán, also Tawálish in Mustaws.

the same as Kaskar, and in the only Itinerary of this country that has come down to us, Mukaddasi gives Dûlâb as lying four marches from Baylaman, a small town like a farmstead according to Abu-l-Fida, which appears to have been one of the chief places in the Talish country. Two marches from the Safid Rûd, and four from Baylamân, was the town of Khashm, the residence of the Alid chief (the Då" or Missioner), who in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century ruled these provinces as an independent (heretical) sovereign, who did not acknowledge the Caliph. Mukaddasî describes Khashm as having a fine market and a Friday Mosque near the chief's palace. A river ran through the town, which was crossed by a remarkable bridge of boats. The identification and situation of all these early towns is exceedingly uncertain'.

In the 8th (14th) century the chief towns of Gilân, according to Mustawfi, were Lâhîjân and Fûmin. Abu-l-Fidà also mentions Lâhijân, which lies to the eastward of the mouth of the Safid Rûd. It was then a fair-sized town; much silk was manufactured here and the district grew rice and corn, also oranges and shaddocks with other fruits of a hot region. Kawtam or Kûtam, nearer the mouth of the Safid Rud, was the harbour for ships coming from other parts of the Caspian; it is mentioned by Yakût and Abu-l-Fidâ, having been a place of much commerce in the 8th (14th) century, and the town lay one day's march from the actual shore of the Caspian. Fûmin with its district lies further inland, and to the west of the Safid Rud. It is counted as the chief town of the mountain region of Daylam, and Mustawst writes of it as a large place standing in a fertile district growing much corn and rice. Silk was also produced and manufactured here.

Mustawfl is one of the earliest authorities to describe Rasht. now the capital of Gilan, but none of the Arab geographers appear even to name it. He notices its warm damp climate, cotton and silk being both largely produced for export, and the place was already in his time of some size and importance. To the westward of Rasht extends, at the present day, the district of

¹ Ist. 204, 205. Muk. 355, 360, 373. A. F. 429 (where, in error, Baylaman is printed Biman). Yak, ii. 83t. For the Da'l dynasty of Alids (Hasanids), see G. Melgunof, Das siidliche Ufer des Caspischen Meeres, p. 53.

XII

Tûlim, and Mustawsî gives this as the name of an important town in the 8th (13th) century. According to Abu-l-Fidâ it was the chief city of the Jilan or lowlands; its districts were very fertile, corn, cotton, rice, oranges, shaddocks and lemons being grown for export. Shaft, or Shaftah, is the name of a town mentioned in similar terms by Mustawsi, though at present only the Shast district exists, which lies to the southward of Rasht. Finally, as of Gîlân, Mustawsî mentions the little town of Işsahbad, which Yākūt spells Isfahbudhān, adding that it stood two miles distant from the coast of the Caspian, but not otherwise indicating its position; corn, rice, and a little fruit were grown here, and in the neighbouring district were near a hundred villages. name of the township came from the Isfahbads or Ispahbids, who had been the semi-independent kings of this country under the Sassanians, and who, nominally converted to Islam, continued to rule as princes in Tabaristân under the earlier Caliphs'.

Mûghân.

Mûghân, Mughkân, or Mûkân² is the name of the great swampy plain which stretches from the base of Mount Sablân to the east coast of the Caspian Sea, lying south of the mouth of the river Aras, and north of the mountains of Tâlish. It was sometimes counted as part of the Adharbâyjân province, but more often formed a separate district.

The capital of Mûghân in the 4th (10th) century was a city of the same name, the position of which it is difficult to fix. Mukaddasî speaks of Mûkân city as lying on two rivers, with gardens all round, and as almost of the size of Tabrîz. From his description it is not improbable that this Mûkân city was identical with Bajarvân, which Mustawfi names as the older capital of the district, and which in his day had already gone to ruin. The position of Bajarvân he gives in his Itineraries as four leagues north of Barzand, a name which is still found on the map. Further, Moslem tradition connected Bajarvân with the Fountain of Life, said to have been discovered near here by the prophet Khidr,

Yak. i. 298; iv. 316. A. F. 426, 429. Mst. 191, 192. J. N. 343. 344.
 For Müghân and the north-west frontier provinces see Map 111, p. 87.

otherwise Elias. As already stated, to the south of Bajarván lay Barzand, which is described as a great city by Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasî praises its markets, where goods from all the surrounding regions were collected for exportation, for this was the commercial centre of the district. Mustawfi mentions both Bajarván and Barzand as sunk to be mere villages in his time; the climate in the surrounding districts was hot, and much corn was grown.

In the Mûkân plain Mustawfi names the three towns of Pîlsuvâr, Mahmūdābād, and Hamshahrah. Pîlsūvār, which stood on a stream coming down from Bajarvan, lay at a distance of eight leagues from the latter place, and it is said to have been so called after the Amir Pil-Suwar sent here by the Buyids, whose name signified 'great rider or soldier.' Mahmudabad in the plain of Gåvbåri, near the Caspian, was twelve leagues beyond Pilsuvår. and Mustawfi adds that it had been built by Ghazan Khân the Mongol. The neighbouring Hamshahrah was two leagues from the coast, and originally had been known as Abrashahr, or Bushahrah, having been founded, says Mustawfi, by Farhad, son of Güdarz, 'whom they identify with Nebuchadnezzar.' To the north of Bajarvan, in earlier times, was Balkhab, described as a populous village with guard-houses and hostelries for travellers; and beyond this stage on the northern high road, and upon the south bank of the Aras, was Warthan, at the crossing into the Arrân country. In the 4th (10th) century Warthân was a walled city with markets and much merchandise, having a suburb without its gates. The place was very populous, standing in a plain two leagues from the river bank, and its Friday Mosque was in the suburb; further, tradition averred that Warthan had been built by order of Zubaydah, wife of Harûn-ar-Rashida.

Arrán.

The provinces of Arran, Shirvan, Georgia and Armenia, which for the most part lay north of the river Araxes, were hardly counted among the lands of Islam, and hence are but perfunctorily described by the Arab geographers. From early days Moslems

¹ I. H. 251. Muk. 376, 378. Yak. i. 454, 561; iv. 686. Mst. 159, 160, 198. J. N. 392.

² I. H. 251. Muk. 376. Yak. iv. 919. Mst. 160, 198. J. N. 393.

lived here, and governors were appointed at various times by the Caliphs, but the majority of the population continued to be Christian until near the close of the middle-ages. Hence it was not till the resettlement subsequent to the Mongol invasion, and more especially after the many campaigns which Tîmûr waged in Georgia at the close of the 8th (14th) century, when these lands came to be permanently settled by the Turks, that Islam became the dominant faith.

The province of Arrân is included in the great triangle of land lying to the west of the junction point of the rivers Cyrus and Araxes-the Kur and the Aras of the Arabs-and it is thus 'between the two rivers' (Bayn-an-Nahrayn) as Mustawfi calls it. The earlier Arab geographers write the name Al-Rân (pronounced Ar-Ran) to give it the appearance of an Arabic word, and the capital town in the 4th (10th) century was Bardhâ'ah, the ruins of which still exist. Bardhá'ah, later written Bardá', 1bn Hawkal describes in the 4th (10th) century as measuring a league across, and it was by far the largest city of these parts. It was built in the form of a square, was protected by a fortress, and stood about three leagues from the Kur river, on the bank of its affluent the Tharthur. Near by the town, in the Kur, was caught the fish called Sarmahi (otherwise Shur-mahi in Persian, salt-fish), which after being salted was exported to all neighbouring towns. This fish was also found in the Aras river near Warthan. The fertile district round Bardha'ah was known by the name of Al-Andarâb, where villages with continuous gardens and orchards, a day's journey across in every direction, produced abundant fruits, especially chestnuts, filberts, and figs. In these parts also the silkworm was reared.

A great market was held every Sunday outside Bardha'ah at the Bâb-al-Akrâd, 'the gate of the Kurds'; and the market-place stretched a league in length. It was called locally Al-Kurkî (from the Greek Kuriakos, 'the Lord's day'), and Sunday, we are told, was here commonly known as the day of the Kurkî. Bardhâ'ah further had a fine Friday Mosque, the roof of which was supported on wooden pillars, its walls being of burnt brick covered with stucco. Also there were many hammams, or hot-baths; and in Omayyad times the Treasury of the province was kept at

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Bardhâ'ah. In the 7th (13th) century, when Yâkût wrote, Bardhâ'ah had already fallen to ruin, though Mustawsi in the following century still refers to it as a considerable town on the river Tharthûr. At the crossing of the Kur, probably below the junction of the Tharthûr, and 18 leagues, counted as a day's march, on the direct road from Bardhâ'ah to Shâmâkhî in Shirvân, was the town of Barzanj, much frequented by merchants, where goods were stored for import and export'.

The city of Baylakan, known in Armenian as Phaidagaran, became the capital of Arran after the decay of Bardha'ah. Though all traces of the town have now apparently disappeared, its approximate position is clearly given by the Arab itineraries. Baylakan lay 14 leagues south of Bardha'ah and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras on the road up from Barzand, and it still existed as a great place in the 9th (15th) century. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes it as a fine city, watered by streams with many mills, and surrounded by gardens and orchards. It was celebrated for a particular kind of syrup made here. In the year 617 (1220) Baylakan was stormed by the Mongols, who, finding no stones in the surrounding plain for their mangonels, cut down the plane trees, sawed the trunks into blocks, and shot these against the walls and houses of the city, which was subsequently plundered and burnt. The population, however, after a time returned, rebuilt their houses, and the place regained its former prosperity. At the close of the 8th (14th) century it was besieged and taken by Timûr, who afterwards caused it to be rebuilt, and a canal was dug from the river Aras. six leagues in length and 15 ells in width, by which the new town was well supplied with water. This canal was known as the Barlast, from the Barlas tribe, from which Timur was sprung.

Two other cities of Arrân are also mentioned, both of which lie to the north-west of Bardhâ'ab, on the road to Tiflîs. The first of these is Ganjah (now better known as Elizabetpol), which the Arab geographers write Janzah, and its river is called by Kazwini the Kirdkâs. Further to the north-west again lay Shamkûr, the ruins of which still exist, and this town in the 3rd

¹ Ist. 182, 183, 187, 188. I. H. 240, 241, 244, 251. Muk. 374, 375. Yak. i. 558, 562. Mst. 160. Kaz. ii. 344.

(9th) century was known as Mutawakkilîyah, from having been rebuilt by orders of the Caliph Mutawakkil in the year 240 (854)1.

The two rivers bounding the province of Arrân, which the Greeks knew as the Araxes and the Cyrus, are called by the Arabs the Nahr-ar-Rass (or Aras) and the Nahr-al-Kurr (or Kur). The Aras rises in the Ķâlīķalā country of western Armenia, and after passing along the northern frontiers of Adharbāyjān joins the river Kur (according to Mustawfī) in the Ķarābāgh country in the eastern part of Arrân. The river Kur rises in the mountains west of Tiflîs in Georgia, namely, in the country of the Khazars, which comprised the districts of Abkhās and Allân. Passing Tiflîs the Kur flows down to Shamkūr, and here, according to Mustawfī, sends off a branch, or canal, which ends in the great Shamkūr swamp or lake. The Kur, after being joined by the Aras river some distance below Bardhā'ah, flows out to the Caspian in the Gushtāsfī district.

Shirvan.

Beyond the Kur river, and along the Caspian where the Caucasus range sinks to the sea, is the Shirvan province, of which the capital was Ash-Shamakhiyah, now called Shamakhi or Shamakha. In the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi describes this as a stone-built town, at the foot of the mountains, surrounded by gardens. Its governor, the ruler of the province, was called the Shirvan Shah. Much corn was grown here, and in the neighbourhood, according to Moslem tradition as reported by Mustawfi, was to be seen both the Rock of Moses (referred to in the Kuran, XVIII. 62) and the site of the Fountain of Life, already mentioned as also localised in Bajarvan. Two other towns of the Shirvan

No trace of the ruins of Baylakan appear on the Russian ordnance map.
 K. 122. Kud. 213. Ist. 187, 189. I. H. 244, 251. Muk. 376. Yak. i. 797; iii. 322. Kaz. ii. 345, 351. A. Y. ii. 543. 545. Mst. 160.

² In the Jahán Numá (396, 397) a long description of both the Aras and the Kur, with their various affluents, is given. This serves to correct Mustawf1, also to elucidate the campaigns of Timûr in Georgia, though many of the names of towns cannot now be identified. Ist. 189. I. H. 246. Muk. 379. Kaz. i. 184; ii. 331. Mst. 213, 215.

province are mentioned by Mukaddasî and other early authorities, the sites of which have not been fixed, namely Shåbarån, chiefly inhabited by Christians, which is said to have stood 20 leagues distant from Darband, and the city of Shirvân, which lay in the plain, having a Friday Mosque in its market-place. The latter was three days' march from the capital Shâmâkhî on the road to Darband.

The northernmost place in Shirvan was Bab-al-Abwab, 'the Gate of Gates,' as the Arabs called Darband, the famous port on the Caspian. Ibn Hawkal says that in the 4th (10th) century the town was larger than Ardabil, then the capital of Adharbayjan. The harbour was protected by two moles, stretching out into the sea, and at their extremity was a water-gate, closed by chains, so that no ship could go out or in except by permission. These moles were built of blocks of stone fastened by lead joints. A stone wall enclosed the town, and it had two gates, the Great Gate and the Little Gate, besides the Water Gate aforesaid; and the walls had towers. The linen stuffs which were made in Darband were largely exported, also saffron from the neighbouring countryside.

There was a fine mosque in the market-place of Bab-al-Abwab, which was here the frontier town of Islam, for the place in early days was surrounded by infidel folk. Yākût gives a long account of the various tribes inhabiting the mountains and highlands of the Caucasus to the westward, among which he says that seventy different languages were spoken, and no man could understand that of his neighbour. Of these the Khazars, from whom the Caspian Sea, generally called the Bahr-al-Khazar, took its name, were the most important. Vákůt also describes the great wall which ran along the hill-crests westward from Darband, built to keep out the Barbarians, which had been erected, it was said, by King Anushirvan of Persia in the sixth century A.D. The river Samur, which flows into the Caspian a short distance to the south of Darband, is described by Mukaddasi under the name of the Nahral-Malik, 'the King's River,' otherwise the Nahr-as-Samur, and there was a bridge of boats (Jisr) across it, some 20 leagues from Darband, on the road coming up from Shāmākhi.

The port of Bakûh, or Bakûyah (modern Bakû), lies south of

Darband, and Iṣṭakhrī refers to its well-known naphtha springs. Yākūt and others describe these in detail, the produce was worth a thousand dirhams (£40) a day; the naphtha flowed continuously, and all the ground was on fire round and about. Mustawfi speaks of the castle of Bākūyah, which being high placed above the town kept it in shadow at midday. To the south of Bākūh was the Gushtāsfī district, near the mouth of the Kur river, from which its lands were watered by a canal, much corn and cotton being grown here. Lastly, in the mountains near Darband was the fortress of Kabalah, where according to Mukaddasī there was a mosque on a hill. Kabalah is more than once mentioned in the campaigns of Tīmūr, Mustawfī adding that both silk and corn are of its produce.

Gurjistan,

Gurjistân, which we call Georgia, and Abkhâs, otherwise Abkhasia, were lands that only became Moslem districts after the campaign of Tîmûr in these parts, at the close of the 8th (14th) century. Tifffs, the capital of Gurjistân, on the upper waters of the river Kur, was, however, well known to the geographers of the 4th (10th) century. Ibn Hawkal describes it as possessing double walls, strongly fortified, with three gates. There were natural hot-baths in Tiffis where hot springs gushed out in the river bed, and the surrounding country was extremely fertile. The town lay on both banks of the Kur, and a bridge of boats, Mukaddasî writes, connected the two quarters.

The neighbouring district of Abkhås, or Abkhåz, was according to Mukaddasî to be counted as of the Jabal-al-Kabk, the Caucasus. Here stood the village of Jonah, Kariyat Yûnis, inhabited by Moslems, and round this were the tribes of the Gurj (Georgians), Allân, and others. Many rivers flowed down from the mountain of Alburz, according to Mustawfi, who further mentions Kars as one of the chief towns of Georgia.

¹ Ist. 184, 189, 190. I. H. 241, 251. Muk. 376, 379, 381. Vak. i. 437, 477; iii. 225, 282, 317; iv. 32. Mst. 159—161. Kaz. ii. 389. A. V. i. 406,

² Ist. 185. I. H. 242. Muk. 375-377. Mst. 161, 202. Yak. i. 78, 350. 857. Mustawfl always writes of Jibal Alburz, 'the Alburz mountains,' in

Armenia.

Great Armenia (spelt Arminiyah, in Arabic) was divided into Inner and Outer, and though mostly inhabited by Christians, was brought under Moslem rule at an early period. The country lay comprised within the great knot of mountains lying between the lake of Vân and the Gukchah lake, and from these highlands the Aras river and the two branches of the Euphrates took their rise.

The capital of Moslem Armenia in early times was Dabîl, otherwise called Duwin or Tovin, now marked by a small village to the south of Erivan, near the Aras river. In the 4th (10th) century Dabil was a larger town than Ardabil, and was the chief place in Inner Armenia. It was a walled town, having three gates, and a Friday Mosque stood here side by side with the church. Mount Ararat, with its double peak, towered above Dabil to the south, across the Araxes. As already said (p. 94) Moslem tradition identified Jabal Júdi, in Upper Mesopotamia, as the mount on whose summit the Ark of Noah had come to rest. Ararat, in Armenia, they called Jabal-al-Harith (of 'the Labourer' or 'Ploughman,' or else Al-Harith was taken as the proper name of a pre-Islamic Arab who had settled in these parts). The lesser peak of Ararat was called Al-Huwayrith, 'Little Harith,' and Istakhri says that both summits were always covered with snow, and they were not to be scaled by reason of their great height and steepness. The people of Dabil cut firewood on their slopes, and hunted the abundant game here, and Mukaddast adds that a thousand hamlets were situated among the spurs flanking the great mountain. The wool stuffs of Dabîl, dyed red with the kirmiz insect, were famous. In the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi describes Dabil as peopled by Kurds, and the Christians, he says, had the upper hand. Outside the town was

the plural, meaning the range; but he uses the term vaguely, and only one part of these corresponded with the Caucasus chain. At the present day Alburz, generally pronounced Elburz, or Elbruz, is the name of the highest mountain peak of the Caucasus; and in Persia Alburz is now used to designate the great range of mountains (of which Damâvand is the highest peak) lying to the north of Tihrân,

a great suburb surrounded by gardens. Aní, the older capital of Christian Armenia, which was taken and sacked in 456 (1064) by Alp Arslân the Saljûk, is mentioned by Mustawfi as a town in the mountains where much fruit was grown. At some distance to the north-east of Dabíl lies the sweet-water lake, called Gukchah Tangîz (the Blue Lake) by 'Alî of Yazd; this, however, does not appear to be named by any earlier Moslem authority than Mustawfi'.

The lake of Van, or of Arjish as it is called by the earlier authorities, was naturally the best known of the Armenian lakes, having on its shores the cities of Akhlât, Arjîsh, Vân, and Vastân. Istakhri describes it as twenty leagues in length, and it was celebrated for the fish called tirrikh (of the herring kind and still caught here in immense numbers) which after being salted was in the 7th (13th) century exported to Mesopotamia, and even to the furthest parts of Khurasan, for Yakût says he bought some of this salt fish in Balkh. The waters of the lake were salt and bitter. Akhlât, or Khilât, at the western end of the lake, was one of the largest cities of Armenia. Mustawfi describes it as standing in a plain, surrounded by gardens, and dominated by a fortress. The Friday Mosque stood in the market-place. The cold here was severe in winter, but the town was very populous; it stood on the banks of a small stream across which was a bridge; and Mustawsi praises the gardens of the neighbouring district. Above Akhlåt was the great mountain called Kûh Sîpân, visible, says Mustawfi, fifty leagues away, and its summit was always snow-clad.

Arjîsh, a town on the northern shore of the lake, to which it frequently gave its name, according to Mustawfî, had been strongly fortified by the Wazîr 'Alî Shâh by order of Ghâzân Khân in the 8th (14th) century, and the country round was famous for its corn lands. Further to the east was the town of Bârkîrî, or Bahatgîrî, near Band-i-Mâhî (the Fish Dam), on the road from Arjîsh to Khuwî (Khoi) in Adharbâyjân, and ît is described by Mustawfî as having a strong castle crowning a hill. Its river came down from the Alâţâk pastures, where the Îl-Khân, Arghûn, had built his great summer palace in the midst of

¹ Ist. 188, 191. I. H. 244. Muk. 374, 377, 380. Yak. ii. 183, 549. Mst. 126, 161, 164. A. Y. i. 414, 415; ii. 378. Ibn-al-Athir, x. 25.

carefully preserved hunting grounds. The city of Van, which at the present day gives its name to the lake, stands near its eastern shore; but we have no description of it. The fortress of Vasṭām or Vasṭān lies on the south shore and is spoken of by Mustawfi, in the 8th (14th) century, as having a large town near it. Finally near the south-western corner of the lake lies Badlis (Bitlis), described by Mukaddasi as situated in a deep gorge where two streams met. A castle built of stone protected the town, and according to Yākūt the apples grown in its district were so excellent as to be largely exported to all neighbouring lands.

The products of these northern provinces were few, and the manufactures consisted chiefly of stuffs dyed red with the kirmiz, an insect that fed on the oak trees growing throughout Adharbâyjan, and gave its name to the 'cramoisie' silks, being the origin of our words 'crimson' and 'carmine.' Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi both describe the kirmiz. The former says it was a worm like the silkworm, spinning for itself a cocoon exactly like the silkworm's cocoon; Mukaddasi, on the other hand, writes that the kirmiz insect, or worm, was found on the earth, and that the women went out to gather it up, and afterwards dried it in an oven on brass pans. Silk, goat's-hair stuffs, linen, and wool were dyed with it, and the colour was famous in all lands. Armenia in general was also noted for its girdles, ribbed coverlets, carpets, rugs, cushions and veils; these commodities with figs, walnuts, and the salted tirrikh fish from lake Van already noticed, were the chief exports, and might all be found in great store at Dabil. The town of Bardha'ah was also celebrated for the silk produced in its neighbourhood, and from the countryside, as from Bab-al-Abwâb, great numbers of mules were obtained for export; while lastly from the latter port, otherwise called Darband, came slaves brought thither from out of the northern lands'.

2 I. H. 244. Muk. 380, 381.

¹ Ist. 188, 190. I. H. 245, 248. Muk. 377. Yak. i. 526; ii. 457. Kaz. ii. 352. Mst. 164, 165, 205, 226. J. N. 411, 412. A. Y. i. 685, 688.





PROVINCES OF JIBAL AND JILAN, WITH MAZANDARAN, KUJMIS, AND JURJAN

CHAPTER XIII.

JIBÂL.

The province of Al-Jibål, or 'Iråk 'Ajam, with its four districts. Kirmasin or Kirmanshåhan. Bisutûn and its sculptures. Kanguvar. Dinavar. Shahrazûr. Hulwân. The great Khurasân road. Kirind. Kurdistân under the Saljûks. Bahâr. Jamjamâl. Alânî and Alishtar. Hamadân and its districts. Darguzîn. Kharakânayn and the northern Âvah. Nihâvand. Karaj of Rûdrâvar, and Karaj of Abu-Dulaf. Farâhân.

The broad mountain region, which the Greeks called Media, stretching across from the Mesopotamian plains on the west to the great desert of Persia on the east, was known to the Arab geographers as the province of Al-Jibâl, 'the Mountains.' This name afterwards fell out of use, and during the 6th (12th) century under the later Saljûks, the province came by a misnomer to be called 'Irâk 'Ajamî, which means Persian 'Irâk, being so named to distinguish it from the older 'Irâk of the Arabs, which was Lower Mesopotamia'.

How this change in the name came about would appear to have been as follows. Al-Irak, as already said (Chapter II, p. 25, note), besides being the Moslem denomination for the lower half of Mesopotamia, was commonly, but in the dual form, applied

^{&#}x27;Ajam or 'Ajami is the name originally applied by the Arabs to a 'foreigner,' or non-Arab, as the Greeks used the term Barbarian. Since the Persians were the first foreigners with whom the Arabs came into contact 'Ajam and 'Ajami soon became specialised to mean 'the Persian foreigner,' and as the equivalent of 'Persian' is in use at the present time. Jibai is in Arabic the plural of Jabai, 'a hill.' Abu-l-Fidâ (p. 408) has the double name; he writes 'Bilâd-al-Jabai (Provinces of the Mountain) which is called by the people 'Irâk-al-'Ajam (Persian 'Irâk).'

by the Arabs to the two chief provincial cities, Kûfah and Başrah, which hence were known as Al-Irakayn-meaning 'the Two (capitals of) 'Irak.' This was the older and classical usage; but in the latter part of the 5th (11th) century the Saljüks had come to rule over all western Persia, having their capital at Hamadân, and they also governed Mesopotamia, where the Abbasid Caliph resided. From him they received the title of Sultan of the Two Traks, which seemed fitting to their case, and the second of the two Traks soon came to be understood as meaning the province of Jibal, where the Saljuk prince more especially resided, which thus by the vulgar came to be known for distinction as Persian Irak. This is the account of the matter given by Yakût, who states that the Persians in his day, but incorrectly and as a modern usage, called the province Persian Trak. Yakût himself uses the older name of Al-Jibál, for which his contemporary Kazvînî, writing also in Arabic, gives the Persian equivalent of Kuhistan (the Mountain province). The name Jibâl, however, apparently became completely obsolete after the Mongol conquest, and Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century nowhere uses it. He divides the older Jibal province into two parts, the smaller being Kurdistan on the west, the larger moiety Persian 'Irak on the east; and the name of 'Irâk is still in use at the present day, for that part of the older Jibal province which lies south-west of Tihran is now locally known as the 'Irak district'.

Four great cities—Kirmisin (later Kirmânshâh), Hamadân, Ray, and Isfahân—were from early days the chief towns of the four quarters of this province. In Buyid times, namely in the 4th (10th) century, according to Ibn Hawkal, the offices of the government were at Ray; at the close of the next century Hamadân became the capital under the Persian Saljûks; but at all times Isfahân would appear to have been the largest and generally the most flourishing city of the Jibâl province. In the present work it will be found convenient to describe the province as divided into the dependencies of its four great cities, and to begin with the western quarter, that dependent on Kirmânshâh, which since the days of the Saljûks has been commonly known as Kurdistân, signifying the land of the Kurds.

¹ Yak. ii. 15. Kaz. ii. 228. Mst. 141.

The capital city of Kirmânshâhân, a name generally curtailed to Kirmânshâh, was by the earlier Arabs known as Kirmîsîn (written also Kirmásîn and Kirmáshîn). In the 4th (10th) century it is described by Ibn Hawkal as a pleasant town surrounded by trees, with running waters, where fruit was cheap and all commodities abundant. Mukaddasi, who is the first to mention the Persian name of Kirmanshahan, adds that there was a Great Mosque in the market-place, and that 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid had built himself a fine palace here in the main street of the city. Kazvînî in the 7th (13th) century speaks of Kirmîsîn as standing close to Kirmânshâhân, as though these were twin cities; Yâkût, who gives both names, says little of the town, confining himself to a description of the sculptures and ruins on the neighbouring mountain of Bihistân. The Mongol invasion in the 7th (13th) century effected the ruin of Kirmânshâh, which Mustawsi in the following century describes as reduced in his day to the size of a village, the name of which 'in books' was, he says, still written Kirmisîn (since his time become obsolete), and he too is chiefly concerned with describing the Bihistân or Bîsutûn sculptures.

These are on the side, and at the foot of the great mountain of black rocks, about a day's march to the east of Kirmânshâh, near the Khurasan road, and they consist of remains dating from the Achæmenian kings (5th century B.C.) and the Sassanians (7th century A.D.). They are described in the 4th (10th) century by Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal, who write the name of the mountain Bihistûn and Bîsutûn, adding that the sculptures were to be found near the village of Sasaniyan, doubtless the same village which Mustawsi in the 8th (14th) century called Vastam or Bastam and which is now known as Tâk-i-Bustân, 'the Garden Arch.' Here the well-known sculpture of Darius receiving the tributary kings, with the trilingual cuneiform inscription, is referred to by Ibn Hawkal, who describes it as being 'the representation in stone of a school-house, with the master and the boys; further (he adds) in the school-master's hand is an instrument like a strap wherewith to beat: also there be cauldrons as used in a kitchen sculptured in stone.' In regard to the Sassanian sculptures, added over a thousand years later, these are chiefly in and about a grotto, where

there is a spring of water gushing out at the foot of the great mountain and, according to Ibn Hawkal, repeated by all later Persian authorities, they represent King Khusraw Parvîz on his celebrated horse Shibdâz (or Shabdîz), while above him stands the beautiful Queen Shîrîn, her portrait adorning the roof of the grotto aforesaid. Somewhat defaced, these sculptures exist at the present day, and have been more than once figured and described. Yâkût who quotes the travels of Ibn Muhalhal, 4th (10th) century, and Mustawfî, give in some detail the popular legends of their time. The story of Khusraw and Shîrîn, and of her lover the sculptor Farhâd who in despair slew himself, will be found localised in many of the neighbouring places; the incidents are well known, both from the Shâh Nâmah of Firdûsî, and from Nizâmî's great poem (which Mustawfi quotes) called the 'Loves of Khusraw and Shîrîn'.'

Overhanging Kirmânshâh to the north, and on the left hand of one travelling along the great Khurasan road, was the isolated hill called Sinn Sumayrah, 'Sumayrah's Tooth,' whence the northern road started leading to Dînavar and the Adharbâyjan province. 'Sumayrah's Tooth' was so called from an Arab woman of that name, celebrated for her projecting teeth, and the Moslems gave the hill this nickname in jest, as they marched past it to the conquest of Nihâvand. Eastward beyond Bîsutûn, on the great Khurasan road, lies the village of Sihnah, as mentioned by Istakhri, and still existing though not to be confused with the modern town of Sihnah to be spoken of later. Beyond Sihnah village lies Kanguvar, which the Arabs called Kasr-al-Lusus, 'the Robbers' Castle,' from the evil ways of the inhabitants, who at the time of the first Moslem conquest stole all the baggage animals of the army sent against Nihâvand. There was here, according to Ibn Rustah and others, a great arched building standing on a platform, and dating from the days of Khusraw Parviz, being constructed with columns and of mortared brickwork. The town of Kanguvar was of considerable size, and had a Friday Mosque

¹ I. R. 166. Ykb. 270. Ist. 195, 203. I. H. 156, 265, 266. Muk. 284, 393. Kaz. ii. 290. Yak. iii. 250; iv. 69. Mst. 168, 203. J. N. 451. Bihistân is the older form. Bisutûn, meaning 'without pillars' in Persian, i.e. unsupported, is probably the result of popular etymology.

built by Mûnis the chamberlain of the Caliph Muktadir. Yâkût asserts that the platform, where the Sassanian buildings stood, was 20 ells above the ground level, and Mustawfi adds that the great stones for its construction had been brought from the mountain of Bîsutûn'.

About 25 miles to the westward of Kanguvar are the ruins of Dînavar, which in the 4th (10th) century was the capital of the small independent dynasty named after Hasanawayh, or Hasanûyah, the Kurdish chief of the dominant tribe settled in these parts. At the time of the Moslem conquest of Persia Dînavar had received the name of Mah-al-Kûfah, 'because (as Ya'kûbî writes) its revenues were apportioned to the payment of the state pensions of the inhabitants of Kufah'; and Mah Kufah for a time became the common name for the city and its surrounding territory. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Dînavar as two-thirds the size of Hamadân, and the population as more urbane and better mannered than the Hamadan people. Mukaddasi adds that the markets were well built, the surrounding gardens being very fruitful. The Great Mosque, which had been built by Hasanawayh, stood in the market-place, and over the pulpit rose a fine dome that was ornamented with sculptures. Dinavar was still an inhabited town when Mustawsi wrote in the 8th (14th) century; the climate was temperate, water plentiful, corn and grapes being abundantly grown. The place probably fell to its present state of ruin after the conquest of Timur, who according to 'Alt of Yazd left some of his troops in garrison here.

Probably in the neighbourhood of Dînavar, but the site appears to be as yet unknown, stood the great castle of Sarmāj, described by Yākūt as impregnable, being built of hewn stones by Hasanawayh, who died here in 369 (979), after a glorious reign, according to Ibn-al-Athīr, of nearly fifty years. In the next century Sarmāj was taken after a four years' siege in 441 (1049) by Tughril Beg the Saljūk, who, however, had to bring together an army of 100,000 men before he could force his brother Yunnāl out of this almost impregnable stronghold².

Ist. 196. I. H. 256. I. R. 167. Muk. 393. Yak. iii. 50, 169; iv. 120,
 The name of the village is spelt either Sihnah or Sihnah. Mst. 168.

¹ Ykb. 171. I. H. 260. Muk. 394. Mst. 167. Yak. iii. 82. A. Y. ii.

About sixty miles north of the ruins of Dînavar stands at the present day the important town of Sihnah, which is the modern capital of the Persian province of Kurdistân, though under this name it is not mentioned by any of the medieval Arab or Persian geographers. In the position of the modern Sihnah, however, according to the itineraries of Ibn Khurdadbih and Kudamah, stood, during the middle-ages, the city of Sisar, a name which Yâkût rightly says means in Persian 'Thirty Heads.' The neighbourhood of Stsar abounded in springs and was known as the Sad-Khaniyah-'the Hundred Houses' or Heads of Waterfrom the number of these springs. The Caliph Amin had built a fortress here, which his more celebrated brother Mamun had garrisoned, taking into his pay the Kurdish tribes who held the surrounding pastures, and using them in the civil war against his brother, whom he deprived later on of the Caliphate. Sîsar was counted as one of the 24 sub-districts of Hamadan; and it is possible that the modern name of Sihnah may be merely a corruption of Sad-Khâniyah, shortened to Sî-Khânah, 'Thirty Houses,' but of this there is no direct evidence.

Four marches north-west of Dînavar was the town of Shahrazûr, standing in the district of the same name. Ibn Ḥawkal, in the 4th (10th) century, mentions Shahrazûr as a walled and fortified town inhabited by Kurds, whose tribes he names; they occupied all the surrounding region, which was most fruitful. The traveller Ibn Muhalhal (as quoted by Yâkût) describes in the 4th (10th) century the many towns and villages of this district, and the chief town, he says, was known among the Persians as Nîm-Râh, or 'the Half-way House,' because it stood at the middle stage between Madâin (Ctesiphon) and Shîz, the two great fire-temples of Sassanian times. The neighbouring mountains were called Sha'rân and Zalam, where according to Kazvînî a species of

^{530.} Ibn-al-Athir, viii. 518, 519; ix. 380. According to Yâkût (iv. 405) the Persian word Mâh is synonymous with Kasbah (chief town) in Arabic. The prefix Mâh, which occurs in the older names for Dinavar and Nihâvand, is in Old Persian Mada, and as a place-name is radically the same word which has come down to us, through the Greeks, in the form of Media and the Medes. The ruins of Dinavar have been lately visited, and are described by De Morgan, Mission en Perse, ii. 95, 96.

grain was grown that was deemed a powerful aphrodisiac. The Kurds in this region, when Ibn Muhalhal visited the place, numbered 60,000 tents, and when Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century Shahrazûr was still a flourishing town, and inhabited by Kurds'.

The great Khurâsân road, which, as already described in our first chapter, went eastwards from Baghdad to the uttermost limits of Moslem lands, after crossing the Mesopotamian plain entered the mountainous region of Persia at Hulwan, a town of the Jibal province, which however was sometimes counted as of Arabian 'Irâk. Ibn Hawkal says that in the 4th (10th) century Hulwan was half the size of Dinavar, and its houses were built of both stone and clay bricks. Though the climate was hot, dates, pomegranates, and figs growing abundantly, snow could all the summer through be found on the mountains two leagues above the city. Mukaddasî adds that there was an old castle in the town within which stood the mosque, and the city wall had eight gates, the names of which he enumerates. Outside the town stood a synagogue of the Jews, much venerated by them, which was built of squared stones set in mortar. In the 7th (13th) century, when Kazvînî wrote, Hulwan was already in ruins, but famous for its sulphur springs. In the next century Mustawfi praises its crops, but says that the town stood desolate, except for divers shrines of Moslem saints, though the surrounding territory comprised thirty villages.

Along the Khurâsân road, and four leagues above Ḥulwân towards Kirind, lay Mâdharûstân, where according to Yâkût might be seen a great arched building surmounting a platform. This had formed part of the palace of the Sassanian king Bahrâm Gûr, who laid out a paradise round it that, in Yâkût's days, had long gone to ruin. Six leagues beyond this comes the town of Kirind, which is apparently first mentioned by Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century; he couples Kirind with the neighbouring village called Khûshân, which however has now completely disappeared, though Mustawfî describes it as in his day more

¹ I. K. 120. Kud. 212. I. H. 263, 265. Yak. iii. 216, 340; iv. 988. Kaz. ii. 266. Mst. 167. The district of Shahrazur still keeps the name, the old city stood where are the ruins now known as Yasin Tappah.

populous even than Kirind. These two places lie together at the head of the Hulwan pass, in a fertile plain, and correspond in position-for as already said neither are mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers-with the station of Marj-al-Kal'ah (the Meadow Castle), which Ibn Hawkal describes as a great walled town surrounded by populous and fertile districts. Ya'kûbî states that in these pastures the Abbasid Caliph kept his stud of horses. Four leagues beyond these pastures the high road passed Tazar, where, according to Mukaddasi, might be seen the remains of a palace of the Chosroes, built Yakût records by one Khusrûjird, son of Shahan. Tazar had good markets, and it appears to be identical with Kasr Yazid (Yazid's palace or castle), mentioned by other authorities. Six leagues beyond Tazar again was Az-Zubaydiyah, 'a fine healthy place' according to Ibn Hawkal, the position of which on the high road shows it to be identical with the present village of Harunabad. Here the Khurasan road turns east, and crossing the plain of Mayidasht (or Mahidasht) runs direct to Kirmanshah. The Mayidasht plain is described by Mustawfi as in his day dotted with some fifty villages, surrounded by excellent pasture lands that were well watered from the neighbouring hills. In this region was the castle of Harsin with a small town at its base, which still exists, lying about 20 miles to the south-east of Kirmanshahl

As regards the origin of the Kurdistân province, it is stated that about the middle of the 6th (12th) century Sultân Sanjar the Saljûk divided off the western part of the Jibâl province, namely the region which was dependent on Kirmânshâh, and giving it the name of Kurdistân put it under the government of his nephew Sulaymân Shâh, surnamed Abûh (or Ayûh), who, at a later period—that is from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161)—succeeded his uncle as chief of the house of Saljûk and Sultan of the Two 'Irâks. This is the account given by Mustawfi, who states that under Sulaymân Shâh Kurdistân flourished greatly, and its revenues then amounted to two million gold dînârs (equivalent to about a million sterling),

¹ I. H. 168, 256, 262. I. R. 165. Ykb. 270. Muk. 123, 135, 393. Kaz, ii. 239, 302. Mst. 138, 168. Yak. iii. 537; iv. 382. J. N. 450. The ruins of Hulwân exist at the village now called Sar-i-Pul (Bridge-head), where a bridge crossed the stream.

which was near ten times the sum yielded by the province in the 8th (14th) century under the Mongols, when Mustaws was their revenue officer. Sulaymân Shâh made Bahâr—a town that still exists, lying some eight miles to the north of Hamadân—his capital; and here there was a strong castle. In Mongol times a second capital was built, by Uljaytû Sultân, at Sultânâbâd Jamjamâl (or Chamchamâl) near the soot of the Bisutûn mountain, and this town Mustaws describes as standing in a rich country where much corn was grown. Of Jamjamâl, or Chamchamâl, the position is given in his itineraries (sour leagues from Sihnah village, and six from Kirmânshâh) and its ruins still exist, being marked on the map at the spot indicated. The town is frequently mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd when describing the marches of Tîmûr through Kurdistân.

Among other towns which occur in the description of the campaigns of Timûr, and which are noticed by Mustawfî, are Darband Tâj Khātûn, 'a medium-sized town now for the most part in ruin,' and Darband Zangî, a smaller place, which had good pasture grounds with a temperate climate. Both towns apparently have disappeared from the map; but Darband means 'a pass,' and from 'Alî of Yazd, who writes the name of the first as Darband-Tâshì-Khâtûn, these two Darbands would appear to have stood on the western frontier of Kurdistân (between Shahrazûr and Ḥulwān), among the hills that here dominate the plains of Mesopotamia.

Mustawfi also mentions four other towns in Kurdistån, namely Alånî, Alîshtar, Khuftiyân, and Darbîl, as important places in his day, but it is not easy now to identify their sites. Alånî, for which some MSS. give the reading Alâbî, in the 8th (14th) century was presumably one of the chief towns of the province, though no other authority but Mustawfi appears to mention it. Its lands grew wheat crops, it had a good climate, well-watered pastures lying round it, and there were well-stocked hunting grounds in the neighbourhood. At Alîshtar also was an ancient fire-temple called Ardahish (Arûkhsh or Arakhash). Unfortunately none of the Itineraries give its position; but the plain of Alîshtar still exists, and probably one of its ruined sites is the town mentioned by Mustawfi. It is doubtless identical with the town of Lîshtar or Lâshtar mentioned by Ibn Hawkal and others as lying 10 leagues south-

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west of Nihâvand, being 12 leagues north of Sâbûrkhwâst. On the other hand the reading of the name Alîshtar is, it must be admitted, extremely doubtful; many of the best MSS., also the Turkish Jahân Numâ, give Al-Bashr, and a variety of other forms occur. Nothing is known of Khuftiyân (for which the Jahân Numâ gives Ḥakshiyân, and the MSS. a variety of readings) except that it was a strong castle surrounded by villages lying on the banks of the Zâb river; but whether this was the Upper or the Lower Zâb is not indicated. Its site is unknown and the same is the case with Darbîl (or Dizbîl), 'a medium-sized town with a good climate,' the position of which is not even approximately indicated by Mustawfì. This concludes his notice of the Kurdistân district'.

Hamadân (which name the Arabs wrote Hamadhân) is the ancient Ecbatana, the capital of the province of Media. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Hamadhan as a large fine city, over a league square, which had been rebuilt since the Moslem conquest. Its walls had four gates, and without them was a suburb. There was much merchandise in its markets, and the surrounding district was very fertile, producing large crops, more especially saffron. Mukaddasî adds that the town possessed three rows of markets, and that in one of these stood the Great Mosque, a very old structure. Yâkût, who has some notes on Hamadân, written shortly before it was laid in ruins by the Mongol invasion of 617 (1220), states that there were twenty-four Rustâks, or subdistricts, dependent on the city, and these he enumerates. The list is again given by Mustawfi in the following century, who adds thereto the names of the villages of each district; most of them however it is impossible now to identify. Mustawfi describes the city, in the 8th (14th) century, as measuring two leagues across, in the centre of which stood the ancient castle, built of clay, called the Shahristan. This ancient citadel of Hamadan like that of Isfahan-to be noticed later-is named Sarak by Ibn Fakih, but the meaning of the word is not explained. The goldsmiths' market

² Hamadhan represents the Hagmatana of the Achtemenian inscriptions, which the Greeks wrote Echatana.

¹ I. H. 159, 264. Yak. i. 276; iii. 5. Mst. 167, 192. A. Y. i. 584, 585, 599, 640. J. N. 450. Neither Bahâr, Alânî, Khuftiyân, Darbil, nor the two Darbands, are mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers.

in Hamadân was famous, built on the site of the former village of Zamîn Dîh; and the city walls measured 12,000 paces in circuit. Originally, says Mustawfî, Hamadân comprised five cities, namely Kal'ah Kabrît, 'Sulphur Castle,' Kal'ah Mâkîn, Girdlâkh, Khurshîd, and Kurasht. He adds, 'this last, formerly a large town, is now entirely ruined.' Of Hamadân, too, were the following five great districts, with their villages; namely, Farîvâr near the city, next Azmadîn, Sharâmîn, and A'lam; with, lastly, the district of Sard Rûd and Barhand Rûd. It must, however, be added that the readings of these names are uncertain, as the MSS. vary considerably'.

Three leagues from Hamadân (but in what direction is not stated, and the name does not appear on the map), in the village of Juhastah, stood the ruins of the ancient castle of King Bahrâm Gûr, described by Ibn Fakîh. It was a huge structure, with halls, passages, and chambers, in part cut out of the live rock. At the four corners were sculptured female figures, and along one face of the building ran an inscription in Old Persian (Farsiyah) commemorating the conquests of the Chosroes. Half a league distant from this palace was a hill, where was to be seen the so-called Antelope's tomb (Nâûs-az-Zabîyah), and Ibn Fakîh gives a long anecdote concerning King Bahrâm Gûr and his mistress, and of the many gazelles that he slew in the neighbouring plain, and how he finally put his mistress to death here for her insolent remarks in disparagement of his shooting.

To the south-west of Hamadân rises the great mountain of Alvand, or Arvand as Yâkût writes the word, and this form of the name appears as the mint city on silver dirhams of Abu-Sa'îd, the Mongol Îl-Khân, dated 729 (1329). Mustawfî gives a long account of Kûh Alvand, which he says was thirty leagues in circuit, its summit always being covered with snow. There was an abundant spring of water on the topmost peak, which issued from a sort of building cut in the rock, and forty-two other streams, he adds, gushed from the various spurs of the mountain. Travelling west from Hamadân, after crossing the Alvand pass, on the high road

¹ J. H. 256, 260. Muk. 391. I. F. 219. Yak. iv. 988. Mst. 151, 152. The Turkish Jahan Numa (p. 300) repeats the enumeration of districts and villages from Mustawil.

to Kanguvår, stands Asadåbåd, which Ibn Hawkal describes as a populous city; and Mukaddasî adds that a league distant from it was to be seen the arch (Aywān), in a building which Yākūt refers to as the Maṭābikh-al-Kisrâ, 'the Kitchens of Chosroes.' Asadābād had a mosque, and good markets; its district was very fertile and produced honey. Mustawfi says that 35 villages were of its dependencies'.

The plain in which Hamadan stands drains to the north and east, its numerous streams uniting to form the head-waters of the river Gâvmâhâ (or Gâvmâsâ) whose course will be described later when speaking of the Kum river. To the north of Hamadan lies the district of Darguzin, and north of this again that of Kharrakan. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century writes of Darguzin as a considerable town, formerly a village, the capital of the A'lam district, mentioned on the previous page as one of the five dependent on Hamadân. The A'lam district, he adds-and Yâkût confirms him-was wrongly called Al-Amr by the Persians: it was a high plateau lying between Hamadán and Zanján, where grapes, cotton, and corn grew abundantly. Kharrakân, more often called Kharrakanayn, 'the two Kharrakans,' lay north of the A'lam district. It comprised many villages, which Mustawff enumerates (but the readings in the MSS, are uncertain), and the chief town which still exists was Avah, or Abah of Hamadan, so named to distinguish it from Avah of Savah, which will be noticed later. This, the northern Avah, sometimes also written Ava, is mentioned by Yakût, and it is referred to as early as the 4th (10th) century by Mukaddasî. The Kharrakân river, according to Mustaws, during the spring freshets poured its waters into the stream of the Khushk Rûd which ultimately lost itself in the great desert in the Ray district. In the summer time, however, the Kharrakan river never flowed beyond the boundaries of its own immediate district, its waters drying up in irrigation channels1.

The city of Nihâvand, lying about forty miles south of Hamadân, was an important place dating from Sassanian times. After the first Moslem conquest, which was effected by the troops from

¹ I. H. 256. I. F. 255. Muk. 393. Yak. i. 225, 245; iv. 110, 733. Kaz. ii. 236, 311. Mst. 152, 202.

² Muk. 25, 51, 386. Vak. i. 316, 408. Mst. 152, 217. J. N. 301, 305.

Başrah more particularly, the town and its district received the name of Mah-al-Basrah, for its revenues were allotted to the payment of pensions in Basrah, just as those of Dînavar were paid to Kûfah (see above, p. 189). Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century speaks of the rich merchandise sold in its markets, whither the saffron of the neighbouring district of Rûdhravar was brought for distribution. Nihavand had then two Great Mosques, the old and the new. Yâkût adds the tradition that many Arabs coming from Başrah had settled here in early days; and the city was famous for the manufacture of perfumes. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century states that in his day the population consisted mostly of the Kurdish tribesmen; much cotton was grown in the neighbouring districts, three of which in particular he names, Malair, Isfidhan, and Jahûk. About half-way between Hamadan and Nihavand lay the rich district of Rûdhrâvar, so famous for its saffron, of which district the chief city was Karaj, possessing a fine mosque. The district was three leagues across, and comprised 93 villages according to Yakût. Mustawfi generally spells the name Rûdârûd, and of its towns he mentions Sarkan and Tuvi, both of which still exist; and Tuvî, at the present day, is the name commonly given to the district1.

To the eastward of Nihâvand lay the district of the two Îghârs (Al-Îghârayn) of which the capital was also called Karaj, known for distinction as Karaj of Abu Dulaf. The exact site of this Karaj is unknown, but from the distances given in the Itineraries, and from the fact stated by Mustawsî that the town lay beneath the Râsmand mountains (almost certainly to be identified with the present range called Râsband), its site must be sought for near the head-waters of the stream which flows past Sârûk to join the modern Karâ Sû. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century speaks of Karaj as smaller than Burûjird, but it was a place of importance, built on a height. The houses of the town covered a space of over two leagues, and there were two markets, one at the Bâb Masjid-al-Jâmi', 'the gate of the Great Mosque,' the other situated at the opposite town gate opening

¹ I. R. 166. I. H. 258, 259, 262. Muk. 393. Yak. ii. 832; îv. 251, 827. Mst. 152, 153. The ruins of Karaj of Rûdhrâvar are doubtless those described by De Morgan, Mission on Perse (ii. 136), which he names Rûdîlâvar.

beyond what was known as 'the great plain.' Baths were numerous and the houses were well built, mostly of clay bricks; the gardens were few, but those round the town limits were very fertile. Abu Dulaf, from whom the place took its distinguishing name, had been a celebrated general, also a poet at the court of Hârûn-ar-Rashid and his son Mamûn. Abu Dulaf together with his descendants settled in this district, which with that lying round Buri, 12 leagues distant towards Isfahan, had been granted to them as Ighârs-that is 'fiefs in perpetuity,' paying a fixed yearly tribute to the Caliph, but free of all other taxes. Yakût states that the Persians pronounced the name of Karaj Karah, and Farrazin was the name of a castle not far from the gate of Karaj. Mustawfi, who refers to the river as the River of Karah-the Karah Rûd-says that the Râsmand mountain here rose above the plain to the north. At the foot of the mountain was an abundant spring of water, called the fountain of King Kay-Khusraw, which irrigated the neighbouring pasture lands, six leagues long by three wide, known as the Margzar of Kîtû, which lay under the protection of the Farrazîn castle. The Rasmand mountain is described as a black rock towering up like the hill of Bîsutûn, with glens at its base, and it was ten leagues in circuit. The site of Burj, the second city of the Igharayn, has not yet been identified. Its position, however, is approximately known. Ibn Hawkal speaks of it as a fine well-conditioned town, and tells us that it lay on the high road towards Isfahân, some 12 leagues distant from Karaj'.

Lower down the Karaj river, and to the north of Karaj of Abu Dulaf, is the town of Sarûk of the Farâhân district, noticed by Yâkût and Mustawfî, being counted by them as belonging to Hamadân. Dawlatâbâd, which still exists, is mentioned as a prominent place of the neighbourhood; and there was a salt marsh near here, formed by a lake, measuring four leagues square, which when dried up by the summer heats produced excellent salt for export. This lake, according to Mustawfî, the Mongols named Jaghân Nâûr, meaning 'Salt Lake.' It is doubtlêss

¹ I. H. 258, 262. Muk. 394. Vak. i. 420, 548; iii. 873; iv. 250, 270. Mst. 151, 204.

identical with the present lake of Tuala. Lastly, to the southeast of Hamadan, and about half-way between that city and Nihavand, lies the small town of Ramin, which is noticed by Yakut as of this district, but it is not further described by any other authority.

¹ Yak. iii. 867, 887; iv. 683. Mst. 151. At the present day the chief town of this district, now famous for its carpets, is Sulfanabad, founded by Fath 'Ali Shah at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it is commonly known as Shahr-i-Naw (New Town).

CHAPTER XIV.

JIBAL (continued).

Little Lur. Burûjird. Khurramâbâd. Shâpûrkhwâst. Sîrawân and Şaymarah. Isfahân and its districts. Fîrûzân; Fârifan and the river Zandah Rûd. Ardistân. Kâshân. Kum, Gulpaygan, and the Kum river. Âvah and Sâvah. The river Gâvmâhâ.

South of Hamadan lies Luristan, the district of the Lur tribes, kinsmen of the Kurds, and this mountainous region is divided by its rivers into two parts, Great Lur to the south and Little Lur to the north. The district of Little Lur is separated from Great Lur by the main stream of the Upper Karûn, and the towns of Great Lur will be more conveniently described in the chapter on Khûzistan, although the district of Great Lur also is by some authorities regarded as forming part of 'Irâk 'Ajam'.

The chief towns of Little Lur, as enumerated by Mustawsi in the 8th (14th) century, were Burûjird, Khurramâbâd, and Shâpûr-khwâst. Burûjird is described by Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century as a fine city, measuring over half a league across. Its fruits were exported to Karaj, much sassron was grown, and its importance increased after Hamûlah, the Wazîr of the Abu Dulaf family just mentioned, built the Friday Mosque here. When Mustawsi wrote, in the 8th (14th) century, there were two mosques, the old and the new; but the town, he says, was then already falling to ruin. 'Ali of Yazd, who always writes the name Vurûjird, frequently refers to it in describing the campaigns of Tîmûr, by whose orders the castle, called the Kal'ah Armiyân, was restored.

¹ I. H. 258, 262, Yak. i. 596; ii. 737. Mst. 151. A. Y. i. 587; ii. 515.

The name of Khurramâbâd, since the time of Tîmûr the most important place in Little Lur after Burûjird, does not occur in any of the Arab geographers of the middle-ages; and it has often been suggested that Khurramâbâd was identical with the town of Shâpûrkhwâst, a place frequently mentioned in earlier days. That this, however, is not the case, is proved by the mention, separately, of both towns by Mustawfi, who further indicates the position of Shâpûrkhwâst. Khurramâbâd, when Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century, was a fine town, though already partly in ruin. The date palm produced abundantly here, and he adds that this was the only place in the hill country where it grew, excepting Şaymarah: but this statement cannot be accepted as quite exact.

In regard to Shapurkhwast, which the Arab geographers wrote Såbûrkhwâst, this also had been a town famous for its dates since the time of Ibn Hawkal. In the 4th (10th) century Saburkhwast with Burûjird and Nihâvand came under the power of Hasanawayh, the Kurdish chief who had established his government at Dinavar (see above, p. 189), and at Dizbaz, the castle of Sâbûrkhwâst, which rivalled Sarmaj for strength, Badr, son of Hasanawayh, kept his treasures, which in 414 (1023) fell into the hands of the Buyids. During the 5th (11th) century Sâbûrkhwâst is frequently mentioned in the chronicles relating to the doings of the Saljūks, and in 499 (1106) the Atabeg Mankûbars came into possession of the city, together with Nihâvand and Lîshtar (Alîshtar). Writing in the early part of the 8th (14th) century Mustawff (in the Guzidah) gives the information that in his day there were, in Little Lur, three populous cities, namely Burûjird, Khurramâbâd, and Shâpûrkhwâst (as he spells it in Persian). He relates that, 'this last, though once a great city, and very populous, being full of people of various nations and the capital of the kingdom, is now reduced to become a provincial town'; and in regard to its position he states that beyond (south) of Burûjird, 'the road (coming from Nihâvand and going to Isfahân) branches to the right to Shāpūrkhwāst,' while to the left (eastward) the main road went on to Karaj of Abu Dulaf. These details are in accordance with the accounts given by Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasî; for the former states that from Nihâvand it was 10 leagues (south) to Lâshtar, and thence 12 on to Sâbûrkhwäst, from which it was counted 30 leagues to (Great) Lurthat is to say the plains lying north of Dizful which will be noticed later in Chapter XVI. Mukaddasi adds that from Sābūrkhwāst to Karaj of Abu Dulaf was four marches, it being the same from Sābūrkhwāst to Lur¹.

To the west of Little Lur, and on the frontier of Arabian 'Irâk, lay the two districts of Mâsabadhân and Mihrajânkudhak, of which the chief towns were, respectively, Sirawan and Saymarah. The ruins of both towns still exist, and Måsabadhan is in use as the name of the region to the south of the Mavidasht plain. Sîrawân (or As-Sîrawân) was, according to Ibn Hawkal, a small town, its houses built of mortared stone, not unlike Mosul. It produced the fruits of both hot and cold regions, especially nuts and melons, the latter of the celebrated kind known as Dastabûyah; moreover the date palm, as already said, flourished here. Kazvînî refers to mines of salt, sulphur, vitriol, and borax as being found in the Masabadhan district. Situated some fifty miles to the eastward, Saymarah was not unlike Sîrawân, and it remained a populous town to a later date than the latter, its position being better chosen. The Mihrajankudhak district lying round it was celebrated in the 4th (roth) century for great fertility; and Mukaddast refers to its numerous population. 'Dates and olives, nuts and snow are all found here abundantly,' Yākūt writes, and on the road between Saymarah and the neighbouring hamlet of Tarhan was a wonderful bridge, 'twice as great as the bridge between Hulwan and Khanikin.' When Mustawsi wrote in the 8th (14th) century Saymarah, though already falling to ruin, was still a fine town, and the surrounding country was celebrated for its date-groves".

At the south-eastern corner of the Jibal province, and not far distant from the borders of the Great Desert, stands Isfahan (the

¹ I. H. 259, 264. Muk. 401. Vak. ii. 572; iii. 4, 82, 225. Ibn-al-Athir, ix. 174; x. 274. Mst. 151, 195; also Gutidah (Gantin), t. 622, and Ms. f. 1596, giving the paragraph on Lesser Lur, at the end of section xi of chapter tv, immediately preceding the section treating of the Mongols. The name is variously spelt Såbürkhwäst. Shåburkhast, and Shåpürkhwåst. The exact site of the ruins has not been identified.

² I. H. 263, 264. Muk. 394. Ykb. 269. Koz. ii. 172. Yak. iii. 443, 525. Mst. 151.

name being spelt Isbahân by the Arabs and by the Persians Ispahân), which from the earliest times must have been a place of importance, on account of the fertility of its lands which are watered by the abundant stream of the Zâyindah Rûd. At the present day Isfahân and its suburbs occupy both banks of the river, but in the middle-ages the inhabited quarters lay only on the northern or left bank of the Zâyindah Rûd. Here there were two cities side by side; namely, to the east Jay, otherwise called Shahristânah', girt by a wall with a hundred towers; and two miles to the westward of this Al-Yahûdîyah, 'the Jew Town,' double the size of Jay, taking its name, so tradition asserted, from the Jews who had been settled here in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

Ibn Rustah, at the close of the 3rd (9th) century, describes the city of Jay as measuring half a league across, and covering an area of 2000 Jaribs (about 600 acres). There were four gates, Bâb Khawr or 'of the Creek,' otherwise Bâb Zarîn Rûd, for this was the earlier spelling of the name of the river; then Båb Asfij, Bâb Tîrah, and the Yahûdîyah Gate. Ibn Rustah enumerates the number of towers on the wall between each gate, and he also gives the space in ells. In Jay was an ancient building like a fortress called Sarûk, the name likewise of the Hamadân citadel, as above stated, which Ibn Rustah says dated from before the Flood. Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi in the next century describe both Jay and Yahûdiyah. In each city was a Great Mosque for the Friday prayers; and Yahûdîyah alone equalled Hamadân in size, being indeed the largest city in the Jibal province, Ray only possibly excepted. Isfahân was already a great commercial centre, and its silks, especially the 'Attâbî (tabby stuffs), and its cottons, were largely exported. Saffron and all kinds of fruit grew well in its districts, which were the broadest and richest of the whole Jibal. Al-Yahudiyah, according to Mukaddasî, had been originally settled by the Jews in the time of Nebuchadnezzar because its climate resembled that of Jerusalem. The town, which he reports had twelve gates (Darb), was built mostly of unburnt brick, and it had both open and covered markets. The

Shahristân, or Shahristânah, means, in Persian, 'the Township,' and is a common name for the capital city.

Great Mosque was in one of the markets, built with round columns, having a minaret on the Kiblah (Mecca) side, 70 ells in height. The neighbouring township of Jay, a couple of miles to the eastward, was according to Mukaddasi called Al-Madinah, 'the City,' the Arabic equivalent of Shahristânah, and immediately below its ancient fortress, in the 4th (10th) century, the river was crossed by a bridge of boats.

In 444 (1052) Isfahân was visited by the Persian traveller Nâsir-i-Khusraw, who describes it as the largest city in all Persian-speaking lands that he had seen. There were two hundred bankers, and fifty caravanserais; and the town was surrounded by a wall said to be three and a half leagues in circuit, with battlements and a gangway running along the summit. The Great Mosque was a magnificent building, and the money-changers' market a sight to be seen, and each of the other numerous markets was shut off by its own gate. When Yakut wrote, in the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, both Yahûdîyah and Jay had fallen to ruin; and of the two the latter was then the more populous. He further speaks of the Great Mosque in Jay built by the Caliph Mansûr Râshid, who, as the chronicles relate, having been deposed by his uncle Muhammad Muktafi in 530 (1136), was afterwards killed in battle and brought to be buried outside the gate of Isfahân. Yahûdiyah, however, after the Mongol invasion, recovered a part of its former glory, and was a populous thriving city when Abu-l-Fidå wrote in 721 (1321), having, he says, the suburb of Shahristan a mile distant to the eastward, which occupied part of the older site of Jay.

His contemporary, Mustawfî, gives us a long account of Isfahân and its districts, mentioning the names of many places that still exist; and his description proves that Yahûdîyah of medieval times is the city of Isfahân as described by Chardîn at the close of the 17th century, when it had become the capital of Persia under Shâh 'Abbâs, the past glories of which are to be seen at the present day. According to Mustawfî the city walls, 21,000 paces in circuit, dated from the 4th (10th) century, having been built by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. The area of Isfahân had formerly been occupied by four villages, whose names survived in the town quarters, namely, Karrân (the Karrân Gate is given by

Chardin as opening on the east side), Kûshk, Jûbarah (this was the eastern quarter when Chardin wrote, and the Jûbarah Gate was to the north-east), and Dardasht (the gate of this name lay to the north, and the Dardasht quarter was to the north-west). Mustawfî writes that the most populous quarter under the Saljûks had been that known as Julbârah (the Gulbâr quarter of Chardin, round the present Maydân-i-Kuhnah or 'Old Square'), where stood the College and Tomb of Sultân Muhammad the Saljûk, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 mans (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol, carried off by the Sultân from India, and set up before the college gate'.

When Tîmûr conquered Isfabân at the close of the 8th (14th) century, the name of the citadel which he occupied is given as Kal'ah Tabarik (the latter word meaning a 'hillock' in the Persian dialect), and the ruins of this castle, which still exist, are described by Chardin as standing outside the Dardasht Gate. Further we are informed that Malik Shah the Saljûk erected another strong castle-the Shah-Diz, 'the Royal Fort'-on the summit of a mountain close to Isfahân in the year 500 (1107), . and Kazvîni adds a long anecdote relating the circumstances that brought about its foundation. At the beginning of the 10th (16th) century, Persia came under the rule of Shah Ismail the Safavid, and at the close of the century Shah 'Abbas the Great transferred his capital from Ardabîl to Isfahân, whither he also removed the whole Armenian population of Julfah on the river Aras, settling them in a new quarter of the city which he founded on the southern or right bank of the Zâyindah Rûd. Shâh 'Abbâs also added other new quarters and suburbs to Isfahan, but north of the river, all of which are minutely described by Chardin, who lived at Isfahân for many years during the latter half of the 17th century A.D."

History, however, does not record that this Sultan Muhammad—he reigned from 498 to 511 (1104—1117) and was a son of Malik Shah—made any conquests in India; possibly Mustawii has mistaken him for Mahmud of Ghaznah.

² I. R. 160, 162. I. H. 161. Muk. 386, 387, 388, 389. N. K. 93. Yak. i. 295; ii. 181; iii. 246; iv. 452, 1045. A. F. 411. Mst. 142. A. Y.

The eight districts round Isfahân, which Mustawfi carefully enumerates with their villages, still exist, and the same names appear in Ya'kûbî and other early authorities of the 3rd and 4th (9th and 10th) centuries. Four of these districts lie to the north of the river, while the other four are on its right bank to the southward. Beginning with the north bank, the home district, that immediately round the city, was called Jay, the name of the older town to the eastward. The Marbin district was to the west of Isfahân, and here stood an ancient fire-temple built by the mythical king Tahmurath, surnamed Div Band, 'the demon binder.' To the north-west, at some distance from the city gates, lay the Burkhwar district, of which Jaz (modern Gaz) was the largest village; while to the north-east was the district called Kahâb, the fourth on the northern river bank. South of the Zavindah Rûd, and to the south-east of the old Shahristânah city, was the district of Baraan, with the Rûdasht district beyond it lying further down the river, of which last the chief centre was Farifan, a large town in the 8th (14th) century, though now only a village, standing near the great Gâv-Khânah swamp. The Karârij district is south of Baraan; and westward of this, higher up the right bank of the Zâyindah Rûd, is the great Khânlanjân district, the last of the four to the south of the river, of which the chief town was Fîrûzân. Of this city no trace apparently remains, but it was a considerable town 'in two parts' in the 8th (14th) century, situated on the Zâyindah Rûd, and Ibn Batûtah, who passed through it, says it lay six leagues distant from Isfahan. The Khanlanjan district was already famous in the 4th (10th) century for its plentiful fruits and the fertility of its lands. Its name is often written Khâlanjân or Khûlanjân, and it was also known as Khânal-Abrar, 'the Caravanserai of the Benefactors.' As the name of a town Khânlanjân is doubtless identical with Fîrûzân aforesaid. and in the Itineraries this is the first stage southward from Isfahan on the western road to Shîrâz. In the 5th (11th) century Nâsir-

i. 431. Kaz. ii. 265. The description of Islahân fills volume viii (see especially pp. 122, 126, 147, 153, 212, 227, 229, for passages referred to) of the Voyages du Chévalier Chardin en Perse (Amsterdam, 1711). For modern Islahân see Houtum-Schindler, Eastern Persian 'Irâg (1897), pp. 18, 19, 120, 122.

i-Khusraw passed through Khanlanjan on his way to Isfahan, and noticed on the city gate an inscription bearing the name of Tughril Beg the Saljúk¹.

The main stream of the Isfahan river, at the present time generally called the Zandah Rûd, is known as the Zavindah Rúd or the Zarîn-Rúdh to our various authorities, though this last name is now generally given to a tributary river. The main stream, in its upper reach, was named the Juy-Sard, 'the Cold River,' and this rose in the Zardah-Kûh, 'the Yellow Mountains' -still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs-30 leagues west of Isfahân, not far from the head-waters of the Dujayl or Kårûn river of Khûzistân; and here, according to Mustawfî, were also the Ashkahran mountains, which marked the frontiers of Great Lur. Below the town of Fîrûzân in Khânlanjân, the Zandah Rûd receives an affluent, almost equal to its main stream in volume, which comes down from near Gulpaygan (Jurbadhakan); then after passing Isfahan, and irrigating its eight districts, the Zandah Rûd somewhat to the eastward of Rûdasht flows finally into the swamp of Gâv-Khânah on the borders of the Great Desert. According to popular belief, which is mentioned already by Ibn Khurdadbih in the 3rd (9th) century, the river, after sinking into this swamp, rose again to the ground surface 90 leagues away in Kirman, thence reaching the sea; but Mustawfi not unnaturally discredits the story, because of the high mountains lying between Isfahan and Kirman, and though he states that it was said that bits of reeds thrown into the Gav-Khânah marsh reappeared in Kirmân, he adds 'but this account is incredible ?.

Nâyin, which lay to the north of the Gâv-Khânah swamp on the border of the Great Desert, and the towns to the south-east

¹ I. K. 20, 58. I. R. 152. Kud. 197. I. H. 201. Ykb. 275. Muk. 389, 458. Yak. i. 294; ii. 394; iii. 839. Mst. 143, for the most part reproduced in J. N. 291. I. B. ii. 42. N. K. 92. Khânlanjân is famous also as the place of refuge of Firdûsl, when he fled from the wrath of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. An account of his reception by the governor of Khânlanjân is given in a copy of the Shâh Nâmah preserved in the British Museum (Or. 1403, f. 518 a), of which the text and translation are given by C. Schéfer in his edition of Nâṣir-i-Khusraw (Appendix iv. β. 298).

² I. R. 152. I. K. 20. Mst. 201, 202, 214.

of it towards Yazd, were all included in the province of Fars during the middle-ages, as will be explained in Chapter XVIII, but Ardistân, some miles north-west of Nâyin, was counted as of the Jibal province. As early as the 4th (10th) century, Istakhri describes Ardistân as a walled city, a mile across, with five gates and well fortified. The Friday Mosque stood in the centre of the town, and much silk was manufactured here, chiefly for export. At Zuvārah, to the north-east of Ardistān, some ancient ruins were attributed to King Anûshirwan the Just, and Mukaddasî adds that the soil of Ardistân was white, 'like wheat flour, whence its name,' for Ard in Persian meaning 'meal,' Ardistân would have the signification of 'the place like flour.' The ruins are referred to under the name of Uzvárah by Yâkût, who states that there were n.any vaulted buildings, also the remains of a fire-temple that had become the castle of Ardistan, and here according to tradition Anûshirwan had been born. Mustawfi however, who spells the name Zuvárah, attributes all these remains, including the firetemple, to King Bahman, son of Isfandiyar; and records that the town, which stood close to the desert, had round it 30 villages, giving as a tradition that these had been built by Dastan, brother of the hero Rustam.

On the desert border between Ardistân and Kâshân were the Kargas Kuh, 'the Vulture Hills,' which Mukaddasi describes as the highest mountains in the Great Desert of Persia. The neighbouring Siyah Küh, 'Black Hills,' were of almost equal height and ruggedness:- 'black evil-looking mountains'; and both, says Istakhri, were famous hiding-places for robbers. In a valley of the Vulture Hills was a fine spring called the Åb-i-Bandah, which gushed out from a cleft that was completely enclosed by rocks. About half-way between the Kargas Kûh and the Siyâh Kûh on the desert road, stood the caravanserai called Dayr-al-Jiss, 'Gypsum Convent,' a strong place, built entirely of burnt brick and shut by iron gates. In this hostel, according to Istakhri, guides for the desert routes were to be found, stationed here by order of the Further, great tanks had been constructed here for storing water, which Mukaddasi relates were never allowed to go out of repair, and there were shops in the caravanserai for the sale of provisions. Mustawfi describes the Kargas Kûh as

standing solitary, being joined to no other range, and some ten leagues in circuit. In their rocky heights the vultures nested, and the ibex (wa'l), that could live long without water, was found here in great numbers. To the west of Ardistan is the town of Naṭanz, or Naṭanzah, which appears to be mentioned by no Arab geographer before the time of Yakut. Mustawsi states that its castle was called Washak, after one who was governor of Naṭanz, though originally this castle had borne the name of Kamart. Close to Naṭanz also was the large village of Tark, almost a town says Yakut, and here according to Kazvini the people were celebrated for their skill in carving bowls out of ivory and ebony; these being largely exported.

The city of Kashan is mentioned by Istakhri 'as a pleasant town, clay built, like Kum.' The earlier Arab geographers always spell the name Kâshân (with the dotted k). The place became famous throughout the east for its tile-work, which took the name Kåshî (for Kåshånî), this being still the common term for the well-known enamelled blue and green tiles so much used in mosque decoration. According to Mukaddasî Kâshân was the reverse of famous for its scorpions; and Yakût, who refers to the beautiful green bowls of Kashi-ware which were in his day largely exported, speaks of the population as all fanatical Shi'ahs of the Imâmite sect. Mustawfî asserts that Kâshân had originally been built by Zubaydah, the wife of Hårûn-ar-Rashîd; and he praises the palace of Fin, lying near Kâshân, for its tanks and watercourses, which were supplied by the river from Kuhrûd. The Kåshån river, which in summer went dry before reaching the town limits, in spring often endangered the city with its floods, which passing on were lost in the neighbouring desert.

The city of Kum (more correctly spelt Kumm according to Arab orthography), to the north of Kâshân, is now famous among the Shî'ahs for its shrine, said to mark the tomb of Fâţimah, sister of the sixth Imâm 'Alî-ar-Riḍâ, a contemporary of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, whom they assert to have died here of poison on her way to join her brother in Khurâsân. Already in the 4th (10th) century Ibn Hawkal describes Kum as peopled by Shî'ahs; it was then a

LRS.

¹ Ist. 202, 228, 230, 231. I. H. 288—291. Muk. 390, 490, 491. Yak. i. 198; iii. 531; iv. 793. Mst. 150, 151, 206. J. N. 299.

walled town, with fertile gardens round it, celebrated for pistachio nuts and filberts. The ancient name of Kum according to Yâkût had been Kumandân, curtailed by the Arabs to Kumm. The remains of a Persian fortress were, he says, still to be seen among the ruins of the town, and an ancient stone bridge crossed the river which separated the older site from the Moslem town. Mustawfi states that the walls of Kum measured 10,000 paces in circuit, and, like Âvah, the place was celebrated for its numerous ice-houses excavated in the ground; also for its cypress trees, and for vines which produced the famous red grapes. When Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century most part of Kum lay in ruins, and it is to be remarked that neither he nor any earlier authorities make any mention of the tomb of Fâțimah, although the city is always noted as being a centre of the Shî'ah sect'.

The river of Kum rose in the Gulpaygan district near the mountains of Khansar, as Mustawfi writes the name, and these ranges are the watershed between the Kum river and the leftbank tributary of the Isfahan river already mentioned. Jurbadhakan is the Arab name for Gulpaygan, of which the older form was Gurbâyigân, and Mustawfi explains the name to mean 'the place of roses,' writing it Gul-abad-ikan and goes on to praise its fertility and the excellent water, 50 villages being of its dependencies. Mukaddasî refers to Jurbâdhakân as lying about half-way between Karaj of Abu Dulaf and Isfahân, and the village of Khânsår which gave its name to the district, Yakût adds, was of its neighbourhood. The town of Dalijan lies further down the Kum river; and according to Yakût the name was pronounced Dulayjan or Dulaygân. Formerly it had been a flourishing place, but when Mustawfi wrote it had fallen to ruin. After passing the city of Kum, the Kum river joined the waters of the great stream coming down from Hamadan, called the river Gavmaha, or Gâymâsâ, which itself a short distance above Kum had received on its right bank the Avah river, and on its left bank the river passing Savah. All these streams branched to form many water channels, and intermingling by cross canals finally became lost in the Great Desert to the north-east of Kum.

¹ Ist. 201. I. H. 264. Muk. 390. Yak. iv. 15, 175. Mst. 150, 217. J. N. 305.

The town of Avah (called Avah of Savah to distinguish it from Âvah near Hamadân, see p. 196) lay a short distance to the west of Kum. The Avah river took its rise in Tafrish, which Mustawfi describes as a district 'that on all sides was only approached by passes,' and the country here was very fertile, with many villages. The town of Avah is mentioned by Mukaddasî, who names it Avâ or Avah of Ray; and Yakût, who speaks of it as a village or a small town, writes the name Abah, adding that its population were ardent Shi'ahs. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi describes Âvah as enclosed by a wall a thousand paces in circuit, and there were pits for storing ice, which were famous, for ice was much in demand during the summer heats; but the bread here was very bad. Between Avah and Kum, he describes an isolated hill, called Kûh Namak Lawn (Salt Mountain), where the earth was everywhere mixed with salt. To reach the summit was impossible on account of the friable nature of the ground; no snow either would remain on its sides, and the salt was too bitter to be used by man. This hill was three leagues in circuit, and so high as to be visible at a distance of 10 leagues'.

The city of Savah, lying midway between Hamadan and Ray on the great caravan road which traversed Persia (the Khurasan road), was a place of importance as early as the 4th (10th) century, when Ibn Hawkal describes it as noted for its camels and cameldrivers, both much in demand throughout the land by pilgrims and travellers. Mukaddasi adds that the town was fortified, that there were fine baths here, and that the Friday Mosque stood near the high road, and at some distance from the market. The people of Savah were Sunnîs, and Yakût writes that in his day they were perpetually at feud with their neighbours of Avah, who were Shi'ahs. Savah suffered severely at the hands of the Mongols in 617 (1220), who plundered the town, slaying most of its inhabitants; and among other buildings burning the great library, which Yâkût had seen, and describes as having had no equal throughout all Persian 'Irak. This library is also referred to by Kazvînî, who says it was housed in the Great Mosque, and contained, besides books on all subjects, a set of astrolabes and globes for the study

¹ Ist. 195, 198. Muk. 25, 51, 257, 386, 402. Yak. i. 57; ii. 46, 392, 584. Mst. 147, 150, 206, 216.

of astronomy. In the town was a hospital, as well as many colleges and caravanserais; and at the gate of the mosque was a mighty arch, recalling the arch of the Chosroes at Madain.

In Moslem legend Såvah was famous for the great lake which had been here before the days of Islâm, and which had suddenly dried up on the night of the birth of the prophet Muḥammad; 'the water sinking down into the earth in joy at the good news,' as Mustawfi writes. He adds that in his day the walls of Såvah had been recently rebuilt of burnt brick, being then 6200 ells in circuit. Four leagues to the west of Såvah was the shrine of the prophet Samuel, and when Mustawfi wrote the population of the town had nearly all become Shî'ahs. He mentions the names of many of the surrounding villages, and adds that corn, cotton, and pomegranates were grown abundantly throughout the district.

The Såvah river was called the Muzdakån, from a town of this name which stood on its banks. This stream rose at Såmån, a large village on the border of the Kharrakån district of Hamadån (see p. 196), lying in a rich country producing corn and grapes. From Såmån the river came to Muzdakån (also spelt Musdakån), a town which Mustawfi describes as 3000 paces in circuit, with a cold climate, being in the hill country. Yåkût speaks of a celebrated Rubåt—guard-house or monastery—at Muzdakån, where many Şûfîs had their abode; and the town was a stage on the great caravan road crossing Persia. After passing through Såvah, Mustawfi tells us, the Muzdakån river divided, part of its waters sinking underground into a great pit, while a moiety joined the Gåvmåhå.

The long river called the Gâvmâhâ (or Gâvmâsâ as some MSS. write the name), which Mustawsî carefully describes for us, is now known as the Kârâ Şû—Black Water—along a part of its course. It had its head-waters, as already said, in the Hamadân plain, where divers streams came down from Asadâbâd, the Alvand mountain, and the Farîvâr district. Flowing first northward and then bending sharply to the east, it received from the south a great affluent, the river rising near Karaj of Abu Dulas. Beyond Sâvah and Âvah, where it received the two other affluents we have previously described, a great dam was built across the river to retain its waters for irrigation purposes during the summer

droughts. The Gåvmåhå eventually mingled its stream with the river of Kum coming from Gulpaygån, and Mustawst adds that their surplus waters after passing a place called Haståd Pulån, 'Eighty Bridges,' finally escaped and were lost in the Great Desert. The Gåvmåhå river was to its district, says Mustawst, what the Zandah Rûd was to Issahån, being the chief fountain of its riches and prosperity. It is to be remarked that none of the earlier Arab geographers make mention of this river'.

¹ I. H. 258. Muk. 392. Yak. iii. 24; iv. 520. Kaz. ii. 258. Mst. 148, 149, 152, 217. The dam on the Gâvmâhâ was built by Shams-ad-Din, prime minister (Ṣâḥib-Dlvân) of Sultân Aḥmad, son of Hûlâgû, the third Îl-Khân of Persia.

CHAPTER XV.

JIBAL (continued).

Ray. Varamin and Tihran. Kazvin and the castle of Alamüt. Zanjan. Sultaniyah. Shiz or Saturik. Khunaj. The districts of Talikan and Tarum. The castle of Shamiran. The trade and products of the Jibal province. The high roads of Jibal, Adharbayjan and the frontier provinces of the north-west.

At the north-eastern corner of the Jibâl province stood Ray, more correctly spelt Rayy, which the Arab geographers always write with the article Ar-Rayy, the name representing the Greek Rhages. In the 4th (10th) century Ray appears to have been the chief of the four capital cities of the Jibâl province; 'except for Baghdåd, indeed, it is the finest city of the whole east,' Ibn Hawkal writes, 'though Naysâbûr in Khurâsân is more spacious,' and Ray covered at that time an area of a league and a half square. Officially, during the Abbasid Caliphate, Ray was known as Muḥammadīyah, in honour of Muḥammad, afterwards the Caliph Mahdī, who had lived here during the reign of his father Manṣûr, and had rebuilt much of the city. His son Hārûn-ar-Rashīd was born here, and under its official title of Muḥammadīyah it became the chief mint city of the province, this name occurring on many of the Abbasid coins.

In Ray the houses were mostly built of clay, but burnt bricks were also largely used. The town was strongly fortified, and Ibn Hawkal mentions five gates; the gate of the Bâtâk Arch opening (S.W.) on the Baghdâd road, Bâb Balîsân (N.W.) towards Kazvîn, Bâb Kûhak (N.E.) towards Tabaristân, Bâb Hishâm (E.) on the Khurâsân road, and Bâb Sin (S.) towards Kum. The

markets of the city lay at, and outside, these gates, and the most frequented were in the suburbs of Sârbânân and Ar-Rûdhah, where shops, and warehouses filled with merchandise, extended along both sides of the main thoroughfare for a great distance. Two rivers, according to Ibn Hawkal, brought water to Ray, one called Sûrkanâ running past the Rûdhah suburb; and the other, the river Al-Jilânî, flowing through Sârbânân. Yâkût also mentions the Nahr Mûsâ (River of Mûsâ), coming down from the mountains of Daylam, which may therefore be identical with the Jîlânî or Gîlân river, aforesaid. Mukaddasî refers to two great buildings in Ray, one the Dâr-al-Baṭṭīkh, 'the water-melon house,' a name commonly given to the city fruit-market, the other the Dâr-al-Kuttub, or library, lying below Rûdhah in a khân (caravanserai), where, however, there were not many books, according to his account.

In the 4th (10th) century both Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi speak of Ray as already much gone to ruin, the chief traffic then being in the suburbs of the older town. High above the Great Mosque, which Yakût states was built by the Caliph Mahdî and finished in 158 (775), was the castle, which stood on the summit of a steep hill, of which Ibn Rustah writes that 'from its top you overlook all the roofs of Ray.' The account of Ray given in Yākût is not very clear, but he quotes, in one part of his work, an old topographical description of the town, which is to the following effect. The Inner City, where the mosque and the Government House stood, was the quarter surrounded by a ditch, and this was generally known as Al-Madinah, 'the City' proper. The Outer City was that part more especially known as Al-Muhammadiyah, which at first had been a fortified suburb. It crowned the summit of the hill overlooking the lower (or inner) town, and according to the information quoted by Yâkût its castle was known as Az-Zubaydiyah (some MSS. give the name as Az-Zaybandi), which had been the palace of Prince Mahdi when he was quartered in Ray. Afterwards this became the prison, and it was rebuilt in 278 (891). Further, there was another castle in Ray called the Kal'ah-al-Farrukhan, also known as Al-Jawsak, 'the Kiosque,' and during the 4th (10th) century Fakhr-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who disliked the old palace on the hill-top, built himself a great house in the midst of gardens, which was afterwards known as Fakhrābād¹.

The most celebrated in early days of the many fertile districts round Ray were the following: - Rûdhah (or Ar-Rûdhah), with a large village of the same name beyond the city suburb : Varamin, which afterwards took the place of Ray as the chief city of this part of the Jibal province; Pashaviyah, still existing under the form Fashaviyah; lastly, Kusin and Dizah, with the districts of Al-Kasran, 'the Two Palaces'-the outer and the inner-Dizah being the name of two large villages or towns lying one day's journey from Ray, to wit, Dîzah of Kasrân, and Dîzah of Varâmîn. All these hamlets according to Ibn Hawkal, with some others that he names, were like small towns, each with a population of over 10,000 men. In the year 617 (1220) Ray was taken, plundered. and burnt by the Mongol hordes, and from this great calamity it never recovered. Yakût, who passed through the place at this time, states that the city walls alone remained intact, most of the houses being reduced to ruin. Many of these had originally been built of burnt brick, faced with blue enamelled tiles, which Yakût describes as 'varnished smooth like the surface of a bowl.' The Shafifite suburb, the smallest of the city quarters, alone had escaped the Mongols, the quarters of the Hanbalites and of the Shi'ahs having been completely ruined".

From its state of utter ruin Ghâzân Khân the Mongol, by imperial decree, according to Mustaws, attempted to restore Ray, ordering the city to be rebuilt and repeopled. The attempt, however, failed, for the population had already shifted to the neighbouring towns of Varâmsn and Tihrân, more especially the former, which, having a better climate than the older Ray, had become at the beginning of the 8th (14th) century the most flourishing city of the district. The ruins of Varâmsn lie at some distance to the south of Ray, while to the north of the city, Mustaws says, was the hill of Tabarik—presumably not that on which the castle

Ykb. 275. I. R. 168. I. H. 265, 269, 270. Muk. 390, 391. Yak. ii. 153, 894, 895; iii. 855; iv. 431. Whether or not the fortress of Ray built by Mahdi was called Zubaydiyah (if this indeed be the true reading) after the future wife of his son Hârûn-ar-Rashîd is not clear.

⁹ I. H. 270, 289. Yak. ii. 572, 833, 893, 894.

already mentioned as built by the Caliph Mahdi had stood—where a silver mine was worked at much profit to the state. This castle of Tabarik, according to the chronicle of Zahîr-ad-Dîn, was founded by Manûchahr the Ziyârid at the beginning of the 5th (11th) century. Yâkût states that it was destroyed in 588 (1192) by Tughril II, the last Saljûk Sultân of 'Irâk, and a long account is given of the siege of this famous stronghold. The Tabarik hill, he adds, lay on the right of the Khurâsân road to a traveller leaving Ray, while the Hill of Ray (presumably the site of the castle built by Mahdî) lay to the left of one leaving the city gate. Mustawfî describes the shrine of the Imâm Zâdah 'Abd-al-'Azîm as situated close to Ray, and this Mashhad, or place of martyrdom, is still the most venerated sanctuary of modern Tihrân; the saint being a certain Husayn, son of 'Alî-ar-Ridâ, the eighth Imâm.

One of the famous districts near Ray was called Shahriyar, and Mustawfi incidentally mentions a castle (Kal'ah) of this name as lying to the north of the city. In later times this castle must have become important, for Shahriyar or Ray-Shahriyar is the name which 'All of Yazd, when describing the campaigns of Tîmûr, gives to Ray. Varâmîn, as already said, was then the chief centre of population, but this town in the beginning of the oth (15th) century was itself already falling to ruin. At a later time its place was taken by Tihran, which in the 7th (13th) century is merely mentioned as one of the largest villages of Ray. The early Tihran (also spelt Tihran with the soft t) had many half-underground houses, 'like Ierboa holes' according to Kazvini, and the people of its twelve wards were always fighting, each ward against the other. Mustawfi in the next century describes Tihran as a medium-sized town; but it was not till long after, namely at the close of the 12th (18th) century, that the city was made the capital of Persia by Åkå Muhammad Shåh, founder of the Kajar dynasty'.

The rivers that water the plain in which Ray, Varamin, and Tihran stand, flow thence to the neighbouring border of the Great

¹ Kaz. ii. 228, 250. Mst. 143, 144, 205. Yak. iii. 507, 564. A. Y. i. 583, 586, 597. Zahir-ad-Din (Dorn, Muhammadanische Quellen, i. p. 15 of the Persian text) states that Tabarik means 'a hillock,' being the diminutive of Tabar which signifies 'a hill or mountain' in the Tabaristan dialect. Tabarik of Isfahan has been noticed on p. 205.

Desert and there are lost. One of the chief streams was the Nahr Mûsâ already mentioned, along whose bank lay many villages; further, Mustawfî speaks of the river Karaj, which was crossed by a bridge of a single arch known as the Pul-i-Khâtûn, 'the Lady's Bridge,' and so called, it was said, in memory of the lady Zubaydah, wife of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. The ruins of this bridge still exist not far from Tihrân. Kazvînî also mentions the Nahr Sûrîn, whose waters were carefully avoided by the Shî'ah population of Ray, because the body of the murdered Yahyâ, grandson of 'Alî Zayn-al-'Âbidin the fourth Imâm, had been washed in it, and thus polluted the stream for evermore. The chief river of Ray, however, according to Mustawfî, was the Jâyij Rûd, which, rising in the Jâyij range under Damâvand, divided into forty channels on reaching the plain of Ray.

On the western border of this plain lies the district of Såûj Bulågh—meaning 'Cold Springs' in the Turkish dialect—which is described by Mustawfî as having been an important place under the Saljûks. In the time of the Mongols it paid revenues to the amount of 12,000 dinårs, and the chief among its numerous villages was Sunkurâbâd (which still exists), an important stage on the itinerary given by Mustawfî. Sâûj Bulågh district was watered by the Garm Rûd, which, rising in the mountains to the east of Kazvîn, irrigated the districts of Ray and Shahriyâr, where it was joined by many streams from the mountain range to the north before such of its waters as were not used up in irrigation channels were absorbed by the Great Desert'.

Kazvîn (otherwise Kazwîn) lies about a hundred miles northwest of Tihrân, immediately below the great mountain chain, and from the earliest times was an important place, guarding the passes that led across the Tabaristân province to the shores of the Caspian. The mountain region to the north-west had in early times formed part of the district of Daylam (already described in Chapter XII) which for a time was semi-independent, not having been brought under the government of the Abbasids. During this period Kazvîn was the chief fortress against these fierce infidels, and was strongly garrisoned by Moslem troops. Already in the times of the

¹ Kaz. i. 181. Mst. 144, 148, 196, 216: and see British Museum Ms. Add. 23,543, f. 179 b. J. N. 292, 304.

Omayyad Caliphs, Muḥammad, son of Ḥajjāj—the latter being the celebrated governor of Arabian 'Irāk—had been sent by his father at the head of an army against the infidels of the Daylam mountains. This Muḥammad had halted at Kazvîn, and built here the first Friday Mosque, which Yākūt describes as standing near the gate of the palace of the Bani Junayd. It was called the Masjid-ath-Thawr, 'the Bull Mosque,' and was the chief mosque of the city till the days of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Kazvīn as consisting of a double city, one without, the other within, and there were two Friday Mosques in the central town, which was like a fortress. Its lands were very fertile, and the houses of the city covered an area of a square mile. The people were brave and warlike, and it was from this city that the Abbasid Caliphs were wont to despatch punitive expeditions into Tālikān and Daylam.

The two chief rivers of Kazvín, according to Ya'kûbî, were the Wâdî-al-Kabîr (the Great Stream), and the Wâdî Sayram. There were the remains of many fire-temples in this neighbourhood, and Mukaddasî praises the grapes grown in the gardens round the place. Of the double town the two quarters were called the Madînah Mûsâ and the Madînah Mubârak, otherwise the Mubârakîyah. The Caliph Hâdî (elder brother of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd), whose name was Mûsâ, had built here the town quarter named after him, Madînah Mûsâ. This was during the Caliphate of his father Mahdî; and afterwards Hârûn-ar-Rashîd (who succeeded Hâdî) on his way to Khurâsân had halted in Kazvîn, where he laid the foundations of the new mosque and built the city walls. Mubârak the Turk, a freedman either of the Caliph Mamûn or of Mu'taşim, was the builder of the Mubârakîyah fortress at Mubârakâbâd, otherwise called the city of Mubârak.

Throughout the middle-ages Kazvin continued to be a flourishing town, but at the beginning of the 7th (x3th) century it was laid in ruins by the Mongols. A hundred years later, Mustawfi, who was himself a native of Kazvin, gives a long account of the place, derived in part from local traditions. He states that on the site of later Kazvin there had stood an ancient Persian city, built by King Shāpūr and called Shād Shāpūr—'the Joy of Sapor.' Near its ruins the two Moslem cities of Madinah

Mûsâ and Mubârakâbâd (Mubârak, he says, was a freedman of the Caliph Hadi) were subsequently built, and Harûn-ar-Rashid surrounded all three towns by a great fortified wall. This wall was only completed in 254 (868) by the Turk commander Mûsâ ibn Bughâ in the reign of the Caliph Mu'tazz; and it was afterwards rebuilt in burnt brick by Şadr-ad-Dîn, the Wazir of the Saljûk Sultân Arslân II, in 572 (1176). Mustawsî further states that 300 villages were of the dependencies of Kazvîn, and of these the most important were Fârisjîn and Sagsâbâd, both mentioned in his itinerary. He also names a number of streams which irrigated the Kazvîn territory, namely the Kharûd, with the Buh Rûd and Kardân Rûd both flowing from Tâlikân, and the Turkân Rûd coming from the Kharrakân district (see p. 196). According to Kazvini the streams that watered the gardens of the city were the Daraj river on the east, and the Atrak river on the west; and the same author also names a number of towns and villages that were situated in the plain, and in the hill country overlooking Kazvîn'.

Dastuvå (or Dastabå) under the Omayyads holds the position of a mint city, and is the name of a great district, of which Yazdåbåd was the chief village. In Omayyad times Dastuvå had belonged in part to Ray, in part to Hamadån, and we are told that the direct post-road from Ray to the Adharbåyjån province lay through it, avoiding Kazvín. The name is no longer found on the map, but Dastabå must have been to the south of Kazvín, of which city in later days, under the Abbasid Caliphs, it came to be counted as a dependency.

To the north-west of Kazvîn, on the summits of the mountains dividing this district from that of Rûdbâr, which lay along the

¹ I. H. 259, 263, 271. Ykb. 271. I. K. 57. Muk. 391. Yak. iv. 88, 89, 454, 455. Kaz. ii. 190, 193, 194, 196, 244, 274, 275, 290. Mst. 145, 146, 196, 217. As his name implies, Kazvini (like Mustawfi) was a native of Kazvin, and Mustawfi in his history (the Guzidah) has left a long account of his birth-place, which M. Barbier de Meynard has translated in the Fournal Asiatogue for 1857, ii. p. 257. Kazvini (ii. 291) gives a rough ground plan of the town, which is figured in concentric circles of walls. The inner circle was the Shahristân, and this was surrounded by the great city (Al-Madinah-al-'Uzmâ), which in turn was enclosed by gardens, depicted as encircled by arable fields; the latter traversed by the two rivers.

river Shah Rad in Tabaristan, stood the famous castles of the Assassins (Ismāilians), fifty in total number Mustawfi says, of which Alamût was the capital and Maymûn Diz the strongest fortress. The name Alamût is said to mean 'the eagle's nest' or 'the eagle's find' in the Tabaristan dialect, and the first to build a castle here was a Daylamite king whose hunting eagle had by chance once perched on the crag. Kazvini, who doubtless knew the place well, describes the castle as surrounded by deep and wide ravines, cutting it off from all communication with the neighbouring mountain spurs, and rendering it impregnable, for it was beyond bow-shot or even the bolts from a mangonel. Alamût lay six leagues distant from Kazvîn, and its later fortress was built by the 'Alid missioner Hasan, surnamed Ad-Da 4-ila-l-Hakk, in 246 (860). In 483 (1090)-or 446 (1054) according to Kazvînî-it came into the possession of Hasan Sabah, surnamed the Old Man of the Mountain, and for 171 years was the chief stronghold of his followers. Alamût was taken and dismantled in 654 (1256) by order of Hûlâgû Khân the Mongol, and, after its fall, the remaining castles of the Assassins were quickly captured and razed to the ground. Its supposed site has been visited by various travellers, and the remains of many other fortresses, said to be those of the Ismatlians, still exist in the mountains to the north of Kazvîn1.

Abhar and Zanján, two cities often named together, lay on the high road west of Kazvín, and were famous from early times. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century mentions Abhar as peopled by Kurds, its fields were very fertile and well watered, corn being largely grown here. It was protected by a strong castle built upon

¹ Kaz. ii. 200. Mst. 147. In the Guzidah (chapter IV, section ix, part 2) Mustawfi gives the history of the Ismātlians or Assassins in Persia; and this has been translated, with notes, by Defrémery, in the Journal Asiatique (1849, i. 26). He gives in a list (p. 48) the names of the Ismātlian fortresses taken and destroyed by order of Hůlágů, but the position of most of these is unknown. Girdkûh and Lanbasar were the last strongholds to fall. Alamût, however, appears not to have been entirely destroyed by Hûlâgû, or perhaps it was rebuilt later, for it served as a state prison under Shâh Sulaymân the Şafavî, as îs mentioned by Chardin (Voyage en Perse, x. 20). In the last century Colonel Monteith visited the ruins, and has described them in the J. R. G. S. for 1833 (p. 15).

a great platform, and Kazvini reports that it was famous for its watermills, also for the so-called 'Abbasi pear grown here, in shape like an orange and very sweet. According to Yakût the Persians pronounced the name Avhar. Mustawfi records that the fortress was rebuilt under the Saljuks by the Atabeg Bahâ-ad-Dîn Haydar, and hence was known as the Haydariyah. The city walls measured 5500 paces in circuit, and the Abhar river, after watering the district, flowed towards Kazvin, becoming lost in the desert plain. The city of Zanjan lay about 50 miles to the northwest of Abhar, and on the Zanjan river, which flowed west to the Safid Rûd. Zanjân is described by Ibn Hawkal as larger than Abhar; and it was on the high road into Adharbâyjân. The Persians, Yakût says, pronounce the name Zangan, and Mustawsi states that the place was founded by King Ardashîr Bâbgân, being first named Shahin. Zanjan had been ruined during the Mongol invasion; its walls, however, were still 10,000 paces in circuit, the district was most fertile, and its revenues amounted to 20,000 dinars. Mustawfi adds that the language talked here, in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century, was still 'almost pure Pahlavi,' by which a local Persian dialect is doubtless indicated'.

About half-way between Abhar and Zanjan, in the centre of the great plain forming the watershed between rivers flowing west to the Sasid Rud and east to the Great Desert, lie the ruins of the Mongol city of Sultaniyah, which, founded by Arghun Khan, was completed by Uljaytû Sultan in 704 (1305) and made the capital city of the Îl-Khân dynasty. Abu-l-Fidâ states that its Mongol name was Kungurlan, and according to Mustawfi nine cities were of its dependencies. Its walls were 30,000 paces in circuit, and in the central fortification stood the great sepulchre of Uljaytů, adorned with many carvings in stone. The ruins of this domed tomb (or mosque) still exist, but of the city nothing now remains, although Mustawfi says that in his day Sultaniyah contained finer buildings than any other town in Persia, Tabriz alone excepted. On the Abhar road five leagues east of Sultaniyah lay the village of Kuhud, 'which the Mongols call Sain Kal'ah.' Mustawfi writes, and under the latter name-'Sain's Fortress'-

¹ I. H. 258, 271, 274. Muk. 378, 392. Kaz. ii. 191. Yak. i. 104; ii. 573, 574, 948; iv. 1017. Mst. 146, 147, 217.

the place still exists, Şâin, otherwise called Bâtû Khân, being the grandson of Changîz Khân. The strong castle of Sarjahân stood on the mountain spurs half-way between Şâin Kal'ah and Sulṭāniyah. From the latter it was distant five leagues, and it crowned a hill-top overlooking the great plains which extended thence eastward to Abhar and Kazvîn. Yâkût describes Sarjahân, which was of the Târum district, as one of the strongest fortresses that he had seen; but when Mustawfi wrote it was in ruins, the result of the Mongol invasion, its munitions of war and garrison having been transferred to Şâin Kal'ah.

To the west of Sultaniyah lay the two small neighbouring towns of Suhravard and Sujas, which were still of some importance when Mustawfi was here in the 8th (14th) century, though now entirely gone to ruin. Ibn Hawkal writes in the 4th (10th) century that Suhravard with its Kurdish population was then as large as Shahrazûr, it was a walled town and well fortified, lying to the south of Zanian on the road to Hamadan. Suias, or Sijas, lay close to Suhravard, and Mustawfi describes both places as having been ruined during the Mongol invasion, so that in his day they were merely large and populous villages. The surrounding districts were called Jarûd and Anjarûd (at the present day they are known under the names of Ijarûd and Angurân), and Sujás lay five leagues west of Sultaniyah in the midst of more than a hundred villages settled by Mongols. In the mountain near was the grave of Arghûn Khân, made a Kurûgh or 'inviolate sanctuary' after the custom of the Mongols, and his daughter Uljaytů Khâtûn had built here a khânkâh or convent for Darvishes'.

On the western border of the Jibal province, near one of the head-streams of the Safid Rûd, are the remarkable ruins called Takht-i-Sulayman—'Solomon's Throne'—at the present day, with a little lake or pool which is always kept full by a natural syphon, however much water may be drawn off. These ruins

¹ I. H. 258, 263. Kaz. îi. 261. Yak. iii. 40, 70, 203. A. F. 407. Mst. 144, 145, 148, 149, 196. Both Sujâs and Suhravard have apparently now disappeared from the map; though Sir H. Rawlinson writes (J. R. G. S. 1840, p. 66) that Sujâs was in his time a small village lying 24 miles S. E. of Zanjân he further adds that Suhravard is 'now lost.'

have been identified with the city of Ash-Shîz, mentioned by the early Arab geographers, which Mustawfi also describes under the name of Saturik. At Shiz, Ibn Khurdadbih, writing in the 3rd (9th) century, describes the great fire-temple, so much honoured by the Magians, which bore the name of Adharjushnas. Hither, walking on foot all the way from Madain (Ctesiphon), and halting at the half-way stage of Shahrazûr, already noticed p. 190, each of the Sassanian Chosroes was bound to come as a pilgrim immediately after his accession to the crown; for according to one tradition Shîz was the birth-place of Zoroaster. Yâkût reports that the Persian name was Jis, otherwise Gazn, of which Shiz was an Arab corruption. He then quotes a long account from Ibn Muhalhal, who in 331 (943) wrote a description of Shiz, which he had visited in search of gold mines said to exist in its mountains, The town walls of Shiz, he states, surrounded a lake, that was unfathomable, about a Jarib (one third of an acre) in extent, and whose waters always kept the same level though seven streams continually flowed from it, and these streams had the property of producing petrifaction on objects laid in their waters. Ibn Muhalhal also describes the fire-temple, from which the sacred fire was taken to all the other temples throughout Persia; and for seven hundred years, he says, the sacred fire had never been extinguished in Shîz. The same place is described by Mustawfi who gives it as the chief town of the Anjarûd district, and adds that the Mongols called it Satúrik. He describes a great palace here, originally built, report said, by King Kay-Khusraw, the court of which was occupied by a bottomless pool or small lake that always maintained its level, although a stream perpetually flowed from it, while if the stream were dammed back the pool did not overflow. Mustawfi relates that Abakah Khân the Mongol had built himself a palace here, for there were excellent pasture grounds in the neighbourhood'.

In the north-western angle of the Jibâl province, on the high road from Zanjân to Ardabîl, lay the important commercial town of Khûnaj, according to Ibn Hawkal noted already in the 4th (10th)

¹ I. K. 119. I. F. 286. Kaz. ii. 267. Yak. iii. 353. Mst. 148. Sir H. Rawlinson (J. R. G. S. 1840, p. 65) would identify Takht-i-Sulayman or Shiz with the parthern Echatana of the Greek writers.

century for its fine breed of horses, sheep, and oxen. Yākūt, who had visited the town, gives the alternative spelling of Khūnā, but he adds that it was more generally called Kāghadh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory'—for the people augured evil of the name Khūnā which signified 'bloody' in Persian. Mustawfī, who in his itinerary gives the position of Kāghadh Kunān as lying sīx leagues south of the Safīd Rūd, and fourteen north of Zanjān on the direct road to Ardabīl, says that during the Mongol invasion it had been ruined, and was, when he wrote, merely the size of a village. The stream that watered its lands was a tributary of the Safīd Rūd. Excellent paper, however, was still manufactured, and the Mongols who had settled in the place gave it the name of Mughūliyah, 'the Mongol Camp.' The exact site of Khūnaj has not, apparently, been identified.

Along the southern slope of the great range dividing the Jibal province from Daylam and Tabaristan to the north, were the three districts of Pushkil-Darrah, Tâlikân, and Târum, of which the last two overlap, the names often being used indifferently, one for the other. These districts were each divided into Upper and Lower, the Upper region being of the mountains, and as such counted to be of the Daylam province. Pushkil-Darrah, according to Mustawfi, lay to the west of Kazvin, and south of Tâlikān. . It comprised forty villages whose revenues had formerly gone to the up-keep of the Friday Mosque in Kazvin. The name Tālikānthe district lying between the Sultaniyah plains and the northern mountain range-has disappeared from the map, but At-Talikan (as it is generally written) is frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers. Mukaddasi refers to it as a most populous and fertile region; and expresses his wonder that the Sultan (the Governor of Daylam) does not live here instead of in the mountain valleys, 'but his people will not have it,' he adds. Kazvini refers to the abundant olives and fine pomegranates grown in Talikan, and Yakut names some of its villages. Of these last Mustawfi gives a long list, but the majority of them it is impossible now to identify on the present map. He considered that most part of the Tâlikân region belonged rather to Gîlân.

To the north of Zanjan, likewise along the foot of the hill spurs, lies the Tarum district, which with the Arab geographers is

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generally found in the dual form At-Tarumayn, 'the Two Tarums,' Lower and Upper, the latter being entirely of the Daylam country. As already said, the Tarum river was a right-bank affluent of the Safid Rûd, and its many tributaries irrigated this fertile district. Yākūt, who spells the name Tarum or Tarm (with the unemphatic t), says that there was no great city here, but in history the land was famous for the memory of the Vahsūdān family, and the last of these native chiefs had been dispossessed by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. Mustawfi mentions Firūzābād as the capital town of Lower Tārum, Andar (or Aydi) being the chief place in Upper Tārum, with the fortress called Ķal'ah Tāj, and he names five districts, each comprising numerous villages.

As being in Lower Tarum, but the position is nowhere given, Mustawfi mentions the great castle of Shamîrân, or Samîrân as the name is spelt by Yākût, who had himself visited its ruins. Yâkût quotes also a long account from Ibn Muhalhal, who passed through Samiran in about the year 331 (943), when it was counted as one of the chief strongholds of the Daylamite kings, and contained (he writes) 2850 and odd houses, large with small. Fakhrad-Dawlah the Buyid took the place in 379 (989), dispossessing the last of the Vahsudân family, a child, whose mother the Buyid chief married. At about this date Mukaddasi, who spells the name of the castle Samirum, describes it as being of the Salârvand district, and on its walls were 'lions of gold, and the sun and the moon,' though its houses were built but of mud-brick. In the middle of the next century the Persian traveller Nasir-i-Khusraw visited Samîrân on his pilgrimage to Mecca. This was in 438 (1046) and he describes it as the capital of Tarum in Daylam. It apparently lay three leagues west of the junction of the Shah Rud with the Safid Rud on the high road to Sarav in Adharbayjan. Above the lower town was an immense fortress, crowning a rock with its triple wall, garrisoned by a thousand men, water being obtained by an underground conduit. Yakût, who saw Samîrân in the earlier years of the 7th (13th) century, found it a ruin, the result of an order of the chief of the Assassins at Alamut. The remains were those of a mighty fortress, 'a mother of castles,' and it was situated on a great river that flowed from the mountains of Târum. Its site, however, does not appear to have been identified

by any modern traveller. Another fortress of this district is also mentioned by Yakût, bearing the name of Kilât, which was situated in the Tarum mountains, on the frontier of Daylam between Kazvîn and Khalkhâl. It occupied the summit of a mountain, and below, on the river bank, where a masonry bridge of many arches crossed the stream, was a suburb with excellent markets. Yâkût states that this castle had belonged to the chief of the Assassins at Alamût, but like Samîrân its site as yet remains unidentified.

In the matter of the manufactures and products of some of the chief towns of the Jibâl province Mukaddasî gives us a succinct account. He says that Ray exported various kinds of stuffs, especially those known as *Munayyar*. Cotton was spun here and dyed blue, and the striped cloaks of Ray were famous. Needles, combs, and great bowls were made for export, the last two articles, according to Kazvini, being made from the fine-grained hard wood known as khalanj, which came from the Tabaristân forests. Ray also was famous for its melons and peaches, and for a kind of saponaceous clay, much used in washing the head.

In Kazvin well-made clothes were to be bought, also leathern sacks used on journeys as wallets. Bows for archery were exported, also the calamint herb. Kum was noted for its chairs, bridles, stirrups, and various stuffs; much saffron, too, came from its district. Kāshān exported a kind of dried immature date; also tarragon. Isfahān was famous for its overcloaks; and a special kind of salted meat was made for export; further, the Isfahān padlocks were renowned. Hamadān and its neighbourhood produced cheese, and much saffron; and the skins of foxes and martens were exported. Tin is named as found near here, and various stuffs, as well as good boots, were made in the city. Finally from Dînavar came famous cheeses².

The chief highway through the Jibal province was part of the great caravan road, commonly called the Khurasan road, which, as already described in the introductory chapter, went from Baghdad to Transoxiana and the farther east. Entering the

³ Muk. 395, 396. Kaz. ii. 250.

¹ I. H. 253. Muk. 360. Yak. i. 63, 811; ii. 499, 500; iii. 148, 492, 533; iv. 156. Kaz. ii. 268. Mst. 149, 150, 198, 217. J. N. 297. N. K. 5.

province at Hulwan this high road passed through it diagonally, coming first to Kirmasin (or Kirmanshah), then to Hamadan, from which town Savah was the next point, thence finally north to Ray, beyond which it passed eastward out of the Jibal province into Kumis, and through this to Khurasan. Of the Khurasan road, the fullest of the early descriptions, as already explained, is that given by Ibn Rustah at the close of the 3rd (beginning of the 10th) century, who, stage by stage, mentions all the streams and bridges crossed by the road, also whether it ascends or descends or runs across level ground, further naming the various villages and towns that are passed. We have, besides, four other early accounts of this road, the last by Mukaddasi, who gives the distances by the day's march (Marhalah).

After the Mongol conquest and the establishment of the dynasty of the Îl-Khâns in Persia, Sulțânîyah became the capital, and hence the centre of the road system. In the itineraries of Mustawfi, therefore, înstead of starting from Baghdâd and going east, the roads start from Sulţânîyah, and towards Baghdâd the reverse direction is of course followed. From Hulwân to Hamadân (to revert to the older order of the route) the stages are however practically the same in both systems. But from Hamadân, instead of going by Sâvah to Ray, the Mongol high road goes north direct to Sulţânîyah across the Darguzin and Kharraţân districts. No great towns, however, are passed, and the stages on the road, as given by Mustawfi, being names of villages, are all extremely uncertain.

From near Kirmanshah, at the hill called 'Sumayrah's Tooth,' Sinn Sumayrah (see p. 188), the road to Maraghah in Adharbayjan and the north turns off from the great Khurasan road, running first to Dinavar and thence to Sisar (probably identical with the modern Sihnah town, see p. 190) and the Jibal frontier. This route, of which the continuation through Adharbayjan will be described presently, is given by both Kudamah and Ibn Khurdadbih, and the earlier portions of it are found in Ibn Hawkal. From Kirmanshah (Kirmisin), from Kanguvar and from Hamadan, roads branched to the right, going south-east to Nihavand,

¹ I. R. 165-169. I. K. 19-22. Kud. 198-200. I. H. 256-258. Muk. 400-402. Mst. 192.

whence, and from Hamadân direct, the way went by Burûjird to Karaj of Abu Dulaf and thence on to Isfahân. Mustawfi gives the stages from Kanguvâr to Nihâvand and then on by a devious route to Isfahân; while from Karaj Mukaddasi gives the direct road to Ray going viâ Âvah and Varâmîn.

The present high road from Isfahân to Tihrân (past Ray) goes up through Kâshân and Kum; but in the earlier middle-ages the caravan route kept more to the east and nearer the desert border, sending off branches to the left westward, in turn, to Kâshân and to Kum. Mukaddasî, however, at the close of the 4th (10th) century, already gives the route direct through Kâshân and Kum, as it goes now-adays. In Mustawfi the road after passing these two towns turned to the left through Åvah to Sâvah, whence Sulţânîyah was reached, the great high road from this new capital to Ray being joined at the stage of Sûmghân, as will be described in the next paragraph.

The number of marches between the towns to the west of Ray on the high road to the Adharbāyjān province is given by Ibn Hawkal and others, also those from Zanjān north to Ardabīl. The stages on this route, however, are found in fullest detail in Mustawfi. Between Sulṭānīyah and Ray the road passed through Abhar to Fārisjīn, leaving Ķazvīn to the north, and thence reached a stage called Sūmghān (the reading of this name is uncertain), where it bifurcated. The Khurāsān high road went straight onward by the shrine of 'Abd-al-'Azīm to Ray, and thence to Varāmīn; while branching to the right southwards, the Isfahān road went first to Sagzābād (or Sagziābād), and thence on to Sāvah as already described.

Of the roads through Adharbāyjān, in early times under the Caliphate, as already noticed, the great northern branch starting from the Khurāsān road at Hamadān went to Sīsar, and thence on to Barzah in Adharbāyjān, 60 miles south of the Urmīyah lake, where it bifurcated. To the right the main road passed to

¹ I. K. 129, 120. Kud. 199, 200, 212. I. H. 256, 257, 258. Muk. 401, 402. Mst. 195.

² I. R. 190, 191. I. K. 58, 59. I. H. 289, 290. Muk. 491. Mst. 199.

³ I. H. 252, 258. Muk. 383. Mst. 196, 198, 199.

⁴ See Map 111, p. 87.

the east of the lake by Marâghah to Tabrîz, and thence east through Sarâv to Ardabîl. The left branch at the bifurcation at Barzah kept to the west of the lake, going by Urmîyah city to Khuwî, and thence by Nakhchivân (Nashawâ) to Dabll, the capital of Armenia. From Tabrîz there was the cross-road by Marand to Khuwî, and thence on by Arjîsh to Khilâţ at the western end of the Vân lake. This last section is given by Işţakhrî and Mukaddasî only².

From Ardabil, north, the road went across the Mûghân district to Warthân, where the Araxes was crossed, and thence by Baylakân to Bardhâ'ah. From this town one road went by Shamkûr north-westwards up the Kur river to Tiflis in Georgia; while to the right by Barzanj, at the crossing of the Kur, another road led to Shamâkhâ, the capital of Shirvân, and thence on to Bâb-al-Abwâb, otherwise Darband. A road from Dabil, the capital of Armenia, to Bardhâ'ah is also given by Mukaddasî and others, but the stages are not easy to identify?

The Mongol road system which went through Adharbāyjān to the north-western frontiers, as described by Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century, started from the new capital Sultānîyah, and at Zanjān bifurcated. To the right, the northern branch passed through Khūnaj or Kāghadh Kunān, crossed the Safid Rūd, and by Khalkhāl city came to Ardabīl, from whence Bajarvān, the capital of Mūghān, was reached. From Zanjān, and crossing the Safid Rūd by a stone bridge (called the Kanṭarah Sabīd Rūdh), this road îs also given in part by Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawkal, with a cross-road from Miyānij. Continuing on from Bajarvān Mustawfi first notices the branch road, east, to Maḥmūdā-būd, and then mentions the stages on the main road, which went from Bajarvān by Bardhā'ah and Shamkūr to Tiflīs.

Returning to the bifurcation at Zanjān, the left branch, as described by Mustawfi, went up to Miyānij in Adharbāyjān, and thence by Újān to Tabriz, following the line given (in the contrary direction) by the earlier Arab geographers. From Tabriz Mustawfi likewise gives the road on to Arjîsh on the lake of Vân,

t I. K. 119-121. Kod. 212, 213. Ist. 194. I. H. 252-254. Muk. 382, 383.

^{4 1.} K. 121, 122. Kud. 213. Ist. 192, 193. I. H. 251. Muk. 381.

whence, bearing away from the left road along the lake shore to Khilât, he records the distances going north-west to Malâsjird, and on by Arzan-ar-Rûm (Erzerum) through Arzanjan to Sîvâs, the capital of the Saljûk province of Rûm. Finally, starting from Tabrîz and going north-east, Mustawfi gives the cross-road to Bajarvân, which went by Âhar, crossing two passes; and along this line, he tells us, the Wazîr 'Alî Shâh had recently built a number of Rubâts or guard-houses'.

1 Mst. 198, 199. Ist. 194. I. H. 252.

CHAPTER XVI.

KHÚZISTÁN.

The Dujayl or Kárûn river. Khûzistân and Ahwâz. Tustar or Shustar. The Great Weir. The Masrukân canal. 'Askar Mukram. Junday Shâpûr. Dizfûl. Sûs and the Karkhah river. Başinnâ and Mattûth. Karkûb and Dûr-ar-Râsibl. Ḥawīzah and Nahr Tirâ. Dawrak and the Surrak district. Hisn Mahdi. The Dujayl estuary. Râmhurmuz and the Zuṭṭ district. Territory of Great Lur. Îdhaj or Mâl-Amīr. Sûsan. Lurdagân. Trade and products of Khûzistân. The high roads.

The province of Khûzistan comprises all the alluvial lands of the river Karûn, known to the Arabs as the Dujayl of Al-Ahwaz, with its many affluents1. This river was called the Dujayl (Little Tigris) of Al-Ahwaz, past which city it flowed, in order to distinguish it from the Dujayl canal of the Tigris to the north of Baghdad. Khûzistan means 'the Land of the Khûz,' a name otherwise written Huz or Huz; and the plural of Huz, in Arabic, is Ahwaz, which was the capital city, Al-Ahwaz being the shortened form of Sûk-al-Ahwaz, 'the Market of the Hûz people.' The name Khûzistân for the province is now become almost obsolete, and at the present day this district of Persia is known as 'Arabistan, 'the Arab Province.' Its great river, too, is no longer called the Dujayl, being now known as the Karûn, a name which is said to be a corruption of Küh Rang, 'the Coloured Hills,' namely the mountains from which it descends; the name Kārûn, however, appears to have been unknown to the medieval Arab or Persian geographers.

The upper waters of the Dujayl or Karun river ramify

¹ For Khûzîstân see Map 11, p. 23.

through the gorges of the district of Greater Lur, and its affluents come down from Lesser Lur and the Kurdistan mountains. The source of the Dujayl is in the Kuh Zard, 'the Yellow Mountain' (see p. 207); from which, on the other versant, the main stream of the river Zandah Rúd flows towards Isfahân. The Dujayl river after a long and winding course through the gorges, with many minor affluents on either bank, comes to the city of Tustar, which Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century counts as the capital of Khûzistân, whence he calls the river the Dujayl of Tustar. At Tustar the stream bifurcates, but coming together again at 'Askar Mukram, thence flows past Ahwaz, where it is joined by the Junday Sâbûr or Dizfûl river. The Dizfûl takes its course from Burûjird in Lesser Lur (see p. 200), and its upper waters were known as the Kar'ah (or Kaw'ah). After being joined by another river, called the Kazki, the main stream flowed past the city of Dizful to join the Dujayl, as we have seen. Another great affluent of the Dujayl ran further to the westward, namely the river of Sus, otherwise called the Karkhah. This rose in the mountains of Lesser Lur, and was joined by the Kûlkû, also by the river of Khurramabad. After a long course these united streams, flowing down past the city of Sús, came to the Hawizah country to the west of Ahwaz and finally joined the Dujayl. At some distance below the junction of these affluents, the Dujayl river became a great tidal estuary, through which, to the eastward of the estuary of the Tigris (already described in Chapter II) the combined waters of the Khûzistan rivers found their way out to the Persian Gulf!

Al-Ahwaz, the capital of the province, had originally been known by the name of Hurmuz-Shahr (variously given in the MSS, as Hurmuz Awshir and Hurmuz-Ardashir), this being the Persian name. Mukaddasi describes the town as having suffered greatly during the rebellion of the Zanj in the 3rd (9th) century, and their chief for a time had made it his place of residence. In the following century it was in part rebuilt by the Buyid prince 'Adud-ad-Dawlah; and Mukaddasi writes of it as possessing in his day many great warehouses, where merchandise was collected

¹ I. S. 32. 1. R. 90, 91. Yak. ii. 496, 555. Mst. 204, 214, 215, 216. J. N. 286.

from the inland towns and stored, before being transferred to Başrah for final sale and export.

In those days Ahwaz consisted of two quarters; one, the eastern, on the river bank, was the main quarter of the town, containing the great markets and the Friday Mosque, and it was connected by a bridge with the island in the Dujayl river, on which stood the western quarter of the city. This bridge, built of kiln-burnt bricks, and known as the Kantarah Hinduwan, had been restored by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, and on it stood a mosque overlooking the river, which near the town had many waterwheels along its banks. The main stream of the Dujayl flowed past the further, or western side of the island, and a little below Ahwaz a great weir (Shådhurwân), built on the rocks, dammed back the waters, taising them for irrigation purposes. Three canals, used for watering the lands round the town, left the river above the weir, in which sluices regulated the level for supply and when opened in flood-time saved the city from inundation. The climate of Ahwaz, according to Mukaddasi, was execrable, hot winds blew all day, and by night sleep became impossible by reason of innumerable mosquitoes and bugs, which 'bite like wolves,' he tells us, adding that the noise of the waters rushing over the weir had prevented him from resting, being plainly audible all over the town. Snakes and scorpions, he says, infested the neighbouring plain, which in many parts was a salt marsh, and the rice-flour bread on which the population fed was most indigestible1.

In complete contrast to the evil-famed city of Ahwâz was the second capital of Khûzistân, called Tustar by the Arabs, and Shustar, or Shushtar, by the Persians. This as the crow flies lay about 60 miles north of Ahwâz, but perhaps double that distance by water, on account of the windings of the Dujayl river. Mukaddasi records Tustar as surrounded by gardens, where grapes, oranges, and dates grew abundantly, and no town of Khûzistân, he says, was more beautiful or pleasanter to live in, though he admits that the heat was extreme in summer. The markets of Tustar were abundantly supplied: brocades, with

¹ Ist. 88. L. H. 171. Mak. 406, 410. Yak. i. 410-413; iv. 969. Mst. 169.

embroidered cotton stuffs of all kinds were made here, the brocade (Dîbâj) of Tustar being most famous. The Friday Mosque stood in the middle of the cloth-merchants' market; and the fullers' quarter, down by the river, was a fine place.

In the year 260 A.D. the Roman Emperor Valerian fell a prisoner into the hands of King Shapur (Sapor I), the second monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, and during his seven years' captivity, according to the Persian historians, had been employed to build the Great Weir (Shådhurwan) across the Dujayl immediately below Tustar. This was held by the Arabs to be one of the wonders of the world, and the remains of it still exist at the present day. The bed of the stream to the west of Tustar was paved, and the weir held back the water, enabling a part of the full river to be diverted above Tustar into an artificial channel turning off eastwards, which rejoined the Dujayl river many miles lower down after irrigating the lands through which it passed. The weir of Tustar is given by the older authorities as measuring nearly a mile across, and according to Mukaddasi a bridge of boats (Jisr) stretched over it, carrying the high road which went west from Tustar towards Trak. At the present day an ancient bridge of many small arches, over a quarter of a mile in length, carries the road across the weir, but this does not appear to have existed in the earlier middle-ages. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century describes the city of Shustar as having four gates, and it was protected by a strong fortress. His contemporary Ibn Batûtah calls the Dujayl (or Kârûn) the Nahr-al-Azrak, 'the Blue River,' and speaks of the bridge of boats, 'like those at Baghdad and Hillah,' which crossed the river west of the town from the Dizfûl Gate. He describes at some length the various shrines at the place, which, when he was there, was, he reports, an extremely flourishing town'.

The Great Weir at Tustar, as already said, was built to raise the water sufficiently high for a canal to be taken from the Dujayl

¹ Ist. 89, 92. I. H. 172, 174, 175. Muk. 405, 409. Vak. i. 847. Mst. 168. I. B. ii. 24. The story of Valerian, and the building of the Great Weir by Sapor I, is narrated by Tabari (i. 827), who, with unusual accuracy, gives the name of the Roman Emperor as Alariyannis (the Greek form is Οδαλεριανότ). Mas'ūdī (ii. 184) in error gives these events under the reign of Sapor II.

above the city, which should water the lands to the eastward. This canal, now called the Âb-i-Gargar, was in the earlier middle-ages known as the Masrukân or Mashrukân, and according to Ibn Muhalhal—a traveller of the 4th (10th) century, quoted by Yâkût—its waters were white, while those of the main stream of the Dujayl were red in colour. The main stream of the Dujayl (called at the present day the Shuṭayṭ, or 'Little River,' in the reach immediately below Shustar) is rejoined by the Masrukân branch some 25 miles south of Shustar, at a point near the ruins of Band-i-Kir. These mark the site of the city called 'Askar Mukram, which, throughout the middle-ages, was the most important town on the Masrukân, and the canal throughout its course passed through and irrigated lands planted with sugarcanes, the finest, it was said, in all Khûzistân.

In the early part of the 9th (15th) century, Hafiz Abrû and 'Ali of Yazd, writing after the time of Tîmûr, refer to these waterways under the following names: the moiety of the main stream of the Dujayl, which passed off to the eastward above Shustar (the Masrukân, or Âb-i-Gargar), was then called the Dù Dânikah or 'Two Sixths'; while the major part of the Dujayl, which went over the weir to the west of the town, was known as the Chahar Danikah or 'Four Sixths.' At the present day a canal, called the Minaw, is diverted south-east from the main stream, and passing through a tunnel under the rock on which the castle of Shustar stands, irrigates the high-lying lands to the south of the city. This channel is the Dashtabad canal mentioned by Mustawfi: and it is referred to by Hafiz Abrû, who says that the Chahar Dânikah was divided near the city into two streams, of which only one re-united below with the Du Dânikah (or Masrukân). According to tradition the Masrukan had been originally dug by Ardashir Bábgán, founder of the Sassanian monarchy. Mustawfi mentions the city of Masrukán as standing on the canal bank; and south of this, as already said, at a point half-way between Tustar and Ahwaz, the Masrukan stream poured back into the Dujayl near the city of 'Askar Mukram.

The Masrukân district was famous for a particularly excellent kind of date, as well as for the sugar-cane already alluded to.

'Askar Mukram took its name from the camp ('Askar) of Mukram, an Arab commander sent into Khûzistân by Hajiai, the celebrated viceroy of 'Irak under the Omayyads, to put down a revolt. Mukram encamped near the ruins of a Persian town originally called Rustam Kuwad, a name corrupted by the Arabs into Rustakubadh; and this afterwards became known as 'Askar Mukram, a new city having sprung up on the site of the Arab camp. At the present day the name of 'Askar Mukram has disappeared from the map, but its site is marked by the ruins known as Band-i-Kîr, 'the Bitumen Dyke,' where the Ab-i-Gargar (the Masrukân) runs into the Karûn. In the 4th (10th) century 'Askar Mukram was a town occupying both banks of the Masrukan canal, the western quarter being the larger, and this was connected with the other side by two great bridges of boats. The city had wellbuilt markets, which, with the Friday Mosque, stood in the western quarter, but a great drawback to the place was the number of particularly venomous scorpions that were found there. According to Mustawfi the older Persian town had been called Burj Shapur, after King Sapor II, who had rebuilt and enlarged it; Mustawfi states that it was in his day commonly called Lashkar, meaning 'the Camp' in Persian, being when he wrote, in the 8th (14th) century, accounted as the healthiest of all the towns of Khûzistân.

According to Ibn Serapion, and other early authorities, the Masrukân channel, in the 4th (10th) century, did not flow back into the Dujayl at 'Askar Mukram, but took its separate course, running parallel with the Dujayl main stream, down to the tidal estuary. Further, Ibn Hawkal, in the previous century, describes how he himself travelled down the bed of the Masrukân, at a season of low water, going by this route from 'Askar Mukram to Ahwâz; the first six leagues were, he says, by boat, the remaining four being completed on horseback in the dry bed of the canal. The old course of the lower part of the Masrukân cannot now be followed, for in this alluvial country the lapse of a thousand years has completely changed the face of the land. Below Ahwâz city, in the 3rd (9th) century, began the broad reach of the Dujayl called the Nahr-as-Sidrah—'the Lotus Canal'—which, after

receiving many affluents, ended at Hisn Mahdi, near the head of the Kârûn tidal estuary'.

Eight leagues north-west of Tustar, on the road to Dizfûl, lie the ruins now called Shahabad, which mark the site of the city of Junday Sâbûr, or Jundi Shâpûr. Under the Sassanians Junday Săbûr had been the capital city of Khûzistân, and as late as the time of the Caliph Mansur it was famous for the great medical school founded here by the Christian physician Bukht-Yishû', who, followed by his sons and grandsons, stood high in favour with more than one of the Abbasid Caliphs. The neighbourhood was celebrated also for the sugar that it produced, which was exported thence to Khurasan and the further east, though already by the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi speaks of Junday Sabur as falling to ruin, on account of the inroads of the Kurds. Its embroideries, however, were famous, and rice was largely grown; and in the town was to be seen the tomb of Ya'kûb, son of Layth the Saffarid, who having made this city his capital, died here in 265 (878). Mustawsi in the 8th (14th) century describes Jundi Shâpûr as still a populous town, famous for its sugar-cane, though at the present day an almost uninhabited ruin alone marks the site.

Dizfül, 'the Diz Bridge' or 'the Castle Bridge,' lies on the Diz river to the west of Junday Såbür. The city took its name from a famous bridge, said to have been built by Sapor II, and called Kantarah Andâmish by Istakhrî. The remains of it still exist. The city was in the 4th (10th) century also known as Kaşr (the Castle of) Ar-Rûnâsh; Mukaddasî, however, sometimes refers to it merely as the town of Al-Kantarah, 'the Bridge.' The place and its famous bridge had various other names. Thus Ibn Serapion calls it Kantarah-ar-Rûm, 'the Roman Bridge,' and the Diz he names the river of Junday Sâbûr. Again, Ibn Rustah writes of Kantarah-ar-Rûdh, 'the River Bridge,' and in Ibn Khurdâdbih we find Kantarah-az-Zâb, Zâb being according to him the name of the Diz river. In the 8th (14th) century

¹ I. S. 32. Ist. 90, 92. I. H. 172, 173, 175. Muk. 409, 411. A. Y. i. 588, 591, 599. Hfz. 820. Mst. 169, 170. Yak. i. 411, 412; ii. 676. Hamzah, 47.

Mustawfi describes the bridge as built of 42 arches, being 320 paces in length, and the roadway 15 paces wide; he says it was then called the Andalmishk (or Andamish) Bridge.

The town of Dizful occupied both banks of the river, and above the town a canal, cut through the rock on the east side, turned a great waterwheel working a mechanism which raised the water 50 ells and thus supplied all the houses of the town. The pasture lands round Dizful were famous, and the narcissus grew here abundantly. 'Alî of Yazd gives the name of Zal to the river, and he describes the bridge at Dizfûl (a name which he writes Dizpul, in the Persian fashion) as built on 28 great arches, with 27 smaller ones between each two, making a total of 55. A reference to the modern map shows that at the present day the Dizpul river joins the Karûn opposite Band-i-Kîr ('Askar Mukram), but in earlier times it must have come into the Dujayl somewhat lower down, and probably in its upper course the stream passed nearer to Junday Sâbûr than is now the case. At its junction, in the middle-ages, with the Dujayl, and probably to the north of Ahwaz, lay the two fertile districts, with their chief towns, called Great and Little Manadhir, which Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes as surrounded by palm-groves and growing much corn'.

The country to the north and east of Dizfûl and Tustar, was, in the earlier middle-ages, known as the Lur Plain (Ṣaḥrâ Lur), being occupied by the Lur tribes who in later times migrated into Lesser and Greater Lur, the mountain districts, of which the first-named was included in the Iibâl province, as already noticed in Chapter XIV. In the 4th (10th) century, when Ibn Hawkal wrote, the Lurs had evidently already begun to migrate, for he describes the neighbourhood as inhabited by the Kurds, and says of the Lur country that it was a most fertile though exceedingly mountainous district.

¹ I. R. 90. I. K. 176. I. S. 32. Ist. 93, 95, 197. I. H. 176, 177, 259. Mak. 384, 405, 408. Vkb. 361. Yak. ii. 130; iv. 111. Mst. 169. A. Y. i. 588, 591. For the various physicians of the name of Bukht-Yishû who, though Christians, served the Abbasid Caliphs from Manşûr to Hârûn-ar-Rashid as court physicians, see Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah (edited by A. Müller), i. 125—143, 202.

² Ist. 88, 94. 1. 11. 171, 176. Mak. 409.

To the south-west of Dizfûl lie the ruins of Sûs, the ancient Susa, near the bank of the Karkhah river. This was a populous town in the middle-ages, being the centre of a district with many cities, and it was famous for its raw silk, as well as for oranges, while the sugar-cane grew here abundantly. The city was protected by an ancient fortress, and there were fine markets in the town, where stood a Friday Mosque built on round columns. Tradition asserted that the tomb of the prophet Daniel had been made in the bed of the Karkhah river which ran on the further side of Sûs, and a fine mosque marked the place on the bank which lay nearest to his supposed grave. Mustawfi, who describes the city as a flourishing place in the 8th (14th) century, speaks of the tomb of the prophet Daniel as standing (apparently on dry ground) to the west of it, adding that in his honour none of the fish in the river were ever molested by man. The neighbouring city of Karkhâ, or Karkhah, which now gives its name to the river flowing by the mounds of Sûs, lies some distance above these, and on the right or western bank. Mukaddasi describes it as a small but populous town, holding its market weekly, on the Sunday. It was protected by a castle, and was surrounded by gardens1.

A number of places are mentioned by the early geographers as lying on or near the Karkhah river, some to the westward, some below Sûs, which were important towns during the middle-ages, but of which no trace now remains on the modern map. Their positions are, however, approximately given by the Itineraries. Of these the most important was Başinnâ, which lay a short day's journey south of Sûs, on a canal (or possibly a minor affluent of the Karkhah river), which was known as the Dujayl or 'Little Tigris' of Başinnâ. It was a great place for trade, and the veils of Başinnâ were celebrated all over the Moslem world; beautiful carpets of felt also were made here, and wool-spinning was a chief industry. The city was defended by two castles, and the Friday Mosque, a bow-shot from the river bank, stood at the town gate; seven mills built in barges floated on the 'Little Tigris' according to Mukaddasî. Near Başinnâ, and also about

¹ Ist. 88, 91, 93. I. H. 174. Muk. 405, 407, 408. Mst. 269. A. F. 311. Yak. iv. 252 (where Karajah is printed in error for Karkhah).

a day's journey from Sûs, but probably to the west of the Karkhah river, was the town of Bayrût or Birûdh, which Yâkût visited in the 7th (13th) century. Mukaddasî speaks of it as a large place, surrounded by date-groves, and on account of its flourishing commerce it was known as 'the Little Basrah.'

Mattût or Mattûth, where there was a strong castle, was also of this neighbourhood; it lay nine leagues to the south of Sûs, and on the road between Ahwaz and Kurkûb. This last-where were made the celebrated Sûsanjird embroideries-was a town of some importance, lying half-way between Sus and Tib in 'Irâk, being one march from Sûs and two from Başinnâ. Another town of this district, the site of which has not been found, though probably it stood to the north of Karkûb, was Dûr-ar-Râsibî, which Yákût describes as situated between Tib and Junday Sâbûr. This Dûr was famous as the birth-place and residence of Ar-Râsibî, who died in 301 (913), having been for many years the semi-independent governor of all the districts from Wâsit to Shahrazûr, during the Caliphate of Muktadir. He was celebrated for his immense wealth, and of the goods and furniture that he left at his death Yâkût gives a long and curious inventory'.

The Karkhah river is joined at about the latitude of Ahwâz by streams coming down from Ḥawîzah (or Ḥuwayzah, the diminutive form of Ḥûz or Hûz, as already said, the name of the people of this province), which Mustawfi describes in the 8th (14th) century as one of the most flourishing cities of Khûzistân. Corn, cotton, and sugar-cane grew here abundantly, and the town had at that time a population of Sabæans or Sâbians. The town of Nahr Tîrâ or Nahr Tîrîn, on the canal or river of this name, which appears to have been a right bank affluent of the lower Karkhah, must also have been of the Hawîzah district. It lay a day's journey west of Ahwâz on the road to Wâsit, and it was famous for the stuffs made there, which resembled those of Baghdâd.

The Karkhah river flows from the west into the Dujayl below Ahwaz, probably in the broad reach, already referred to, known as

LE S. 16

¹ Ist. 171, 175. I. H. 93. Muk. 405, 408. Vak. i. 686, 786; ii. 616; iv. 65, 412. Híz. 826. A. F. 313.

the Lotus river (Nahr-as-Sidrah). From the east, but lower down, is the junction of the Dawrak river, or canal, on which lay the city of this name, the capital of the Surrak district. The town was called Dawrak-al-Furs, 'of the Persians'; it was very spacious, with fine markets where goods of all sorts were warehoused, and the pilgrims from Fårs and Kirmån mostly passed through here on their road to Mecca. It was famous for its veils. Its Friday Mosque stood in the market-place, and on the river bank were many hamlets. Yellow sulphur was found here, near the hot sulphur springs, where the sick bathed and were healed. These, which were especially beneficial in skin diseases, gushed out from a hill side, the waters filling two tanks. In the 4th (10th) century wonderful Sassanian buildings were still to be seen at Dawrak, also a fire-temple, according to Ibn Muhalhal.

In the district near Dawrak were the two cities of Mîrâkiyân and Mîrâthiyan, which Mukaddasî describes. The first lay on a tidal canal, and was surrounded by excellent lands; while Mîrâthiyan consisted of two quarters, with a Friday Mosque in each of them and markets that were much frequented. In the 4th (10th) century much of the water of the southern swampy lands of the Khûzistân district drained out to the Persian Gulf by channels running south from Dawrak, and these entered the sea at Bâsiyân. Near this town must have been the creek and island of Dawrakistan, mentioned by Yakût and Kazwînî, where ships coming from India cast anchor. The town here was protected by a fortress, to which political prisoners were sent by the Caliph to be kept out of the way; and as late as the 7th (13th) century boats could pass up from here northwards, to 'Askar Mukram, by a series of canals or rivers that flowed to the eastward of the Dujayl'.

The Dujayl below Ahwaz soon broadened out to become the tidal estuary, which was the lower part of the Lotus river or Nahras-Sidrah. On this estuary stood Sûk Baḥr, a town where, until the time of the Caliph Muktadir in the middle of the 4th (10th)

¹ Ist. 93. I. H. 176. Muk. 407, 412. Yak. î. 411; ii. 371, 618, 620. Mst. 169. Kaz. ii. 130, 246. Both Nahr Tirâ and Manādhir must have been important places in Omayyad days, for between the years 90 and 97 (709—716) both were mint cities.

century, there had been toll-barriers, vexatious and unlawful dues being here exacted. The town of Sûk-al-Arba'â (the Wednesday market) was in this neighbourhood, lying to the east of the Dujayl, and on a canal which divided the town into two quarters that were connected by a wooden bridge. The eastern quarter of Sûk-al-Arba'â was the more populous, and here was the mosque. The neighbouring town of Jubbâ was noted for its sugar-canes, and the lands near were occupied by many villages.

At the head of the broad waters of the great tidal estuary of the Dujayl was the fortress called Hisn Mahdi, with a mosque standing in the midst of its guard-houses (Rubâț), said to have been built by the Caliph Mahdi, father of Harûn-ar-Rashid. Hisn Mahdi stood a few miles above the point where the Adudi canal branched off to the westward, joining the head of the Dujayl estuary with the Blind Tigris at Bayan, and round it lay the district of the Sabkhah, or salt marshes (see Chapter III. p. 48). The estuary, or Fayd of the Dujayl went into the Persian Gulf at Sulaymânân, and this was a dangerous passage for ships, which appear to have reached Ahwaz more safely by threading the various canals and rivers going up by Bâsiyân to Dawrak and thence into the Lotus river. The fortress of Hisn Mahdî, the exact site of which is unknown, stood, we are told, at the junction of many roads, and commanded the upper reach of the Dujayl estuary, where it was nearly a league across, being immediately below where many streams from the Hawlzah country and the Dawrak river flowed in from the north-west and the east. Above this point began the Lotus channel, going up to Ahwâz. from which city Hisn Mahdi was 20 leagues distant1.

Three days' march east of Ahwâz is the city of Râmhurmuz, still known by the name which it received from King Hurmuz, grandson of Ardashîr Bâbgân. In the 4th (10th) century it was famous for the silkworms reared here, and raw silk was largely exported. In Râmhurmuz there was a fine Friday Mosque, and excellent markets which had been built by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince. Mukaddasî relates that every night the gates of the various wards occupied by the shops of the cloth-

¹ I. S. 30. Kud. 194. Ist. 93, 95. I. H. 172, 176. Muk. 412, 419. Vak, i. 185; ii. 12; iii. 193.

merchants, perfumers, and mat-weavers, were securely locked. There was, he adds, a celebrated library here, where lectures were delivered, and this had been built and endowed by a certain Ibn Sawwar, who had also founded a similar institution at Baṣrah. Rāmhurmuz got its water by a canal from the Tāb river, but this in summer-time often ran dry, and the town was everywhere so infested by gnats that according to Mukaddasi mosquito curtains were a necessity. Mustawfî, in the 8th (14th) century, says that the name Rāmhurmuz was then commonly shortened to Rāmuz; the town was still a flourishing centre, much corn, cotton, and sugar-cane being grown in its districts.

Six leagues south-east of Râmhurmuz, on the road to Arrajân and not far from the river Tab, which here marked the boundary of Fars, was the Hawmah or district of the Zutt, otherwise known as the Jat tribes from India (identical it is said with the Gipsies). This district was watered from the Tab river, and here stood the two populous villages called Az-Zutt and Al-Khâbarân. Beyond this, and two marches short of Arrajan, close to the Fars frontier on the road coming from Arrajan to Dawrak, was the little town of Asak, where, according to Istakhri, there was a small volcano. The place stood in the midst of palm-groves, and much dúsháb, or syrup of raisins, was made here and exported. Near Asak also were Sassanian remains, namely, a great Aywan or domed hall, a hundred ells in height, built by King Kubádh over a spring. East of Asak, and a few miles short of Arraján, but to the west of the bridges over the Tab river, was the market town of Sanbil in the midst of its district, which thus lay along the borders of Fars1.

The Lur districts lay east and north of Tustar along the upper course of the Dujayl (Kârûn river) and its numerous affluents. The country to the east and south of the upper Kârûn (which here makes a great bend and doubles back, between its source in the mountains west of Isfahân, and the point north of

¹ Ist. 92, 93, 94. I. H. 175, 176. Muk. 407, 413. Yak. i. 61. Mst. 169. By a strange error Yakût (ii. 791) mentions the village of Az-Zutt under the form Ar-Rutt, though he was perfectly well acquainted with the Zutt or Gipsies, and mentions a canal (ii. 930) called after them.

Tustar, where it finally turns south and flows down towards the Persian Gulf) Mustawfi describes as the Great Lur district, and this lay contiguous to the Shûlistân district over the border in Fârs. The chief town of Great Lur was Îdhaj, otherwise called Mâl-Amîr. Mukaddasî describes it in the 4th (10th) century as one of the finest towns of Khûzistân; and it stood near the hills, where, at a place called Asadâbâd, was the palace of the governor. In winter snow fell here abundantly, and was stored to be carried to Ahwâz for sale during the summer. The fields being irrigated by the rains the pistachio-trees produced fine crops of nuts. Ibn Baţûţah, who visited the place in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century, says that Îdhaj was already then more commonly known as Mâl-al-Amir, 'the Amir's property,' a name which it still bears, Îdhaj having now become obsolete.

Îdhaj was further famous for its great stone bridge over the Dujayl, which Yakût describes as one of the wonders of the world. This, the ruins of which still exist, was known as the Kantarah Khurrah Zåd, being so named after the mother of King Ardashir, and it spanned the ravine by a single arch, rising 150 ells above the water level: In the gorge two leagues below the town was a mighty and dangerous whirlpool, known as Fam-al-Bawwab, 'the Porter's Mouth.' The great bridge was repaired in the 4th (10th) century by the Wazîr of Rukn-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince, and it took two years' labour to bring this to completion. Its stones were joined by lead with iron clamps, and it is said that 150,000 dînars (£75,000) were spent upon the work. Yâkût says that earthquakes were frequent in the neighbourhood of Idhaj; also there were many mines, a certain alkali being found here, called Kûkalî, which was a sovereign remedy for the gout. He adds that an ancient fire-temple was to be seen at Îdhaj, which until the reign of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd had been constantly in use.

Occupying both banks of the river, and four leagues to the north-west of Îdhaj, was the small town called Sûsan, otherwise known as 'Arûj (or 'Arûḥ). Round this place stretched extensive gardens, producing grapes, citrons, and oranges, and Mustaws says that the mountains, on which snow still lay in summer, were only four leagues distant. 'Arûj, or Sûsan, was also known as Jâbalak, and this place according to some authorities is to be identified

with 'Shushan the palace' of the Book of Daniel. About 150 miles east of Mål-Amir, on the frontier of Fårs and near the easternmost of the affluents of the Kårûn river, is Lurjân (otherwise Lurdagân or Lurkân, all forms of the name of Lur), which Iṣṭakhri describes as the capital of the Sardân (or Sardan) district,—a spacious town embowered in trees. Mustawfi praises it for its abundant grapes, and it was often held to be of the province of Fårs, on the borders of which it lay¹.

The main produce of Khûzistân was sugar, for the sugar-cane grew in almost all parts of it, and Mukaddasî states that in the 4th (10th) century, throughout Persia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, no sugar but that exported from Khûzistân was to be found. He says that Ahwâz, the capital, was renowned for a special kind of kerchief, such as women mostly wear; and Tustar produced the brocades (Dibâj) that were famous all the world over, as well as rugs and fine cloth. Much fruit also was grown in Tustar for export, particularly melons. The district of Sûs was especially the home of the sugar-cane, and the city exported enormous quantities of this commodity; silk too was woven here and cloth stuffs. In 'Askar Mukram they made veils of raw silk, and napkins, also cloth. Başinnâ was famous for its curtains; Kurkûb for felt rugs; and Nahr Tîrâ for long face-veils*.

In Khûzistân all the rivers and canals were navigable for boats, and much of the traffic between the towns passed along the waterways. The high roads centred in Ahwâz, to which the traveller from Baṣrah journeyed either by water along the 'Aḍudî canal, or by land across the salt marsh (Sabkhah) from 'Askar Abu Ja'far, opposite Ubullah, to Hiṣn Mahdī; and thence through Sûk-al-Arba'â to Ahwâz^a.

The distances between the various cities of Khûzistân are given by Işṭakhrî and Mukaddasî in much detail. From Ahwâz a road went west to Nahr Tîrâ, and on thence to Wâsiţ in 'Irâk. The northern road from the capital passed through 'Askar Mukram

Ist. 103, 126.
 I. H. 182, 197.
 Muk. 414.
 Kaz. ii. 201.
 Yak. i. 416;
 iv. 189.
 Mst. 151.
 I. B. ii. 29.
 For Süsan compare Sir H. Layard and
 Sir H. C. Rawlinson in J. R. G. S. 1839, p. 83; and 1842, p. 103.

² Muk. 416.

³ Kud. 194. Muk. 135.

to Tustar, whence by Junday Såbûr and Sûs it struck westward to Tîb, whence again there was a high road to Wâsit.

From Junday Sâbûr Mukaddasî gives the route through the Lur mountains to Gulpaygàn in the Jibâl province, north-west of Isfahân; and from 'Askar Mukram another road (given by Kudâmah and others) went east to Îdhaj, whence across the mountains this likewise reached Isfahân'.

From 'Askar Mukram, and from Ahwaz, two roads converged on Râmhurmuz, whence continuing eastwards the frontier of Fârs was reached on the Tab river over against Arrajan. These roads are given by Kudâmah and most of the other authorities, being a part of the high road from Başrah to Shîrâz. also gives another route, chiefly by water, from Hisn Mahdî to Arrajân, which passed by Bâsiyân on the coast to Dawrak, and thence by Asak to Arrajân. The stages north from Râmhurmuz to Îdhaj are recorded by Mukaddasî, who also describes a route from Râmhurmuz across the Lur mountains to Isfahân. A second route passed from the Lur plains (north of Dizfûl) by Sâbûrkhwâst to Karaj of Abu Dulaf-the distances here, however, are only given in marches, and the stages are difficult if not impossible now to identify. A third route north, given by Mukaddasi, went across the mountains from Arraján in seven days' march to Sumayram (in Fârs), south of Isfahân, keeping along the frontier of Khûzistân and Fars".

¹ Ist. 96. I. H. 178. Muk. 418-420. I. R. 187, 188. Kud. 197.

² Kud. 194. T R. 188. Ist. 95. I. H. 177. Muk. 401, 420, 453, 459.

CHAPTER XVII.

FÁRS.

Division of province into five districts or Kûrahs. The district of Ardashlr Khurrah. Shlrâz. Lake Mâhalûyah. The Sakkân river. Juwaym. Dasht Arzin lake. Kuvâr. Khabr and Şimkân. Kârzin and the Kubâd Khurrah district. Jahram. Juwaym of Abu Ahmad. Mândistân. Îrâhistân. Jûr or Fîrûzâbâd. The coast districts of Fârs. Kays island. Sîrâf. Najîram. Tawwaj. Ghundîjân. Khârîk and other islands of the Persian Gulf.

The province of Fars had been the home of the Achæmenian dynasty, and the centre of their government. To the Greeks this district was known as Persis, and they, in error, used the name of this, the central province, to connote the whole kingdom. And their misuse of the name is perpetuated throughout Europe to the present day, for with us Persia-from the Greek Persis-has become the common term for the whole empire of the Shah, whereas the native Persians call their country the kingdom of Irân, of which Fars, the ancient Persis, is but one of the southern provinces. The Arabs had inherited from the Sassanian monarchy the division of Fars into five great districts, each called a Kûrah; and this division, which it will be convenient to retain in describing the province, continued in use down to the time of the Mongols. The five Kûrahs were:-(1) Ardashîr Khurrah, with Shîrâz, the provincial capital, for its chief town; (2) Sâbûr or Shápûr Khurrah, with Shapur city for its chief town; (3) Arrajan, with the chief town of the same name; (4) Istakhr, with the ancient city of this name (Persepolis), the Sassanian capital of Fars; and lastly (5) Darabjird, also with the chief town of the same name.

Further it must be noted that, during the Caliphate, Färs





PROVINCES OF FARS AND KIRMAN

included Yazd with its district, also the district of Rûdhân (between modern Anâr and Bahramâbâd), both of these having formed part of the Istakhr Kûrah. After the Mongol conquest, however, Yazd was of the Jibal province, while at the present day it is counted as forming part of Kirmân, as is also the case with the former district of Rudhan. In old Persian Khurrah has the meaning of 'Glory'; Ardashir Khurrah and Shāpûr Khurrah, therefore, signify the districts which commemorate the glory of the founder of the Sassanian kingdom, Ardashir, and of his famous son, Såbûr or Shâpûr, the Greek Sapor. Lastly, the Arab geographers commonly divide Fars between two regions, namely, the Hot Lands and the Cold Lands (Jurum and Sarud), by a line running east and west; and at the present day we find that this division of the lowlands near the coast from the highlands beyond the passes is still current under the names, respectively, of the Garmsir and the Sardsir, 'the hot' and 'the cold region,' which are also the terms employed by Mustawfi1.

Shîrâz, the capital of Fârs, is an Arab foundation, and at the time of the Moslem conquest in the days of the Caliph 'Omar its site was the camping ground of the army sent to besiege Istakhr. As Mukaddasi points out, Shiraz probably owes its pre-eminence as a town to its central position, being supposed to lie 60 leagues from the frontiers at the four cardinal points of the compass, and 80 leagues from each of the four corners of the province. The chronicles state that Shiraz was founded in the year 64 (684) by a certain Muhammad, brother or cousin of Hajjāj, the famous governor of 'Irāk under the Omayyads; and it grew to be a large city in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century when the Saffarids had made it the capital of their semi-independent principality. In the 4th (10th) century Shirâz is described as being nearly a league across, with narrow, but crowded markets. The city had then eight gates, the Gates of Istakhr, Tustar, Bandastanah, Ghassan, Sallam, Kuvar, Mandar, and Mahandar. Its water was from an underground channel carried down from Juwaym, a village five leagues to the north-west; and there was

Mukaddasi (p. 421) alone divides Fars into six (in the place of five) Kurahs; making a separate district of the country round Shiraz. Ist. 97, 135. Baladhuri, 386. Muk. 447.

a Bîmaristân, or hospital, also the palace built by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, who according to the Fârs Nămah established a library here.

Half a league south of Shîrâz, this same Buyid prince, 'Adudad-Dawlah, surnamed Fanâ Khusraw, had built himself another palace and surrounded it by a new town, named after himself, Kard Fanâ Khusraw. Immense sums were spent on the gardens, which extended a league across; and the houses round this were occupied by wool-weavers, brocade-makers, and others, being all craftsmen whom the Buyids had brought to settle in Fârs from many distant lands. A yearly festival was held at Kard Fanâ Khusraw, which also became for a short time a mint city; but its glories did not survive its founder, and before the close of the 4th (10th) century it had fallen to ruin. As a suburb it came to be known as Sûk-al-Amîr (the Amir's Market), and the rents on shops are said to have produced 20,000 dînârs (£10,000) yearly.

The walls of Shîrâz were first built by Şamşâm-ad-Dawlah or by Sultan-ad-Dawlah (son and grandson of 'Adud aforesaid), being originally eight ells thick, with a circuit of 12,000 ells, and no less than eleven gates. In the middle of the 8th (14th) century, these walls having fallen to ruin, Mahmûd Shâh Injû, the rival of the Muzaffarids, repaired them, building also bastions of burnt brick. When Mustawsi knew Shiraz the city was divided into seventeen quarters, and had nine gates. These were the Gates of Istakhr; of Dårak (or Daråk Mûså), called after the mountain of this name, two leagues distant from Shîrâz, where the winter snow was stored in pits for use in summer-time; then the Gate of Bayda; of Kåzirûn; of Sallam; of Kubå (for which some MSS. give Fanå or Kana); next Bâb-i-Naw (the New Gate); and lastly, Bâb-i-Dawlah and Bâb-i-Sa'ádah, 'the Gate of Government' and 'the Gate of Felicity.' Mustawfi, who gives the list, further remarks that Shîrâz is a very fine town, the market streets never being empty, but he admits that these last were inconceivably filthy. The water-supply was from the famous channel of Ruknābād, which had been dug by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, father of 'Adud mentioned before, and from the canal of the Sa'di orchard. In spring, torrents flowed down through the city from Mount Dârak; and thence drained into Lake Mâhalûyah.

There were three chief mosques: first the Old Mosque-Iâmi 'Atik-built by the Saffarid 'Amr, son of Layth, in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century, and this mosque, Mustawfi states, was never empty; next, and dating from the latter half of the 6th (12th) century, was the New Mosque, built by the Salghari Atabeg Sa'd ibn Zangî; and lastly there was the Masjid Sunkur, in the Barbers' Square, built by the first Atabeg of the Salgharids. The hospital of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah still existed, and Shi'ahs visited the shrine of Muhammad and Ahmad, sons of the seventh Imam Mûsâ-al-Kâzim. The account which Ibn Batûtah, the contemporary of Mustawfi, gives of Shiraz bears out the preceding. He, too, speaks of the Old Mosque, the north door of which was known as the Bab Hasan, 'the Gate Beautiful,' and of the shrine of Ahmad, where there was a college. Further, he eulogises the five streams that flowed through the city; one, that of Ruknabad, rising at Al-Kulay'ah, 'the Little Castle,' in the hills, near to which was the fine orchard surrounding the tomb of the poet Sa'di, who had died in 691 (1292), about half a century before the time of Ibn Batûtah's visit. Sa'dî had flourished at the court of the Atabeg Abu Bakr, son of Atabeg Sa'd who had built the New Mosque, and in the orchard round his tomb, which was much visited, were magnificent marble tanks for clothes-washing, which Sa'dî had built on the Ruknabad stream.

At the close of the 8th (14th) century, Shîrâz had the good fortune to escape a siege by Tîmûr, who defeated the Muzaffarid princes at the battle of Pâtîlah in the plain outside. The city suffered little damage, according to 'Alî of Yazd, for Tîmûr camped at the garden called Takht-i-Karâchah, outside the gates of Sallam and Sa'âdah, opening towards Yazd. The same authority states that the other eight gates were then closed, and he also mentions the Red Castle Hill (Kûh Kal'at Surkh) near Shîrâz, the position of which is unknown. Of famous castles near Shîrâz Mustawfî mentions Kal'ah Tîz, standing on a solitary hill three leagues to the south-east of the city. There was a spring of water here, on the hill-top, and another in the plain below, which for a day's journey beyond was all waterless desert'.

¹ The reading of the name is uncertain. Tir, Tabr, Babr, Bir and Tastr or Tashir, with many other variants occur in the Mss. of Mustawii. Ist. 124.

Shīrāz stands on no great river, but its streams, as already said, drain eastward, flowing into the lake which occupies a depression in the plain a few leagues distant from the city. This lake is called Jankān by Iṣṭakhrī: Abu-l-Fidā and Ibn Baṭūṭah refer to it as Jamkān; in the Fārs Nāmah and in Mustawfi it has the name of Māhalūyah, and at the present day it is known as the Lake of Māhalū. The water is salt, and from the salt-pans along its shore Shīrāz was supplied with this necessary commodity, as also with fish, which were abundant in its waters. The lake was 12 leagues round, the district of Kahrjān lying along its southern borders, while to the south-east was the city of Khawristān, otherwise called Sarvistān, where the date palm flourished and corn was grown, also other produce of both the hot and the cold regions. Kūbanjān, according to the Fārs Nāmah and Mustawfi, was a small town near Sarvistān'.

The longest river in Fârs is the Nahr Sakkân, which rising some 30 miles to the north-westward of Shîrâz follows a devious course, going south-east for over 150 miles; then after making a great bend it runs due west for another 150 miles, but with many windings, and finally, after receiving the waters of the Fîrûzâbâd river from the north, discharges itself into the sea a little to the south of Najîram². The name Sakkân is said by Iṣṭakhri to be derived from the village of Sakk, which stands near the great bend westward; other authorities, however, spell the name variously: thus we find Sittajân, Thakkân, and Sîkân, while Mustawfi generally has Zakkân or Zhakkân. In the Fârs Nămah and later

Muk. 429, 430, 456. F. N. 71 a, b. Yak. iii. 349; iv. 258. Mst. 170, 171, 179, 203. I. B. ii. 53, 77, 87. A. Y. i. 437, 594, 609, 613. The garden of Takht-i-Karáchah, 'the Throne of Karáchah,' was so named after the Atabeg Karáchah, who became governor of Fârs on the death of Atabeg Cháûll in 510 (1116). It is said to be identical with the garden now known as 'fakht-i-Kajar.

¹ I. K. 52. Ist. 122, 131. Muk. 422, 455. F. N. 73 o, 80 b. Mst. 172, 226. A. F. 43. I. B. ii. 61. Yak. ii. 193, where fikha (for Jankan) is a clerical error.

² Its upper course is now known as the Kara Aghach, Black-tree river (in Turkish); its lower course is called the Mand river. The Sakkan is probably identical with the river Sitakus of Nearchus. See Colonel Ross, P.R.G.S. 1883, p. 712.

writers, the district where the river had its source is named Mâşaram; according to Iştakhrl it rose in Rustâk-ar-Ruwayhân, which is the plain south of Juwaym and Khullar. These are two important villages, lying 5 and 9 leagues distant respectively from Shîrâz, on the road to Nawbanjan, to the north of the Dasht Arzin plain. Near Juwaym, as already said, one of the Shîrâz streams took its rise. According to Mustawfi, Khullâr was famed for its millstones, though the people themselves possessed no mills, and had to send elsewhere to grind their corn. Its honey also was largely exported. Dasht Arzin (the Plain of the Bitteralmond) was famous for its magnificent pasture lands (Marghzar), and the Lake of Dasht Arzin, which in the season of rains was 10 leagues across, was of sweet water; this, however, as often as not, dried up in summer. According to Istakhri, the lake produced much fish, and Mustawfi adds that the forest near here abounded with lions'.

The Sakkan river, to leagues south of Shiraz, passed the town of Kavar or Kuvar, lying near its left bank. According to Mustaws a dam had here been thrown across the stream to raise its water for irrigation, and the neighbouring pasture lands were famous. Both the sour cherry and the almond grew here plentifully, also large pomegranates. Beyond Kuvar, also on the left bank of the river Sakkan, is the town of Khabr, noted for the tomb of Sa'id, brother of Hasan-al-Başri, the theologian. Mustawsi states that Khabr was larger than Kuvar, and that near by was the famous castle of Tir-i-Khuda, 'God's Arrow,' so called from its inaccessibility, for it stood on a hill-top, so that no human arrow could attain it. Below Khabr the Sakkan river turned south, following a sinuous course through the district of Simkan, the town of Simkan being near its left bank at the junction of a great affluent coming from Darabjird on the east."

According to Mustawfi, Simkan was a fine town standing on

¹ Juwaym, sometimes written Juwayn, is the present village of Goyun. Ist. 120, 122. I. K. 44. F. N. 77 δ, 79 δ, 80 δ, 81 a. Yak. ii. 457. Mst. 177, 179, 214, 226.

^a Ist. 105, 120. F. N. 71 b, 72 a, 81 a, 83 a, 86 a. Yak, ii. 399. Mst. 172, 173, 179. This district is now called Stmåkûn, and often by mistake written Akun on the maps. See E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, ii. 232.

the stream where this was crossed by a bridge; and it was remarkable that all the lands above the bridge produced trees of the cold region only, such as the plane (Chinâr) and the nut; while below the bridge grew oranges and lemons with other fruits of the hot region. The wine made here was so strong that, before drinking, it had to be mixed with twice or thrice its weight of water. Not far distant was Hírak, a large village of the dependencies of Şimkân. Near the right bank of the Sakkân river, and south of the Şimkân district, were the three towns of Kârzîn, Ķîr and Abzar, the surrounding district being known as Ķubâd Khurrah, 'the Glory of Ķubād,' in memory of one of the Sassanian kings. Iṣṭakhrî speaks of Kârzîn as being one-third the size of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis); it had a strong castle up to which water could be drawn from the Sakkân river, and being on a great height many distant castles could be seen from it'.

The town of Jahram (or Jahrum), which is sometimes counted as of the Darabjird district, lies south of Şimkan, and east of Kârzîn, surrounded by a fertile plain. It was famous for its great castle, lying five leagues distant from the town, called Kal'ah Khûrshah, which Nizâm-al-Mulk, the great Wazîr of the Saljûks, had re-fortified, it having been originally built by Khurshah, who was governor of Jahram under the Omayyad Caliphs2. To the south-east of Jahram is the town of Juwaym of Abu Ahmad (so called to distinguish it from Juwaym near the head-waters of the Sakkan, see above, p. 253), which Mukaddasi describes as lying on a small river, surrounded by palm-gardens, having a fine mosque which stood in a long market street. The district to the south-west was called Îrâhistân, and near the town stood the strong castle called Samîrân (or Shamîrân), which Mustawfi characterises as 'a nest of robbers and highwaymen.' The surrounding districts were famous pasture grounds, especially those lying between Juwaym

I Ist. 125. Muk. 422. F. N. 72 a, 73 a, 82 b, 83 a. Mst. 172, 179. According to the Fars Nômak (folio 78 a) and Mustawff (p. 177) there would appear to have been another district called Kûrah Kubâd Khurrah on the banks of the Tāb river above Arrajān.

² Ist. 107. F. N. 69 a, 81 b. Mst. 175, 179. The name of the castle is written Khurushah, Khurshah, and Kharshah, in the various Mss., also Kharshad and Kharshar, but no mention of it occurs in the older Arab geographers.

and the bank of the Sakkan river, where were many stagnant pools and lion-haunted forests.

The town of Kāriyān, commanded by a strong fortress, lay one march west of Juwaym, and was celebrated for its firetemple, from which the sacred fire anciently preserved here was distributed far and wide by the Zoroastrian priests. The fortress, which crowned a hill-top, was deemed impregnable. To the west of Kâriyân, and at the great westward bend of the Sakkân river, stood Lâghir, a place of some importance in the 8th (14th) century, when Mustawfi wrote, for it was a stage on the caravan road down from Shîrâz to Kays island. Lâghir also is mentioned in connection with Kaharjan (or Makarjan), a place no longer to be found on the map. Between Laghir and the coast, but along the right bank and north of the Sakkan river, lay the desert of Måndistån, midway between Najîram and Bûshkánât; here were found neither permanent villages nor streams, but, none the less, as Mustawsi writes, on the rare occasions of sufficient rainfall, the whole desert might be made to grow crops of cotton and corn that at the close of the winter season would give profit of a thousand-fold'.

Mândistân, the medieval name of this desert—meaning 'the Mând country'—is doubtless retained in the name of the Mând river, which, as already noted, is now used for the lower course of the Sakkân. About half-way between Lâghir and the sea the main stream receives an important affluent from the north, namely the river of Fîrûzâbâd. The city of Fîrûzâbâd was anciently called Jûr, and in Sassanian times this (in place of the later Shîrâz) had been the chief town of the district of Ardashîr Khurrah. Işṭakhrî reports that the plain here had originally been a lake, this having been drained by King Ardashîr, who built the city round an artificial mound—still existing here in the 4th (roth) century and later—called Aṭ-Tirbâl, 'the Look-out,' with a building named in Persian the Aywân (Archway), standing upon a great platform. At this time Jûr was as large as Iṣṭakhr, and the city was surrounded by a wall and ditch, with four gates, namely Bâb Mihr to the east,

¹ Ist. 117. Muk. 427, 428. F. N. 69 δ, 73 δ, 82 δ, 86 α. Mst. 172, 173, 175, 179, 180. J. N. 268. Kaz. ii. 162.

Bàb Bahram opposite, Bàb Hurmuz to the north, and Bab Ardashir to the south.

The name Jûr, in Persian pronounced Gûr, means 'a grave,' and it was held inauspicious by the courtiers of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who was fond of coming here, that the Amir should be said to be residing in Gûr, 'the grave.' Hence Jûr was renamed Firuzabad-'the Abode of Luck'-and so it is called at the present day. Mukaddasi, who gives the story, speaks of the great town square (Rahbah), and the beautiful rose gardens of Fîrûzâbâd. also of the well-cultivated country round, stretching a day's march across. Water for the town was brought from a neighbouring hill by means of a syphon tube, and according to the Persian geographers there was a great castle four leagues from the town. called Kal'ah Sahârah (or Shahârah). The Fîrûzâbâd river is named by Istakhrî the Tîrzah; the Fars Nâmah and Mustawsî call it the Burazah (or Bararah) river. It rose in the Khunayighan district, and was said to have been turned from its original course by Alexander the Great, who, when besieging für, flooded the country round and made the lake, which was subsequently drained by Burazah the Sage, in the reign of King Ardashîr. He afterwards built an aqueduct that conveniently brought the waters of the stream into the town, and from him the river took its name of the Nahr Burazah. Kazvini says there was a celebrated fire-temple in Fîrûzâbâd, and refers to a wonderful spring of water that gushed out at the city gate; the red roses of Jur, too, he adds, were famous the world over. The country to the north was, as already said, the district of Khunayfghân, or Khunayfkân, which the Persians pronounced Khunâfgân; and among the hills there was a large village of this name, whence a difficult and stony road led down to Fîrûzâbâd'.

The coast of the Ardashîr Khurrah district was known as the Sîf (or shore), and there were three Sîfs, all of the hot region, or Garmsir, lying along the Persian Gulf. These were named respectively the Sîf 'Umârah to the eastward of Kays island; the Sîf Zuhayr on the coast south of Îrâhistân and round Sîrâf; and lastly the Sîf Muzaffar to the north of Najîram; the 'Umârah,

¹ Ist. 105, 121, 123. Muk. 432. F. N. 70a-72b, 79b, 82a. Mst. 172, 179, 219. Kaz. ii. 121.

Zuhayr, and Muzaffar being the names of three Arab tribes who, having crossed to the northern coasts from the other side of the Persian Gulf, had here settled in Fars. In the 4th (10th) century Sif 'Umarah was famous for an impregnable castle on the sea, called Kal'ah-ad-Dikdan (or Dikbayah), also known as Hisn Ibn 'Umarah, where twenty ships could find safe harbourage, and the only entrance into the castle was by working a crane set on the walls. A short distance to the west of this lay the island of Kays, or as the Persians wrote the name, Kish, which in the course of the 6th (12th) century became the trade centre of the Persian Gulf after the ruin of Sîrâf, which will be described presently. A great walled city was built in Kays island, where water tanks had been constructed, and on the neighbouring sea-banks was the famous pearl fishery. Ships from India and Arabia crowded the port, and all the island was full of palm gardens. In summer, says Kazvini, the heat was greater than the hottest room in the bath (Hammam): none the less Kays was a very populous town. The island lay about four leagues from the coast, where the port of embarkation was Huzû, to which, in the 7th (13th) century, a caravan road came down from Shîrâz through Lâghir. Huzû, though much ruined when Yakût wrote, had been a strong fortress in the 4th (10th) century under the Buyids, who made it their state prison. Close to the town was the village called Saviyah (with variants in the MSS. Tâbah or Tânah and the true reading is unknown)1.

¹ Ist. 116, 140. I. H. 188. Yak. ii. 711; iv. 333, 974. F. N. 74 6. Mst. 171, 173, 180. Kaz. ii. 161. The name of the island is spelt Kays, Kaysh, and Kish (with dotted k or undotted k).

The stages on the road down from Låghir to Huzû are given by Mustawst (p. 200), but as no modern traveller has followed this route the names are not to be found on the map, and are most uncertain; the distances are in farsakhs (leagues). 'From Låghir 6 to Fåryåb district, thence 6 to the city of Şaj (Şah, Haj, Dah, with many other variants), thence 5 to Åb-Anbar-i-Kinår, thence 5 to Haram (Stram or Marmaz), thence 6 down many steep passes to the village of Dårûk (Dårzak, Ûrak or Dåvrak), thence 6 to Måhân (Håmån or Måyån), and thence 6 by the pass of Lardak to Huzû on the sea-shore.' The district Mustawst calls Fåryåb is evidently identical with Båråb, half-way between Kåriyån and Kurån, as given by Mukaddasl (p. 454). The city of Şaj is a puzzle, none heing known in this region, but possibly we should read

To the westward of Sif 'Umarah along the sea-shore was the Zuhayr coast, of which Kuran, inland, was the chief town, Siraf, and Naband being its famous harbours; and the region went as far as Najîram beyond the mouth of the Sakkan river. Inland of this was the Îrâhistân district. According to Işṭakhri, Kuran produced an edible clay, green in colour, that tasted like beetroot. Mustawfi counts Kuran as of Îrâhistân, and says its lands only produced dates. Due south of it was the district and town of Mimand, not far from the port of Naband, which last stood at the head of a creek known as the Khawr or Khalîj of Naband. Mimand, according to Mustawfi, produced quantities of grapes, also other fruits of the hot region, and it was famous for its clever craftsmen'.

Further up the coast, to the north-west of Naband, was the port of Sirâf, the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf in the 4th (10th) century, prior to the rise of Kays island into pre-eminence. Síráf, Istakhri says, nearly equalled Shíráz in size and splendour; the houses were built of teak-wood brought from the Zanj country (now Zanzibar), and were several storeys high, built to overlook the sea. This author writes that a merchant of his acquaintance here had spent 30,000 dînârs (£15,000) on his house, and the Stråf merchants were accounted the richest in all Fårs, a fortune of sixty million dirhams (about two millions sterling) having been gained here by commerce. There were no gardens round the city, fruit and other produce being brought in from the mountains of Jamm, where there was a great castle called Samiran. Mukaddasi speaks of Siraf as commercially the rival of Basrah; its houses were the finest he had ever seen, but it had been in part ruined by an earthquake, lasting seven days, which had occurred in 366 or 367 (977), and with the fall of the Buyid dynasty the place began to decay. The Fars Namah states that its final ruin was the work of Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumartagin, the

Jamm (Ist. 106). This route, unfortunately, is not reproduced in the Jahán Numá, nor is it given by any Arab geographer. The coast of the Bani-aş-Şaffar would appear to have been identical with the 'Umárah coast, to judge by what Istakhri (p. 141) and Yákût (iii. 217) write.

¹ Ist. 104, 141, 152. Yak. i. 419; ii. 489; iii. 212, 217. Mst. 172, 173. A. F. 322.

Amîr of Ķays island, who made the latter the port of call, though he had his war-ships still built at Sîrâf; but when Yâkût visited the place at the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, only the mosque, with its columns of teak-wood, remained standing, though the ruins of the town could be traced up the neighbouring gorge from the sea-side. Ships then went on to Nâband for shelter, as the harbour of Sîrâf was already silted up. Yâkût adds that the name of Sîrâf was in his time pronounced Shîlâv by the natives.

Najiram, a port of some importance to the westward of Siraf, beyond the mouth of the Sakkan river, was at the beginning of the Muzaffar coast, which stretched thence as far as Jannabah in the Kurah (district) of Arrajan. Najiram possessed two mosques when Mukaddasi wrote, with good markets, and cisterns for storing rain-water. The Dastakan district was also of the Sif Muzaffar, and in the 4th (10th) century its chief town was called Saffarah. The district itself appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Jannabah, but the exact position of the town of Saffarah is unknown.

Near the frontier of the Arrajan district, the river of Shapur debouches, and some distance from its mouth, probably above the junction of the Jirrah river, to be mentioned later, must have stood the important commercial town of Tawwaj or Tavvaz. In the 4th (10th) century Istakhri speaks of this place as about the size of Arrajân; it was very hot, and stood in a gorge of the lowlands, palm-trees growing here abundantly. Tawwaj, which was a place of great trade, was famous for its linen stuffs, woven in divers colours, with a gold-thread ornament. The Shapur river, which flowed near the city, was often called the Tawwaj river; and the town is said to have been peopled with Syrian Arabs, brought hither by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. At the beginning of the 6th (12th) century Tawwaj had already much fallen to ruin. Its site has never been identified, but the position of the town is given as on or near the Shapur river, in a gorge, being 12 leagues from Jannabah on the coast, and four from

Possibly this Dastakân district is identical with the coast of the Banl-aş-Şaffâr, already mentioned. Ist. 34, 106, 116, 127, 141, 154. Muk. 422, 426, 427. F. N. 73 b, 74 a. Vak. iii. 211, 217. Mst. 172. The ruins of Strâf are described by Captain Stiffe in the J. R. G. S. 1895, p. 166.

the pass that leads down from Dariz. Tawwaj was a famous place at the time of the first Moslem conquest, and its mosque dated from those early days; but when Mustawfi wrote, it had become a complete ruin.

The important town of Ghundijan, in the district of Dasht Bârin, was of this neighbourhood. The position of Ghundijan, of which apparently no ruins now exist, is given in the Fars Namah as standing four leagues from Jirrah and 12 from Tawwaj; and the author speaks of the Jirrah river as flowing by 'a part of Ghundijan.' In the 4th (10th) century the town is said to have equalled Iştakhr (Persepolis) or Jannâbah in size; carpets and veils were made here, and the district was counted as of the hot region. Mukaddasi describes a stream among the Ghundîjân hills as producing a poisonous hot vapour, so that none could approach it, and birds flying over the stream fell down suffocated; but there were also hot mineral springs here that healed the sick. The population of Ghundijan, according to Mustawfi, consisted mostly of shoemakers and weavers, and in his day the name Ghundijan had taken the place of Dasht Barin in the common speech for the district. In the neighbourhood was a strong castle, called Kal'ah Ram Zavân (or Dam Darân, with many other variants), where great cisterns had been dug for storing water. The district of Bûshkânât lay half-way between Ghundijân and the Mândistân desert (see p. 255) to the north of Najiram. According to Mustawfi there were no towns here, but dates grew and were the chief crop, for Bûshkânât was of the hot region of the Gulf'.

¹ Mukaddasl and Yākût with many of the older authorities state that Dasht Bārin was the name of the town, Ghundíjān being that of the district. Originally, however, this can hardly have been the case, since the name Dasht Bārin, meaning 'the Plain' of Bārîn, is not applicable to a town. The name of a district or province in the East is very frequently taken over by the chief town, and following this rule when Ghundíjān fell out of use, the name Dasht Bārin may have taken its place, being used then for town or district indifferently, as Mustawfi remarks later, but contrariwise of the name Ghundíjān. Ist. 106, 128, 130, 152, 153. Muk. 422, 423, 435, 445, 448. F. N. 73 a, 76 a, 79 b, 82 b, 86 a. Mst. 174, 177, 179, 218. Yak. i. 199, 890; ii. 576; iii. 5, 820. Tawwaj is often included in the Shāpūr Khurrah district by the earlier geographers.

The island of Khārik, which lay off the mouth of the Shapur river, was included in the Ardashir Khurrah district, and was a port of call for ships sailing from Başrah to Kays island and India. Yakût had visited the island, and says that from its hills Jannabah and Mahruban, both on the coast of the Arrajan district, were visible. The soil of the island was fertile, producing many fruits, and the date palm grew well here. In the neighbouring sea was one of the best pearl fisheries. Many of the other islands in the Persian Gulf are described by our authorities as of the Ardashir Khurrah district; but Kharik and Kays were commercially the two most important, and of the others named some are not easy to identify. Uwal was the chief of the Bahrayn islands, on the Arabian coast, and it is mentioned in the annals of the first Moslem conquest. Bûshahr (Bushire of the present day) first appears in the pages of Yākût, and opposite to it on the mainland, as stated by Balâdhurî, was Rîshahr or Råshahr of Tawwaj. The island called Låwan (Allan, Lån, or Lâr are all variants), by the distances given, must be the present island of Shaykh Shu'ayb lying to the west of Kays, and Abrûn island is doubtless the modern Hindarabi which with Chin (or Khayn) lies near Kays.

The great island at the narrows of the Gulf now called Kishm, also the Long Island (Jazîrah Tawilah), is probably that referred to in our medieval authorities under the various names—possibly merely manuscript variants—of Banî (or Ibn) Kawân, Abarkâfân, and Abarkumân. Yâkût states that it was also known as Lâft. The island of Khâsik or Jâsik was one of its neighbours, or was possibly merely another name for Kishm (the Long Island). Its population were hardy boatmen, and according to Kazvînî they were much given to piracy and raiding. Near each of these islands were pearl fishery banks, but most of them were uninhabited, except during the fishing season. Beyond and east of Kishm was the island of Hurmuz (Ormuz), which being in Kirmân will be spoken of in the chapter treating of that province.

Ist. 32. I. K. 61. Baladhuri, 386, 387. Yak. i. 395. 503; ii. 387, 537;
 iv. 341, 342. Mst. 181, 222. Kaz. ii. 117.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FARS (continued).

The district of Shāpūr Khurrah. Shāpūr city and cave. The Ratīn rīver. Nawbanjān. The White Castle and Sha'b Bavvān. The Zamms of the Kurds. Kāzirūn and its lake. The rivers Ikhshīn and Jarshīk. Jirrah and the Sabūk bridge. The Arrajān district and Arrajān city. The Tāb river. Bihbahān. The river Shīrīn. Gunbadh Mallaghān. Mahrubān. Sīnīz and Jannābah. The river Shādhkān.

The district of Såbûr Khurrah, 'the Glory of Shåpûr' (Såbûr, as already said, being the Arabic form of the Persian name), was the smallest of the five Kûrahs or districts of Fårs, and its limits were comprised within the basin of the upper Shåpûr river and its affluents.

The chief town of the district in early days was the city of Shāpūr, the name of which had originally been Bishāpūr', more commonly known as Shahristān. 'the town-place' or 'the capītal.' Ibn Ḥawkal states that Shāpūr city was in his day as large as Iṣṭakhr and more populous, but Mukaddasī in the latter part of the 4th (10th) century speaks of the town as already for the most part gone to ruin, its population having migrated to the neighbouring and rising city of Kāzirūn. Shāpūr, however, was then still a rich place, for its lands produced sugar-cane, olives, and grapes abundantly, and fruits and flowers, such as the fig, the jasmine, and the carob, were seen on every hand. The castle was

In the MSS, the name is generally (but probably incorrectly) written Nashāpūr or Nishāpūr. Bisbāpūr stands for Bih-Shāpūr, the older form being Wih-Shāpūr, meaning 'the good Sapor' or 'the excellence of Sapor.' This prefix Bih occurs in other place-names; cf. Bih Ardashir, or Guwâshir, in Chapter XXI, p. 303.

called Dunbulå, and the town wall had four gates, namely those of Hurmuz, Mihr, Bahråm, and lastly the City gate (Båb-ash-Shahr). Outside the town was a Friday Mosque, and another called Masjid-al-Khidr, or the mosque of Elias. In the beginning of the 6th (12th) century the author of the Färs Nāmah describes Shāpūr as having completely fallen to ruin; and when Mustawfī wrote a couple of centuries later the name of Shāpūr or Bishāpūr had been transferred to the neighbouring Kāzirūn district.

Mustawfî apparently knew the Shapur river under the name of the Shahriyar Rud, and the city, he says, had been named Dindar by its first founder, the mythical King Tahmurath, the 'Devil-binder.' Afterwards Alexander the Great laid it in ruins, and King Shapur rebuilt it, when it was known, according to Mustawfi, as Bana Shapûr, and later as Nashapûr or Bishapûr. Its crops were famous in the 8th (14th) century: the iris, violet, jasmine, and narcissus grew abundantly, and much silk was woven here. Mustawff further refers to the well-known colossal statue of King Shapur in the cave near the ruins. This he describes as 'a black statue of a man, larger than life, standing in a temple (Haykal); some say it is a talisman, others that it is merely a real man whom God has turned to stone. The kings of that country were used to visit it, and to pay it honour anointed the statue with oil.' Already in the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasî refers to the cave, which, he says, lay one league distant from the city of Nawbandajan. The colossal figure of King Sapor he describes as crowned and standing at the mouth of the cave, in which water fell continually, and a violent wind blew. At the base of the statue were the semblances, sculptured, of 'three green leaves.' The foot of the image measured ten spans in length, while the total height was eleven ells1.

The upper course of the Shāpûr river was called the Nahr Ratîn by the Arab geographers, and it came from the Upper Khumâyijân or Khumâyigân district, of which one of the principal villages, according to Mustawfi, was Dîh 'Alî. Lower Khumâyijân was counted

¹ I. H. 194. Muk. 432, 444. F. N. 74 b, 75 a, where the name is spelt Bishâvûr and Bishâpûr. Mst. 175, 176. C. A. De Bode, Travels in Luristan (London, 1845), i. 214.

as of the Iştakhr Kûrah (the Persepolis district, to be described in the next chapter) lying round Baydâ on an affluent of the Kur river, and both these Khumâyijân regions were famous for the products of the colder hill country, such as nuts and pomegranates, while much excellent honey was exported. The people were mostly muleteers, who travelled with caravans. To the westward of Khumâyijân was the district of Anburân with the city of An-Nawbandajân, otherwise called Nûbandagân or Nawbanjân. This place, when Iṣṭakhrì wrote, was larger than Kāzirûn, the climate was hot and the date palm grew here. Mukaddasî speaks of its fine markets, of the gardens with their abundant water-supply, also of its mosque. In Saljûk times Nawbandajân had fallen to ruin, but in the 5th (11th) century the town was rebuilt by the celebrated Atabeg, the Amîr Châûlî'.

Two leagues distant from Nawbanjan began the famous valley, one of the four earthly paradises of the Moslems, called Sha'b Bayvan, the waters of which drained to the Kur river in the Istakhr Kúrah. The valley was three and a half leagues in length by one and a half across, and its fertility was beyond compare; being due, according to Mustawfi, to the nature of the hills on either side of the valley, which stored the winter snows and thus afforded water throughout the summer droughts. A couple of leagues to the north-east of Nawbanjan is the great mountain fastness called the White Castle-Kal'ah Safid, and Isfid Diz-or the Castle of Isfandiyar, occupying a flat-topped table-mountain, many miles in circuit, bounded by precipitous sides. Mukaddasî possibly mentions it under the name of the Kaşr Abu Talib, which, he says, was called 'Ayan. The Fars Nămah states that Kal'ah Safid had been rebuilt by a certain Abu Nasr of Tir Murdan in the earlier years of the Saljuks, and that at the beginning of the 6th (12th) century it was in the

¹ The Amir Châûli (often written Jâûli), whose name so frequently occurs in the Fârs Nămah and Mustawfi in connection with the rebuilding of towns or eastles in Fârs, and the reconstruction of river dams, was governor of the province for Sultân Muḥammad the Saljûk. Atabeg Châûli Sakâuh (meaning the Falcon') received the surname of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah, and died in 510 (1116) after having been the semi-independent governor of both Kirmân and Fârs for nearly a score of years.

hands of their governor. The mountain summit, which was 20 leagues in circuit, had only one road leading to the top, and this was guarded below by the castle called Dizak Nishnak. The summit was a level plain, with many springs and gardens, and fruit grew here abundantly. The siege of Kal'ah Safid by Timûr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, made it famous in history. He was marching from Bihbahan to Shîraz, and took the place by storm, after a two days' investment, in the spring of 795 (1393).

One march east of Nawbanjan, on the road to Shiraz, lay Tir Murdan, a small town surrounded by six villages, of which the most important was called Karjan (or Jarkan), lying five leagues from Nawbanjan. The surrounding region was well watered, very fertile, and much honey was exported. To the west of Nawbanjan, on the road to Arrajan, was the town of Anburan, in this district; also the Bâsht Kûtâ district, with the town of Bâsht, which still exists. Two rivers, the Darkhi'd and the Khûbdhân, traversed this region. The Nahr Khawrawadhan, otherwise the Khubdhan river, had on its banks the town of the same name, distant four leagues from Nawbanjan, and Khûbdhan town in the 4th (10th) century was a populous place, with a mosque and good markets. Four or six leagues west of this river, and two stages distant from Nawbanjan, was the small town of Datkhid, on the river of the same name, which last came from, or some authorities say flowed into, a small lake. It is mentioned that the Darkhid river was a sufficiently large stream to be unfordable. The Khubdhân river was an affluent of the river Shîrin, which will be noticed when describing the Arrajan district, and either the Khûbdhân river or the Darkhîd was crossed by a great bridge, built by a certain Abu Tâlib of Nawbanjan, who had erected the castle of 'Ayan mentioned in the previous paragraph. Istakhri and Mukaddasî are at variance as to which of the rivers this celebrated bridge traversed. Later authorities add to the confusion by giving different names to these rivers, which it is difficult

¹ Ist. 110, 111, 120, 127. Muk. 434, 437, 447. F. N. 76 b. 78 a., 84 b. Mst. 177, 178, 219. A. Y. i. 600. Dizaki Nishkuman and Astak are variants of the name of the lower castle in the Mss. Kal'ah Safid is well described by Macdonald Kinneir, Persian Empire, p. 73.

or impossible now to identify with any of the existing streams shown on our maps. The bridge is described by Mukaddasi as having been built in his day, 'and there is none to equal it in all Syria and Mesopotamia.' This was in the latter half of the 4th (10th) century, and Yākūt in the 7th (13th) century apparently refers to it as still existing. Many of these places are also mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd, in describing the march of Tîmûr from Bihbahân to Shîrāz'.

In this mountain region of Fârs, known later as the Jabal Jilûyah, the five Kurdish tribes, called collectively the Zamm-al-Akrâd, had in the 4th (10th) century their pastures and camping grounds. Mukaddasî speaks of a castle in the mountain near here that belonged to them, standing in a wide district with many gardens stocked with fruit trees and date palms.

The city of Kazirûn, from the latter half of the 4th (10th) century when Shapûr fell to ruin, became the most important town of the Shapûr district. Ibn Hawkal describes it as in his time smaller than Nawbandajân, but well-built, the houses being of stone set in mortar. Mukaddasî, a little later, refers to it as 'the Damietta of Persia,' already commercia'ly important as the centre of the linen trade, and 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid had recently built in the town a great house (Dâr) for the merchants, the rooms in which produced a yearly rent of 10,000 dirhams (£400). The houses of the town, Mukaddasî tells us, were all like palaces, each with a garden; the mosque crowned a hillock. According to Mustawfî Kazirûn had originally consisted of three neighbouring villages, named Nûrd, Darbast, and Râhshân, built on the water conduits of these names, which, it is stated, were still preserved in the town quarters. The dates of Kazirûn were

¹ The spelling of the names varies greatly. Khawrawadhan is contracted to Khubdhan, also written Khwabdhan, Khabadhan and Khavdan, or Khavaran in 'Alt of Yazd. Darkhld is also written Darkhuwid, but Dakhunad (as given by Mukaddasi) is probably only a clerical error. Ist. 110, 120. Muk. 435, 440. F. N. 76 a, b, 79 a, 80 b. Mst. 176, 218. Yak. i. 905; ii. 487; iii. 838. Ibn-al-Athir, viii. 122, 202. A. Y. i. 600.

² Ist. 98, 113. Muk. 435. Yak. ii. 821. Mst. 176, 206. Zamm means in Kurdish 'a tribe' (more correctly written Zûmak), and by mistake the word has often been given as Ramm. See the translation by Prof. De Goeje of Ibn Khurdådbih, p. 33, footnote.

excellent, especially of a kind called Jilân, and a cotton stuff, known as Kirbâs, was exported largely. The neighbouring pastures, called Marghzar Narkis, 'the narcissus meads,' were famous. The district round Kâzirûn was known as the Shûl country, according to Ibn Bathtah, who passed through here in the year 730 (1330), and at the present day this region is called Shulistan. In the plain, a short distance to the east of the city, lies the Kâzirûn lake, which in the 4th (10th) century was known as the Buhayrah Mûz, or Mûrak (for the reading of the name is uncertain). It was 10 leagues in length, very salt, and contained much fish. The two famous passes on the road above the lake going up to Shiraz, which are now known to travellers as the Old Woman's Pass and the Maiden's Pass (Kutâl Pîr-i-Zan, and Kutâl-i-Dukhtar), are named by Mustawfi, the Hûshang Pass, which lies three leagues from Kâzirûn, and the Mâlân Pass, which is above it and is likewise very steep'.

The roads down to the coast from Kâzirûn lead by Darîz to Kumârij, and thence by Khisht on the Shâpûr river to Tawwaj, which has been described in the previous chapter (p. 259). Darîz was a small town, and already in the 4th (10th) century famous for its linen weavers; Khisht, lying beyond it, had a strong castle, according to Mukaddasî, and was surrounded by broad lands. The Fârs Nâmah mentions Khisht and Kumârij together, and Mustawfî gives the people of both places a bad character as being inveterate robbers.

A short distance below Khisht the river Shapur received on its left bank the waters of the Jirrah river, which was known as the Nahr Jarshik to the Arab geographers, and the latter, a few miles before it fell into the Shapur river, was joined on its left bank by the tributary stream called by them the Nahr Ikhshin. The Ikhshin river took its rise among the valleys of the Dadhin country, and according to Istakhri, its waters, which were sweet and drinkable, had the property of dyeing to a green colour any cloth that was steeped therein. The Jarshik river rose in the

¹ Ist. 122. I. H. 197. Muk. 433. Mst. 176, 180, 200, 226. Of the three town quarters of Kâzîrûn variants in the MSS, are Nûr, Darîst, and Rahibân or Rahiyân. I. B. ii. 89. The Fârz Nâmah (f. 80b) writes the name of the lake Mâr very clearly. It is sometimes called Daryachih Shûr, 'the Salt Lake.'

hills to the south of Jirrah, in the Masaram country (which according to Mustawfi was a district stretching from this river to as far north as the head-waters of the Sakkan river), and before reaching the town of Jirrah it was crossed by an ancient stone bridge called the Kantarah Sabûk. The river next watered part of the Dådhin district, and finally, after receiving the Ikhshîn river, fell into the Shapûr river some distance above Tawwaj. The Fars Namah and Mustawff state that the country at the head-waters of the Jirrah river, near the town of Jirrah, formed part of the Ghundîjân district, and this gives a clue to the position of Dasht Barin, which, as we have seen on a previous page, belonged to the Ardashir Khurrah district. The city of Jirrah is described by Mukaddasi as crowning a hilltop, and possessing many palm gardens. Yakût states that the common people in his day pronounced the name Girrah, which is confirmed by the Firs Namah and Mustawfi; they also refer to its corn crops and dates, for all the lands round the city were extremely fertile1.

The Arrajân district is the westernmost of the five Kûrahs of Fârs, and Arrajân, its chief town, lay at its westernmost border, on the Tâb river, which on this side forms the boundary between Fârs and Khûzistân. The ruins of Arrajân lie a few miles to the north of the present town of Bihbahân, which has taken its population and become the chief town of the district since the close of the 6th (12th) century.

In the 4th (10th) century Arrajân was a fine town, surrounded by date-gardens and olive-groves. It had six gates, which were by order closed at night, and were named, respectively, the Ahwâz, Rîshahr, and Shîrâz gates, then the gate of Ar-Ruṣâfah, the gate of the Maydân (or Square), and lastly Bâb-al-Kayyâlîn or the 'Gate of the Weighers.' The mosque and market streets were magnificent. Soap was largely manufactured in the town. Near Arrajân, and crossing the Tâb river on the high roads into Khûzistân, were two famous bridges, the remains of which still exist. One was said to have been built by a certain Daylamite physician of Hajjâj, governor of 'Irâk under the Omayyad

¹ Ist. 120, 127, 152. Muk. 433, 434, 435. F. N. 75 b, 76 a, 79 b. Mst. 176, 177, 218, 219. Yak. ii. 36, 67.

Caliphs, and is described by Iṣṭakhrī as having but a single arch, 80 paces across in the span, and sufficiently high for a man, mounted on a camel and bearing a banner, to pass freely under the key-stone. This bridge, which was known as the Kanṭarah Thakān, stood a bow-shot from the city of Arrajān on the road to Sanbīl. The second stone bridge was more than 3000 ells in length, and dated from the times of the Sassanian kings, being known as the Kanṭarah-al Kisrawiyah or 'the Bridge of the Chosroes.' It was on the road leading to the village of Dahlizān. In a hill near Arrajān, according to Kazvini, was a cave whence bitumen (Māmiyā) was taken from a spring, and this was celebrated all the world over for its medicinal properties, while in the town of Arrajān itself a fathomless well called the Bir Ṣāhik existed, the water of which was never known to fail, even in the driest summer season.

Mustawfi, in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century, states that Arrajan was then called Arkhan or Arghan by the common people, and at the end of this century 'All of Yazd refers to the river Tâb as the Âb-i-Arghûn. Arrajân had suffered much, according to Mustawfi, on its capture in the 7th (13th) century by the Ismailian heretics (the Assassins, subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain), and the town had never recovered its former prosperity. There had been Ismailian strongholds on the hill-tops in the neighbourhood, one called Kal'ah Tighûr, and another Diz Kilât, and the garrisons of these places had frequently plundered the city and its districts. By the latter half of the 8th (14th) century, Arrajan had fallen completely to ruin, and it was replaced shortly after this by the town of Bihbahan, situated some half-dozen miles lower down the Tab river. Bihbahan, the name of which occurs in none of the Arab geographers, is first mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd, in his description of the march of Timûr from Ahwâz to Shîrâz in the spring of 795 (1393), and from this date onward Bihbahân has been the chief town of the region formerly known as the district of Arrajan'.

¹ Ist. 128, 134, 152. I. R. 189. I. K. 43. Muk. 425. Kaz. ii. 94, 160. Mst. 177, 178. A. Y. i. 600. In his Mirdt-al-Buldan (Tihrān lithograph, A.H. 1294, vol. 1. p. 306) the Ṣanl'-ad-Dawlah says that Bihbahān was first settled by the Kühgilü nomads, by order of Tīmūr, these having migrated from

The river Tab of the Arab geographers is now known as the Jarâhîyah, Jarâhî, or Kurdistân river, for by some confusion the name of Tab has, at the present day, been transferred to the Khayrabad affluents of the Hindiyan or Zuhrah river, a different stream which flows out to the Persian Gulf at Hindiyan. The Tâb river of the middle-ages had its source, if we may accept the combined authority of Istakhri and Mukaddasi, in the mountains to the south-west of Isfahan, at Al-Buri over against Sumayram in the Istakhr district. Thence coming down to the district called As-Sardan, in Khûzistân, the Tâb was joined on its left bank by the river Masin, the village of Masin lying near the point of junction, and the combined streams flowed on to Arrajan. Below this city the Tab watered the Rishahr district, and then curving round abruptly to the south reached the sea to the west of Mahruban. The Masin river above-mentioned also rose in the mountains near Sumayram, and flowed past a place called Sishat, according to the Fars Namah and Mustawii, before it joined the Tab. It is said to have been 40 leagues in length, and was a sufficiently broad river not to be easily fordable. Near the upper course of the Tab was the district of Bilad Shapur, or Balâ Sâbûr, of which the chief town was called Jûmah, which stood on the frontier between Fars and Khûzistân. The district had been very fertile, but when Mustawsi wrote the lands had already gone out of cultivation. Along the course of the Tab river, according to the Fars Namah, was also the region called Kûrah Kubâd Khurrah, but all earlier authorities give this as the name of the district round Kārzín, as has been already described on p. 2541.

Kûfah. For the ruins of Arrajan, and of the two bridges now known as the Pul-i-Bigam and the Pul-i-Dukhtar (the Lady's and the Maiden's bridge), see De Bode, Luristan, i. 295, 297. The name of the first bridge is often given as Kantarah Rakán or Takán in the MSS. Ibn Hawkal (p. 170) further mentions a wooden bridge as crossing the Tâb river, passing at a height of ten ells above the the water level.

Ist. 119. Muk. 24, 425. F. N. 77 b. 78 a, 79 a. Mst. 176, 177, 218. The Arab geographers evidently confounded the upper course of the Arrajân river (the Tâb) and its affluent (the Masin) with the streams which we know to be the upper branches of the Kârûn. It is to be further noted that the Arrajân river, in its lower course near the Persian Gulf, has evidently changed its

Below Arrajân the Tab river, as already said, curved round the Rishahr district (not to be confounded with Rishahr of Bushire mentioned above, p. 261); and here, besides the town of Rishahr, lying half-way between Arrajan and Mahruban, there was a town called Daryan (otherwise Dayrjan or Darjan) which in the 4th (10th) century had fine markets and lay in a fertile district. Rishahr continued to be an important place in Saljûk times, and the Fars Namah speaks of its castle, and states that ships were built here. According to Mustawfi the Persians called the place Barbiyan, and the original name, he says, had been Risahr. Linen stuffs were manufactured here, and the population traded largely with the Gulf ports. The summer heat was terrific, and people went up to Diz Kilât, one league away, which as just mentioned had formerly been a castle of the Ismailians. Near Rîshahr was Hindîjân, a small town and district on the lower course of the Arrajan river, and Mukaddasi relates that this Hindîjân or Hinduwân town was a great market for sea fish and possessed a fine mosque. In the Hindijan district were the remains of fire-temples, and some waterwheels of ancient construction. Further, there were supposed to be hidden treasures, 'as in Egypt,' and Kazvini speaks of a well, from which arose a poisonous vapour, so that birds flying above fell dead into it. Lastly, at Habs, a town in this district on the road to Shîrâz, there had been a toll-house in Saljuk times'.

Jallådgån, otherwise pronounced Jallådjån, was a neighbouring district lying between the lower courses of the rivers 'J'âb and Shîrîn. The river Shîrîn—'the Sweet Water'—rose in the hills called Jabal Dînâr of the Bâzranj or Bâzrang district, and passed through the district of Furzuk, lying four leagues south-east of Arrajân. According to 'Alî of Yazd, Tîmûr, marching from

bed since the 4th (10th) century. Mukaddasi speaks of it as debouching near Slniz, but this is possibly only a clerical error for 'near the Tustar' river, in other words the estuary of the Dujayl.

¹ lst. 112, 113, 119, 121. Muk. 422, 426, 453. F. N. 78 a, b. Mst. 177, 178. Yak. iv. 963, 993. Kaz. ii. 186. Hindljån, Hinduwån, and Hindlyån appear to be all intended for the same place. For Habs the Mss. give Khabs, Jls. Jins and every possible variation; it was a post-stage, as mentioned in the Itineraries.

Bihbahan to Shiraz, crossed the Shirin river on the day after leaving Bihbahân; four days later he reached the Khâvdân river (already noticed, p. 265, under the name of Khûbdhân), and thence marched to Nawbanjan. We have seen that the Khubdhân river was a tributary of the Shîrîn, and this last appears to be identical with the stream now known in its upper course as the Khayrabad river (with many affluents), and lower down as the Zuhrah river, which is the river marked on modern maps as the Tâb, or Hindiyân. On one of the tributaries of the river Shîrîn was situated Gunbadh Mallaghân, an important place lying on the road from Nawbanjan to Arrajan which is now called Dù Gunbadan, 'the Two Domes,' and still shows extensive ruins. Of this neighbourhood were the Dinar hills, and the district of Bazrang already mentioned; also Şarâm, where the climate in winter was extremely cold, and the mountain summits near by never entirely free from snow even in summer. The town of Gunbadh Mallaghân, however, was of the hot region, and famous for its date palms. The name is also spelt Gunbad Mallajân or Malakân, and Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century speaks of the village here as in ruins. According to the Fars Nămah in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century the small town here was protected by a castle, in which rations of corn, to last the garrison for three or four years, were kept in store. Many other like castles crowned the adjacent hills, among the rest one named Kal'ah Khing being especially mentioned. Mustawfi states that the neighbouring district was known as Pûl Bûlû (some MSS. give Pal Lala) and was very fertile, producing famous apricots; and he declares the castle of Gunbad Mallaghân was so strong that one man might hold it against an army1.

Not far from the mouth of the river Shîrîn—which, as already said, is the modern Tâb or Zuhrah river—lay the port of Mahrubân, close to the western frontier of Fârs, and this was the first harbour reached by ships bound to India after leaving Baṣrah and the

¹ Ist. 111, 112, 113, 119, 120. Muk. 435. F. N. 76 b, 77 a, 78 b, 79 a, 83 b, 85 b. Mst. 176, 177, 178, 179, 218. Vak. iii. 5; iv. 630. A. V. i. 600. Hz. 31 b. De Bode, Luristan, i. 258. To the north of Dū Gunbadân is the eastle now known as Kal'ah Arū; possibly this is the place named Khing in the Fdrs Nāmah.

Tigris estuary. Mahruban was accounted the port of Arrajan, and in the 4th (10th) century was very populous, and had a fine mosque and good markets. According to Mustawfi the Persians called it Mâyruyân, or Mahruyân; linen was made here, and dates were exported, but the shipping was always the chief source of income. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw touched at Mahrubān in 443 (1052), and describes the town as lying along the sea-shore on the eastern side of the bay. The markets were excellent, and the mosque bore the name of Ya'kûb, son of Layth the Saffarid. Water was stored in cisterns, there were three great caravanserais for travellers who landed here for Arrajan, and the commerce of the place was considerable. The next port down the Gulf, east of Mahrubán, was Sînîz or Shînîz, whose ruins lie on the creek now called Bandar Daylam. Istakhri describes the place as larger than Mahruban in the 4th (10th) century. There was a small bay (Khawr), and the town lay half a league from the open sea; the climate here was very hot, and date palms grew abundantly. Mukaddasi speaks of the mosque and the palace of the governor, and of the markets as being well provided with wares. According to Yâkût, Sînîz was half ruined by the Carmathians, who sacked the port in 321 (933). The Fars Namah however, and Mustawst, in the 6th and 8th (12th and 14th) centuries, speak of it still as a flourishing place, where flax was grown and much linen made. The port was defended by a fortress (Hisar), and the oil for lamps that came from its district was exported far and wide1.

South of Sînîz was Jannâbah (or Jannâbâ), the ruins of which still exist, lying near the mouth of the river which the Arab geographers called the Nahr-ash-Shâdhkân. Jannâbah according to Iṣṭakhrī was extremely hot, and its creek (Khawr) was not a safe anchorage. The town was larger than Mahrubân and had excellent markets; further, it was celebrated as the birth-place of Abu Tāhir the Carmathian. The Persians called the place Ganfah, or Āb-i-Gandah, from its 'foul water,' and four neighbouring villages lying on the sea-coast were counted as of its

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¹ Ist. 34, 128. Muk. 426. N. K. 90. Yak, i. 502; iii. 221. F. N. 78 6, 79 a. Mst. 178.

dependencies. The river Shâdhkân rose in the Bâzrang district, and, passing through the Dastakân plain, flowed thence out to the sea. Which stream on the present map it corresponds with is not quite clear, but it must undoubtedly be one of the two short rivers which enter the Persian Gulf near Jannâbah. In point of fact, however, no large stream now exists here, though Mustawfi especially states that this was a 'large river and not easily fordable, being nine leagues in length'; he therefore had in mind a stream of some considerable size'.

¹ Ist. 32, 34, 119, 128. Muk. 426. F. N. 78 b. Mst. 178, 218.

CHAPTER XIX.

FÂRS (continued).

The Istakhr district, and Istakhr city or Persepolis. Rivers Kur and Pulvår. Lake Bakhtigån and the cities round it. The Marvdasht plain. Baydå and Måyin. Kûshk-i-Zard. Sarmak and Yazdikhwäst. The three roads from Shlråz to Isfahân. Abarkûh. Yazd city, district and towns. The Rûdhân district and its towns. Shahr-i-Bâbak and Harât.

The Kûrah or district of Iṣṭakhr occupied the whole of the northern part of Fârs, and this, as already said, in the middle-ages included Yazd, with the neighbouring towns and lands lying along the border of the Great Desert. The capital of the district was Iṣṭakhr, as the Arabs named the Sassanian town which the Greeks had called Persepolis.

The city of Istakhr lay on the river Pulvar, a few miles above its junction with the Kur river, and some distance to the westward of the remains of the great Achæmenian platform and palaces. At the time of the Moslem conquest Istakhr was one of the largest, if not the most important of the Sassanian cities of Fars, and it was taken by capitulation. In the 4th (10th) century, Ibn Hawkal describes the town as a mile broad, and as having formerly been surrounded by a wall which, he says, had recently been destroyed. At the city gate, crossing the river, was the Khurasan bridge (why so called is not stated), a very fine structure, and the houses stretched far beyond this into the country, being surrounded by gardens which produced rice and pomegranates. The other Arab geographers add nothing to this account, and the Moslem writers give no information of interest about the celebrated Achaemenian buildings and tombs, which they generally ascribe to Jamshid and King Solomon. Mustawff states that the

ruin of Iştakhr (and hardly any trace of the Moslem city now remains) was due to the turbulent outbreaks of its inhabitants. Finally in the latter half of the 4th (10th) century Şamşâm-ad-Dawlah, son of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, was forced to send an army against Iṣṭakhr under the Amîr Kutlumish; as a result the town was laid in ruins, and from that time onward Iṣṭakhr was reduced to the size of a village, containing perhaps a hundred men, as described in the Färs Nämah at the beginning of the 6th (12th) century.

On the hills to the north-west of the city were three great fortresses, known as the Castle of Istakhr Yâr, 'the Friend of Istakhr,' the Kal'ah Shikastah, 'the Broken Castle,' and the Castle of Shankavân. Collectively these castles were called Sih Gunbadhân, 'the Three Domes'; and from a deep gorge in the mountains, where a dam had been built, water was brought to the first of these castles, in which 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid had constructed great tanks, carefully roofed over on twenty columns, so as to be capable of supplying the needs of a thousand men during a year's siege. There was here an exercising-ground, or Maydân, on the hill-top, which had also been planned and constructed by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah'.

The Pulvâr river—which the Arab geographers call the Furwâb, and which in Persian is written Purvâb—rises to the north of Ûjân or Uzjân at Furvâb village in Jawbarkân. Flowing at first eastward, it turns to the south-west above Pasargadæ at the tomb of Cyrus, which the Moslems call the Shrine of the Mother of King Solomon (Mashhad-i-Mâdar-i-Sulaymân), and, running through the Iṣṭakhr gorge, passes this city and enters the plain of Marvdasht, where it falls into the river Kur a short distance above the great dam called Band-i-Amîr. The river Kur rises in the district of Kurvân, a little to the south of Ûjân, and not far therefore from the source of the Pulvâr river, but it takes at first the opposite direction. Flowing towards the north-west it makes a great circular sweep, passing under the Shahriyâr bridge, on the summer road

¹ Baladhuri, 388. I. H. 194. Muk. 435. F. N. 67 b, 81 b, 83 a. Mst. 173, 174, 178, 179. Hfz. 85 b. The ruins of the three castles still exist, and one of them was visited by J. Morier, Second Journey through Persia (London, 1818), pp. 83, 86. De Bode, Luristan, i. 117.

from Shîrâz to Isfahân, which stands in the Ûrd district. Passing southward the Kur next flows near the villages of Kûrad and Kallâr, turning then to the south-east, when it receives an affluent from the Sha'b Bavvân valley (see above, p. 264), and traverses in turn the districts of Râmjird and Kâmfîrûz. Passing into the Marvdasht plain it here receives on its left bank the Pulvâr river, then waters the districts of Upper and Lower Kirbâl, and flowing near the large village of Khurramah falls into Lake Bakhtigân, between the Jafûz district to the south, and the Kâskân district on the left bank.

The Fars Namah, and other Persian authorities, state that the Kur was known in its upper reach as the Rûd 'Asî, 'the Rebel River,' because till it was hemmed back by a dam (band) its waters could not be used for purposes of irrigation. The first of these dams on the Kur was called the Band-i-Mujarrad, 'the Bare Dyke.' This was of very ancient construction, and having fallen to decay had been restored by the Atabeg Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Châûlî in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century, after whom the dyke was called the Fakhristan, a name it still bore in the time of Hafiz Abrû. Below the junction of the Pulvar the Kur was dammed back by the celebrated Band-i-Amir' or Band-i-'Adudi, part of the works being also known as the Sikr (Weir) of Fana Khusraw Khurrah. All these names came from 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who had constructed this dam to water the district of Upper Kirbal. According to the contemporary account of Mukaddasi, this dam was 'one of the wonders of Fars.' The foundations of the dam were laid in masonry, with lead joints, and it threw back the waters of the Kur river, forming an extensive reservoir. Along this 'Adud-ad-Dawlah had erected ten great waterwheels, which raised the water to a still higher level, thus to irrigate 300 villages, and at each waterwheel was a mill for grinding corn. Soon afterwards a great town was founded near the dam. The lowest of the dams upon the Kur river was called the Band-i-Kassår-' the Fuller's Dam'-and served to raise the waters to irrigate the district of Lower Kirbal. This dam was an ancient structure, but having fallen to ruin in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century it was repaired by the Atabeg Chaulf

¹ Hence 'Bendemeer's stream' of Moore's Lallah Rookh.

aforesaid, who also effected a much needed restoration of the Band-i-Amîr'.

The great lake of Bakhtigan into which the Kur flows, though at the present day surrounded by desert lands, was in the middleages bordered by many villages and towns situated in richly cultivated territories. The waters of the lake form two great bays, of which the southern one in medieval times was known as Bakhtigan, the northern part of the lake being called the Buhayrah Bâsafûyah or Jûbânân. The waters were salt, and abounded in fish, which supplied the Shîrâz market, and the lake shore was covered with reeds that, when cut, served as fuel. The Jafüz district was at the western end of the lake, with the town of Khurramah (still existing as an important village) lying 14 leagues distant from Shîrâz, on the road to Kirmân which went along the southern shore of Bakhtigan. Mukaddasi speaks of Khurramah in the 4th (10th) century as a town with broad lands and a castle crowning a hill-top; this last was very strong and well built, according to Mustawfi writing in Mongol times, and the Fars Namah refers to its cisterns*.

The south-eastern end of Lake Bakhtigân was of the Dârâbjird district, and here lay Khayrah and Nîrîz, which will be spoken of in the next chapter. Near the eastern end, in what is now a waterless desert, stood in the 4th (10th) century the two important towns of Great and Little Şâhak or Şâhik, a name which the Persians wrote Châhik (meaning 'a small pit' or 'well'). At Great Şâhik the two roads—one along the north side of Bakhtigân lake, from Iṣṭakhr: the other by the southern shore, from Shîrâz—came together, and from Great Şâhik one single road went on to Kirmân. Mukaddasî describes Great Şâhik as a small town, famed for its calligraphists, who wrote fine copies of the Kurân. In the neighbourhood, according to Mustawfi, were steel and iron mines, and the Fârs Nâmah speaks of the excellent swords made here.

On the road from Great Sahik to Istakhr, and lying on the

¹ Ist. 121. Muk. 444. F. N. 79 b. Mst. 216, 218. Hfz. 32 a. Vak.

² Ist. 122, 135. Muk. 437. F. N. 80 a, 82 b, 87 b. Mst. 174, 179, 225, 226.

northern shore of that part of Lake Bakhtigan which was called Bâsafûyah or Jûbânân, were two towns of importance during the middle-ages, all traces of which seem to have disappeared from the map. The easternmost, lying six or eight leagues from Great Sáhik, was the city of Bûdanjân, known as Kariyat-al-Âs, 'the Myrtle Village,' which Mustawfl gives under the Persian form of Dih Mard. The country round produced plentiful corn crops, and the myrtle, after which the town was called, flourished here. To the westward of Kariyat-al-As, and six or seven leagues further on the road towards Istakhr, was Kariyat 'Abd-ar-Rahman, otherwise called Abadah, a city standing in the district of Barm. The town possessed fine houses and palaces, and Kazvini relates that the water in its wells was intermittent, sometimes rising up and overflowing the surface of the ground, and at other times being so deep down in the pits as almost to disappear from view. In Saljūk times Abādah had a strong castle, with engines of war, and great water cisterns1.

The broad plain of Marvdasht is traversed by the lower reaches of the Kur river after it has received the waters of the Pulvår; it is overlooked from the north by Istakhr with its three castles, and was divided further into various districts. Lower and Upper Kirbâl lay near the western end of the Bakhtigân lake; Hafrak and Kali came higher up the Kur river, and the meadow lands of Kålî bordered the banks of the Pulvår. In the Hafrak district (spelt Habrak in the older MSS.) was the strong castle of Khuvar, near the village of the same name. The place is mentioned by Istakhri, and several times in the Fars Namah, where its position is given as half-way between the 'Adudi dam on the Kur, and Abâdah on Lake Bakhtigan, being to leagues from either place. Khuyar is referred to also twice by Yakut, who, however, evidently did not know its position. Its water was taken from wells, and the fortifications of the castle were very strong. The plain of Marydasht was famous for its corn lands, being well irrigated from the dams on the Kur. According to

¹ I. K. 48, 53. Kud. 195. Ist. 101, 131. Muk. 437. F. N. 66 a, 68 a, b, 83 a. Mst. 175, 179. Kaz. ii. 160. Besides the city of Abadah (or Abadhah) there was the village of the same name, on the road from Iştakhr to Isfahân, which will be mentioned later.

the Färs Nāmah it took its name from the hamlet of Marv, which originally had been one of the quarters of Istakhr city, where later were the gardens of Jamshîd, below the Achæmenian ruins.

Above Marvdasht came the Kâmfîrûz district, for the most part on the right bank of the Kur, of which the chief town was, and is, Bayda. Al-Bayda means in Arabic 'the White' (town); and this is one of the few instances in which an Arabic name has been adopted by the Persians (who pronounced it Bayså), and kept in use down to the present day. Bayda was so called because it 'glistened from afar,' and Ibn Hawkal adds that its name among the Persians had been Nasatak, meaning, according to Yakût, Dar-i-Isfid or 'White Palace.' Part of the Moslem army had camped here, when besieging Iştakhr city; and Bayda was as large a place as this last in the 4th (10th) century, Mukaddasî referring to it as a fine town, with a large mosque, and a much-visited shrine. The pasture lands around it were famous, and the light-coloured soil made the city stand out 'glistening white' among its green corn-lands. The Kâmfîrûz district comprised many villages, which Istakhri names, and its oak (Balût) forests were in his day haunted by fierce lions, which were the terror of the cattle on its pasture lands.

North and east of the Kāmfirūz district was the district of Rāmjird, of which the chief city was Māyin. Half-way between Shīrāz and this place was the town called Hazār or Āzār Sābūr, otherwise Naysābūr, which is often mentioned in the 4th (10th) century. Mukaddasi describes it as a small town, possessing broad lands, irrigated by underground channels; and it was the first stage out from Shīrāz going to Māyin, on the summer or mountain road from Shīrāz to Isfahān. Māyin, the capital of Rāmjird, is described by Mukaddasi as a populous city with fruitful lands. Mustawft reports that under the Mongol dynasty its revenues amounted to 52,500 dīnārs (about £17,500 in the Îl-Khānid currency). There was in the town a famous shrine of a certain Shaykh Gul Andām; and at the foot of the pass, on the road north, was the Mashhad of Ismāil, son of the seventh Imām Mūsā-al-Kāzim. The district of Rāmjird owed its great productiveness to the irrigation canals

¹ Ist. 104. F. N. 66 b, 67 b, 83 a, 84 b, 86 a, b. Mst. 174, 175, 179, 180. Yak. i. 199; ii. 480.

taken from above the dam on the Kur at Band-i-Mujarrad, which, as already stated, the Atabeg Châûli had restored. In Râmjird also was the castle called Sa'idâbâd, crowning the summit of a steep hill, the road up being one league in length. In old days it was called Isfîdbâdh (the White Place), and in the times of the Omayyad Caliphs it had frequently been held against their armies by rebel chieftains. Finally Ya'kûb, son of Layth the Ṣaffārid, at the close of the 3rd (9th) century took possession of it, and, after strengthening the fortifications, used it as a state prison 'for those who opposed him.' The name Isfîdbâdh is possibly a misreading, being sometimes written Isfandyâr, and it is apparently identical with the Isfîdân of the Fârs Nâmah and Mustawfî, near which was the village of Kumistân, with a great cavern in the adjacent hill'.

Near the left bank of the Kur river, not far from Mâyin, stood the town and eastle of Abraj (often miswritten Iraj), which is mentioned by Iṣṭakhri as of this district, and the place is still to be found on the map. The Fârs Nâmah and Mustawfi describe Abraj as a large village at the foot of a mountain, on whose slope its houses were partly built. Its castle, the Diz Abraj, was in part fortified by art, part being already impregnable by the precipices of the hill summit on which it stood; it had gardens too, and was well supplied with water. The town of Ûjân, or Uzjân, which lies one march north of Mâyin, is mentioned by Mustawfi, but no details are given. Ûjân is probably identical with the place named Ḥūsgân (for Ḥūsjān) by Kudâmah, where the name is printed in error Khūskân, and in the text of Mukaddasī, again, it is misprinted Ḥarskân.

Kud. 196. Ist. 111, 117, 126, 132. I. H. 197. Muk. 432, 437, 458-F. N. 66 a, 68 a, 81 b. Mst. 174, 175, 180. Yak. ii. 561; iii. 93, 838. The fortress of Sa'ldåbåd is probably the modern Mansûrâbåd, as described by H. Schindler, P. R. G. S. 1891, p. 290.

² Kud. 196. Ist. 102, 136. Muk. 457, 458. F. N. 66 b, 83 a. Mst. 174, 179. Abraj, as given in the Fârs Nămah, is undoubtedly the true pronunciation, Îraj (as printed in the texts of Istakhri and Mukaddasl) being due to a clerical error in the MSS., and this has been adopted by Yākût (i. 419). The old castle exists above Abraj, and is now known as Ishkanvân, which recalls the name of Shankavân mentioned above (p. 276) as one of the three castles of Istakhr. See Schindler, P. R. G. S. 1891, p. 290.

The most direct road from Shîrâz to Isfahân went by way of Mâyin, and thence by Kûshk-i-Zard through Dîh Girdû and Yazdikhwast to Kumishah on the frontier of Fars. From Mayin the road went up the pass, going north to the crossing of the Kur river at the Shahriyar bridge, near which was the guard-house of Salâh-ad-Dîn in the plain called Dasht Rûn or Dasht Rûm. North of this, again, according to Mustawfi, came the Mother and Daughter Pass (Garivah-i-Mādar-wa-Dukhtar), and then Kûshk-i-Zard, 'the Yellow Kiosque,' which is probably identical with the Kaşr Ayin, or A'in, of İstakhri and Mukaddasi. The plains of greater and lesser Dasht Rûn were famous as pasture grounds, and the arable lands gave four crops a year, these being watered by the Kur river and its affluents. Kushk-i-Zard is first mentioned in the Färs Namah, where the name is more generally written Kushk-i-Zar, or 'the Golden Kiosque.' To the north again, between Kûshk-i-Zard and Dîh Girdû, stretched the even more fertile pasture lands of the Urd or Avard district, the chief towns of which, according to Iştakhrî, were Bajjah and Taymaristân (written Taymarjân in the Fars Namah). Mustawfi mentions Dih Girdu, and it appears in the Fars Namah as Dih Gawz (for Jawz), both names signifying 'Nut Village.' The earlier Arab geographers do not mention this name (which is Persian in the forms given above), but by its position in the Itineraries, modern Dth Girdû must be equivalent to Istakhrån of Kudâmah and Istakhrî,

Along the eastern borders of the Dasht Urd plain lie Iklid. Sarmak, and Abâdah village, then Shûristân and Sarvistân village, half-way between Dîh Girdû and Yazdikhwâst. Iklîd had a fine castle according to the Fârs Nâmah, and like Sarmak was famous for its corn lands. The name of Sarmak is spelt Jarmak by Mukaddasî; it was a well-built town surrounded by trees, among which those bearing the yellow plum were notable, this fruit being dried and largely exported to other places. The village of Abâdah, a stage on the present post-road from Shîrâz to Isfahân, is first mentioned in the Fârs Nâmah, and later by Mustawfî; the same also is to be said of Shûristân which lies on a salt river flowing east to the desert. The village of Sarvistân, Mukaddasî states, had a mosque in the 4th (10th) century, and the place was well supplied with water from the neighbouring

hills. The name of Yazdikhwâst, the town lying to the north of this, first occurs in the Fårs Nåmah, but it is doubtless the same place mentioned by Mukaddasî under the curtailed form of Azkås. Mustawfi gives Yazdikhwâst with Dîh Girdû, but adds no particulars. The name is often spelt Yazdikhâs.

Kûmishah, which Mukaddasi spells Kûmisah, was, as already said, on the northern frontier of Fars, and it was often counted as belonging to Isfahân. Mustawfi mentions the clay-built castle of Kûlanjân which defended it, and tells us that it was surrounded by fruitful districts. To the westward of Yazdikhwâst is situated the town of Sumayram near the head-waters of the Tâb river, and through it passed the western road from Shîrâz to Isfahân. Mukaddasi describes Sumayram as having a well-built mosque standing in the market street. Nuts and other fruits of the cold region abounded here, and the town was protected by a strong castle, with a plentiful spring of water within the fortifications. Yākût states that the name of this castle was Wahânzâd. The western road from Shiraz to Isfahan passed through Bayda in the Marvdasht plain, and thence went on to Mihrajanavadh (or Mîhrajânâbâd), which Mukaddasî describes as a town with broad lands, apparently lying on the banks of the river Kur, or on one of its western affluents. Between this and Sumayram the only important places were Kûrad and Kallâr (already mentioned as on the Kur), two neighbouring towns, famous according to Mukaddasi and Mustawfi for their corn lands and the fruit trees of the cold region. Istakhri refers to their well-built houses, but apparently all trace of these two places has disappeared*.

The shortest of the three roads from Shîrâz to Isfahân is that already described, by Mâyin and the Dasht Rûn plain, and this is called the Winter Road in the Fârs Nâmah. The Summer

I. K. 58. Kud. 196. lst. 103. 132. Muk. 437, 458. F. N. 656, 66a, 80b, 81a, 83a, b, 84a, b. Mst. 174, 175, 179, 200. Yak. 1. 197.
 I. B. ii. 52.

² Ist. 126. F. N. 66 a, 84 a, b. Muk. 389, 437, 457, 458. Mst. 175. Yak. iii. 151; iv. 942. It is to be remarked that while Mukaddasl (p. 458) in his itinerary refers to Kûrad and Kallâr as though these two villages stood close one beside the other, in the Fars Namah itinerary (f. 84 b) Kallâr is placed five leagues north of Kûrad.

Road was much longer, and was the easternmost of the three, going by Istakhr through Kamin and past the tomb of Cyrus to Dih Bid, where, to the right, a road branched off to Yazd. The Isfahan road continued westward through Sarmak and Abådah village to Yazdikhwäst and Kûmishah. Kamîn, not far from the eastern bank of the Pulvar river, was according to Mustawff a town of considerable importance in the 8th (14th) century, standing in a corn-producing district, and its fine pasture lands lying along the river are specially mentioned. Higher up, at the bend of the Pulvår, is Pasargadæ and the tomb of Cyrus, which, it may be remembered, the Moslems identify as the tomb of the mother of Solomon. The four-sided stone mausoleum, still to be seen here, was held to be protected by a talisman, and according to the Fars Namah anyone attempting to take up his abode within its walls suddenly became blind. The surrounding pasture lands were called the Marghzar of Kalan. Dth Bid, 'Willow Village,' the next stage north of this, where the road forked, is given by Mukaddasi and the other Arab geographers as Kariyat-al-Bidh, and to the north again, about half-way between Istakhr and Yazd, stood the city of Abarkûh.

Abarkûh or Abarkûyah-sometimes shortened to Barkûh-is said by Ibn Hawkal to have been a fortified town one-third the size of Istakhr, with great markets, and Mukaddasi refers to its fine mosque. Mustawfi says the population were all craftsmen, and the lands round produced much corn and cotton; he further adds that the climate of the city had this remarkable peculiaritythat no lew could remain alive here above forty days, hence 'among the population of Abarkûh were no Jews.' In the town itself Mustawfi describes the tomb of the famous sains called Taus-al-Haramayn, 'Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries' (Mecca and Medina); and it was an acknowledged fact that such was the saint's humility, that the shrine over his grave would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, says Mustawfi, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of idolatrous worship. In the neighbourhood of Abarkuh was the village of Maraghah (or Faraghah), where there were magnificent cypress trees, celebrated all the world over as

larger and finer than those even of Balkh, or of Kishmar in Kuhistân'.

Yazd in early times had been known as Kathah, and this name, when the town came to be called more particularly Yazd, had passed to its district, otherwise known as the Hawmah, or Jûmah (of Yazd). Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes the place as a well-built and well-fortified city, with two iron gates-Bab Izad and Bâb-al-Masjid-the latter near the mosque which stood in the extensive suburb. A small stream flowed out of the castle hill, the lands round were extremely fertile, although so near the Great Desert, and fruit was largely exported to Isfahân. In the neighbourhood a lead mine was productively worked. Kazvini and others speak of the heavy silk stuffs that were woven in Yazd, all of most beautiful patterns. Mustawfi adds that the town was built of sun-dried bricks, which here lasted as burnt bricks elsewhere, for hardly any rain ever fell, though water was plentiful, being brought in by channels from the hills, and each house had its own storage tank.

One stage to the north of Yazd was Anjîrah, 'Fig Village,' then at the second stage Khazânah (often incorrectly printed Kharânah), a large village with farms and gardens, defended by a fortress on a neighbouring hill; and at the third stage, on the desert border, lay Sâghand. This last, according to Ibn Hawkal, was a village with a population of 400 men, defended by a castle, and its lands were well irrigated by underground water channels. The three towns of Maybud, 'Ukdah, and Nâyîn lie to the northwest of Yazd, one beyond the other along the desert border, and are generally accounted dependencies of Yazd, though many authorities give Nâyîn to Isfahân. Nâyîn according to Mustawfî was defended by a castle, and the circuit of its walls was 4000 paces. Our authorities, however, give no details about any of these places, merely mentioning their names."

¹ Ist. 129. I. H. 196. Muk. 437, 457. F. N. 816, 846. Mst. 174, 175, 180, 200. J. N. 266. The phenomenon of the roofless tomb is also described by Ibn Batûtah (ii. 113) as a characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Hanbal in Baghdád, and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this curious superstition in his Muhammedanische Studien (i. 257).

² Ist. 100. I. H. 196, 294, 295. Muk. 424, 437, 493. Kaz. ii. 187. Mst. 153. Yak. iii. 694; iv. 711, 734.

About 75 miles south of Yazd, and half-way between that city and Shahr-i-Bâbak, is the town of Anâr, from which Bahrâmâbâd is 60 miles distant in a south-easterly direction, and both towns are now included in the Kirmân province. During the middleages, however, the whole of this district formed part of Fârs and was known as Ar-Rûdhân, of which the three chief towns were Abân (now Anâr), Adhkân, and Unâs (near Bahrâmâbâd)¹.

Unâs, the chief town of the district, was, according to Iṣṭakhri, of the size of Abarkûh, and Mukaddasi speaks of a fine mosque here, approached by steps from the market street, also baths, and well-irrigated gardens, though all round the town lay the sands of the desert. The fortress of Unâs was very strong, and had eight gates, which Mukaddasi enumerates, for he had visited the place. The place, too, was famous for its fullers, who lived within the town, for there were no suburbs. The Rûdhân district is said to have extended over 60 leagues square. Originally, as at the present day, it had been included in Kirmân, but in the 4th (10th) century it was added to Fârs, and according to the Fârs Nămah this arrangement continued down to the time of Alp Arslân the Saljûk, who, after conquering all these regions in the middle of the 5th (11th) century, finally re-annexed Rûdhân to Kirmân.

Between Rûdhân and Shahr-i-Bâbak is the small town of Dîh

¹ Our authorities state that Aban was 25 leagues from Fahraj (which is five leagues S.E. of Yazd); the town of Ar-Rūdhān lay 18 leagues beyond Abān, and Unās was one short march or two post-stages (Barīd) from Ar-Rūdhān. Further, Unās lay one long march and two leagues (or one Barīd) from Bīmand, which last was four leagues west of Sīrjān; and from Ar-Rūdhān to Shahr-i-Bābak was three days' march, the first march being to Kariyat-al-Jamāl, 'Camels' Village.' These distances, plotted out, show that the positions of modern Anār and Bahrāmābād respectively coincide with medieval Abān and Unās; while the town of Ar-Rūdhān, which is presumably the place elsewhere called Adhkān, must have stood between the two, near the modern village of Gulnābād. Ist. 135, 168. I. K. 48. Muk. 457, 473. Yākūt confuses the matter: he mentions (iii. 915) the town of Anār as though it were identical with Unās, which from the distances given above is impossible; Anār is here probably merely a clerical error for Unās, which in another passage (i. 367) he counts as of Kirmān.

² Ist. 100, 126. Muk. 437, 438, 462. F. N. 646. Yak. ii. 830. Anâr is still most fertile and produces a considerable surplus of grain, which is exported.

Ushturân or in Arabic Kariyat-al-Jamâl, 'Camels' Village,' where, Mukaddasi relates, there was a tall minaret to the mosque, and fine gardens lying on a stream below the town. Shahr-i-Bâbak, the city of Bâbak or Pâpak, father of Ardashîr, the first Sassanian monarch, was a town often counted as of Kirmân. The place still exists, and it is mentioned by Iştakhrî, Mukaddasî, and others, who however give us no details. Mustawsi includes it in Kirman, and says that corn, cotton, and dates grew here abundantly. Two stages west of Shahr-i-Bâbak, on the road to Istakhr, is the small town of Harât, which the Fârs Nămah couples with Şâhik (already mentioned, p. 278). Iştakhrî speaks of Harât as being, in the 4th (10th) century, larger than Abarkuh; it exported much fruit, according to Mukaddasî, chiefly apples and olives, and had excellent markets, with streets round its mosque, and a fine stream of water traversed its gardens. Harât had but one gate; and Mukaddasi names the little town of Far'a as of its neighbourhood. Writing in the 7th (13th) century Kazvînî states that the Ghubayra plant (possibly the penny-royal) grows abundantly in the gardens of Harât, and when the flowers are in bloom the women of this town were wont, he says, to become wildly excited. To the south-east of Şâhik, on the borders of the Dârâbjird district, is the town of Kutruh, still a place of some importance, where, according to the Fars Namah and Mustawfi (who spells the name Kadrů), there were excellent iron mines'.

¹ Major Sykes (*Ten thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 78) found the ruins of a fire-temple near Shahr-i-Bâbak. Ist. 102. I. H. 182. Muk. 52, 423, 424, 425, 436, 437, 455. F. N. 66 a, 68 a. Yak. j. 75, 178. Mst. 175, 182. Kaz. ii. 186. The name of Harât village is identical in spelling with Herât, the famous city of Khurāsân.

CHAPTER XX..

FARS (continued).

The Dârâbjird Kûrah or Shabânkârah district. Dârâbjird city. Darkân and Îg. Nîrîz and Işṭāhbânât. Fasâ, Rûnîz, and Khasû. Lâr and Furg. Târum. Sûrû. The trade and manufactures of Fârs. The high roads across Fârs.

The Darabjird Kurah was the easternmost of the five districts of Fårs, and it almost exactly corresponded with the province of Shabankarah, which, under the Mongol dominion, was divided off from Fars and formed a separate government. The Shabankarah according to the author of the Fars Namah (who, however, does not apply this name to the Dârâbjird district) were a tribe descended from the Fadlûyah, a family of Daylamite origin, and they had been of the Ismailian sect of the Shi'ahs. In Saljûk times they and the Kurds had waged successful war against the Atabeg Châûli, and after the decay of Saljûk power the Shabankårah took possession of the eastern region of Fårs, to which they gave their name. The Shabankarah province is mentioned by Marco Polo, under the form of Soncara, as the seventh out of the eight 'kingdoms' into which he divides Persia; the name, however, has again fallen out of use, and this territory is now known as Dárábjird'.

¹ The Book of Ser Marco Polo, Sir H. Yule, London, 1874, and ed., i. 84. Shabankarah appears in the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athfr (x. 362) spelt Ash-Shawankarah. The chiefs of the tribe who opposed Atabeg Chaull in the beginning of the 6th (13th) century were Fadluh and his brother Khasrû. This last name is probably that more correctly written Hasûyah (possibly for Hasanûyah) in the Fars Namah.

The capital of the district, under the Caliphate, was the city of Dârâbjird or Dârâbgird, which Istakhri describes as a walled town with a water-ditch, having four gates, and in the midst of the town stood a rocky hill. Mukaddasi states that the city was circular and measured a league across in every direction, its gardens were very fruitful, its markets well supplied, and water ran in channels through the town. Near Dârâbjird was the celebrated Kubbat-al-Mûmiyâ, 'the Bitumen or Naphtha Dome,' closed by an iron door and only opened once a year, when an officer of the Sultan went in and gathered in a box the twelve months' accumulation of the precious Mūmiyā, which was then sealed up and despatched to Shîrâz for the royal use. At the beginning of the 6th (12th) century, according to the Fars Namah, Darabjird city was then mostly in ruins, though there was a strong fortress in its midst. Round about extended the famous meadow lands (Marghzar) of Darabjird, and in the neighbourhood was a hill where rock salt, of seven colours, was dug out. According to Mustawfî there was a strongly fortified pass near Dârâbjird, commanded by a great castle, known as Tang-i-Zînah1.

Under the Shabankarah, the capital of the Darabjird province was removed to Darkan (or Zarkan), to the north of which stood the fortress of Ig (or Avig). The Arab geographers of the 4th (10th) century mention these, writing the names Ad-Darkan or Ad-Darakan and Ij, and Iştakhri says there was a mosque in his day in both these places. Mustawfi, who generally spells the name Zarkan, and refers to the castle as the Kal'ah Avig, says that the surrounding district was very fertile, growing cotton, corn, dates, and other fruits. According to him the castle of Avig had been first fortified in Saljūk times by the Khasūyah tribe, and Yakūt adds that fruit from here was exported even as far as to the island of Kish (Kays).

To the north-east of Îg are the town and district of Nayrîz (or Nîrîz) at the eastern end of Bakhtigân; to which lake, at times, it has given its name. Mukaddasî speaks of the Great Mosque of Nayrîz in the market street, and the ruins of this building, bearing

¹ Ist. 123, 155. Muk. 428. F. N. 68 b, 81 a, 86 b. Mst. 181. The Bitumen Dome, or one similar, is stated by Ibn-al-Fakih (p. 199) to have been near Arrajān; see p. 269.

the date 340 (951) still exist. Close to the shore of the lake stands the town of Khîr (spelt also Khayâr and Al-Khayrah), which is mentioned, from the 4th (10th) century onwards, as a stage on the road along the south side of Lake Bakhtigân going from Shîrâz to Kirmân. Mustawfî and the Fârs Nămah name the district round Khayrah Mishkânât; it was famous for its raisins (kishmish), and both Nîriz and Khayrah were protected by strong castles¹.

Half-way between Khayrah and Ig lies the town of Istahbanat, a name which the Arab geographers also spell Al-Istahbanan or sometimes Al-Isbahanat, which is shortened by the Persians into Istahban. Mustawfi describes it as a town buried in trees, with a strong castle in its vicinity. It had been laid in ruins by the Atabeg Chault, who had, however, subsequently caused it to be rebuilt; and the castle in the 8th (14th) century was occupied by the Khasuyah tribe.

The town of Fasa, pronounced Pasa by the Persians, was in the 4th (10th) century the second city of the Darabjird district, being almost of the size of Shîrâz. It was well built, much cypresswood being used in the construction of the houses, and was very healthy. The markets were excellent, there was a ditch round the town, which was further defended by a castle, and large suburbs stretched beyond the city gates. Dates, nuts, and oranges in abundance came from its gardens. Mukaddasi states that the Great Mosque, built of burnt brick and with two courts, rivalled that of Medina for splendour. The Fars Namah speaks of Fasâ as being almost of the size of Isfahân. The Shabânkârah had ruined it, but the city had been rebuilt by the Atabeg Châûlî. Mustawfi adds that anciently the city was called Sasan, and it had been built triangular in plan. Its water-supply, which was abundant, was taken from underground channels, for there were no wells. Shakk Mîskâhân and Shakk Rûdbâl (or Rûdbâr) were of its dependencies, and in the neighbourhood stood the strong castle of Khwadan, where there were great cisterns for storing water2.

Ist. 107, 108, 131, 136, 200. Muk. 423, 429, 446, 455. F. N. 686, 69a, 6.
 Mst. 181. Yak. i. 415; ii. 560. Captain Lovett, J. R. G. S. 1872, p. 203.
 Ist. 108, 127, 136. Muk. 423, 431, 448. F. N. 69a, 70a, 82b, 83a.
 Mst. 175, 179, 181. J. N. 272.

The town of Kurm lies some miles north of Fasâ, on the road to Sarvistân, and is given thus in the Itineraries. According to the Fârs Nâmah its district and that of Rûnîz (or Rûbanz) belonged to Fasâ; the latter district forming part of the Khasû territory, which Mukaddasî marks as lying one march south-west from Dârâbjird on the road to Juwaym of Abu Ahmad (see above, p. 254). The earlier geographers give the form of the name as Rûnîj (or Rûbanj), and it is probable that this town is identical with the present Khasû (or Kusû). Mustawfî speaks of Kurm and Rûnîz as two towns enjoying a warm climate with an abundant water-supply; and according to Mukaddasî the Khasû (or Khashû) territory extended far to the eastward, for besides Rûnîj it included the towns of Rustâk-ar-Rustâk, Furg, and Târum. Mustawfî counts Khasû as belonging to Dârâbjird.

Due south of Rûnîz is the small town of Yazdikhwâst, which is mentioned by Mukaddasi and Yakût as of the Darabjird dependencies, and south of this again is the city of Lar. Lar is not mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers, nor does the name occur in the Fars Namah, which dates from the beginning of the 6th (12th) century. Mustawff, in the earlier part of the 8th (14th) century, is our first authority to speak of Lâr, as the name of a district (vilâyat) by the sea, most of its population, he adds, being merchants who were given to sea voyages. Corn, cotton, and dates were grown here. His contemporary Ibn Batûtah visited Lâr city about the year 730 (1330), and describes it as a large place, with many gardens and fine markets. Under Shah Shuja' of the Muzaffarid dynasty at the close of the 8th (14th) century, and later under the Timurid princes, Lâr became a mint city, which proves it to have been in those days a place of some size and importance.

¹ I. K. 52. Ist. 108, 116, 132. Muk. 422, 423, 454, 455. F. N. 69 b. Mst. 181. The pronunciation Rübanj, adopted in the text of Mukaddasl, is apparently on the authority of Yākūt (ii. 828), who carefully spells the word letter for letter. The Mss. of the Fârs Nâmak and Mustawst almost invariably give Rūnlz (for an older form Rūnlj), which is still the name of a district in these parts. It seems probable therefore that Rūbanj, as printed in Iştakhrī and Mukaddasl, is a clerical error, and that by a shifting of the discritical points we should everywhere read Rūnlj, or Rūnlz, in the place of Rūbanz and Rūbanj.

Furg, which lies three marches south-east of Darábjird, is still a considerable town. Mukaddasi, who spells the name Furj, states that beside it lay the twin city of Burk, but the two names would appear merely to be variants of the original Persian place-name. The city called Burk stood on a hillock, 'like a camel-hump,' two leagues from the mountains; it possessed a mosque in the market street, was a fine place and an agreeable residence. Its neighbour, Furg, had a castle on a hill, was not in the 4th (10th) century a large town, but had its own mosque and many baths, water being plentiful in both cities. Very naturally the names of the two cities were often confounded, one replacing the other. The Fars Namah writes the name Purk or Purg, and says that its castle was impregnable, being built of stone and very large. Mustawfi adds that both corn and dates were grown in Burk (as he writes the name) most abundantly. Rustâk-ar-Rustâk is described by Mukaddasi as a small town with good markets, lying in the midst of a fertile district measuring four leagues across in every direction. It lies one march to the north-west of Furg, on the road to Darabiird1.

The town of Târum, also spelt Târum, like the district of this name in the Jibâl province (see above, p. 225), lies two marches east of Furg, on the road to the coast. Mukaddasî refers to its mosque, and praises the markets, gardens, and palm-trees, for a stream ran through the town. Much honey was produced here, and according to the Fârs Nâmah it was nearly the size of Furg, and had a strong castle well supplied with cisterns. From Târum the caravan road went almost due south to the coast, where lay the port of Sûrû, or Shahrû, over against the island of Hurmuz. Mustawfî names the port Tûsar, but the reading is uncertain. The Arab geographers speak of Sûrû as a village of fishermen, having no mosque, and dependent for the water-supply on wells dug in the neighbouring hills. There was, Mukaddasî adds, much trade with 'Omân across the gulf, and the place, which he speaks of as a small town, lay exactly on the Kirmân frontier'.

¹ Muk. 428, 454, note n. F. N. 69 a, 83 a. Mst. 181. Yak. ii. 560. I. B. ii. 240. The town of Burk appears to be identical with the old fort of Bahman, with a triple wall and ditch, which lies about a mile south of the present town of Furg. Stack, Persia, i. 756.

² Ist. 167. I. H. 224. F. N. 69 a. Muk. 427, 429. Mst. 181, 201.

The trade and manufactures of the province of Fårs, in the 4th (10th) century, are carefully described by both Işṭakhrì and Mukaddasî. At this time, as already stated, the chief port of Persia, on the gulf, was Sîrâf. This place distributed all imports by sea, and to it were brought rare and precious Indian goods, such as were known collectively in Arabic under the name of Barbahâr. Iṣṭakhrì gives the imports of Sìrâf as follows:—aloes-wood (for burning), amber, camphor, precious gems, bamboos, ivory, ebony, paper, sandal-wood, and all kinds of Indian perfumes, drugs, and condiments. In the town itself excellent napkins were made, also linen veils, and it was a great market for pearls.

At all times Fårs has been celebrated for the so-called attar of roses ('Atar or 'Itr in Arabic signifies 'a perfume' or 'essence'), which, of divers qualities, was more especially made from the red roses that grew in the plain round Jûr or Fîrûzâbâd. The rosewater was exported, Ibn Hawkal writes, to all parts of the world, namely, to India, China, and Khurâsân, also to Maghrib or Northwest Africa, Syria, and Egypt. Besides the essence of roses, Jûr also produced palm-flower water, and special perfumes distilled from southernwood (in Arabic kaysûm, the Artemisia abrotanum), saffron, lily, and willow flowers. The city of Shâpûr and its valley produced, according to Mukaddasî, ten different kinds of perfumed oils, or unguents, made from the violet, water-lily (Ninûfar), narcissus, palm-flower, common lily, jasmine, myrtle, sweet-marjoram, lemon, and orange flowers, and these oils were exported far and wide over the eastern world.

The carpets and embroideries of Fårs have in all times been celebrated, and in the East, where robes of honour have always been the mark of distinction, specially brocaded stuffs were manufactured for the sole use of the Sultan, on which his name or cypher was embroidered. These were known as *Taraz*, and the town of Tawwaj was famous for their manufacture, as was also Fasa, where peacock-blue and green stuffs, shot with gold thread, were embroidered for the royal use.

The remaining products of Fårs may best be grouped under the cities producing them. The looms of Shîrâz produced a variety of fine cloths for making cloaks, also gauzes and brocades,

and stuffs woven of raw silk (kazz). Jahram was famous for long carpets and woollen rugs, hangings for curtains, and small prayer-carpets, such as were carried to and from the mosque. Besides the scented oils already mentioned, Shapur exported various medicaments, as well as sugar-canes, shaddocks, nuts, olives, and other kinds of fruit, and osiers. Kāzirûn and Darîz produced linen stuffs and fine gauzes, an imitation of the Egyptian brocades known by the name of dabik, and fringed towels. Ghundijan, the capital of Dasht Barin, produced carpets, curtains, cushions, and the Taraz embroideries for the Sultan's use. Arrajân was famous for a kind of syrup, made from raisins, which was called dibs, or dûshâb. Good soap was also manufactured here, also thicker woollens and napkins, and the town was an emporium for Indian goods (Barbahâr). The neighbouring port of Mahruban exported fish, dates, and excellent water-skins. At Sînîz the special kind of gauze known as kasşâb was made, also linen stuffs, for which Jannabah was also famed.

Iştakhr manufactured stuffs for veils, while the towns of the Rûdhân district produced excellent cloth, a particular kind of sandal called *Shimshik*, water-skins, and divers condiments. Yazd and Abarkûh yielded cotton stuffs.

In Dârâbjird were manufactured all kinds of cloths, fine, medium, and coarse in texture, also embroideries, fine carpets, and matting. Jasmine-oil and perfumes and the aromatic grains found wild here were exported. The Mûmiyâ or bitumen, from Arrajân and Dârâbjird, has already been mentioned. Istakhrî describes a boneless fish, said to be excellent eating, which lived in the moat of Dârâbjird. Furg produced much the same commodities, together with dibs-syrup; and the like came from Tarum, where various kinds of water-skins were manufactured and very serviceable buckets. Fasâ was especially known for its goat-hair, and raw-silk stuffs, also carpets, rugs, towels, napkins, and silk embroidered hangings, particularly of the famous peacockblue and green colour, shot with gold thread. Cardamums and dye-stuffs came also from Fasâ, and much felt was made, the tents of this material known as khargah being largely exported. Lastly in Fars, according to Ibn Hawkal, there were silver mines at Nâyin; iron and quicksilver were found in the hills of

Istakhr, besides lead, copper, sulphur, and naphtha in divers regions. No gold-mine was known. Dye-stuffs of various kinds were common throughout Fårs, so that the land, he says, was full of dyers and their dye works.

The high roads of Fars are described in detail by a long list of authorities, both Arab and Persian, and the distances in these itineraries are generally given in leagues (farsakh). Unfortunately Ya'kûbî, one of our best authorities for the Road Books, is entirely wanting for Fars, and Ibn Rustah also for the most part fails us, but beginning with Ibn Khurdadbih and Kudamah in the 3rd (9th) century, we have Istakhri and Mukaddasi in the 4th (10th) century, and in the first years of the 6th (12th) century the roads of this province are all minutely given by the Persian author of the Fars Namah, whose description is for the geography of this period an immense gain which unfortunately is lacking to us for the rest of Persia. Mustawfi, also a Persian authority, registers in the 8th (14th) century the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and at the close of this century 'Ali of Yazd describes in detail the march of Timur from Ahwaz to Shîraz, which lay along one of the trunk roads.

In this province the roads all radiated from Shîrâz, and it will be convenient first to describe those leading down to the coast. Sîrâf, Kays island, and lastly, Hurmuz island, each in turn became the chief port of the Persian Gulf, and the high roads went down to these, just as at the present day the caravan and post road goes down to Bushire which has now succeeded to the supremacy of Hurmuz. The easternmost of the roads to the coast leads to the port over against the island of Hurmuz, whence also by coasting Hurmuz city on the mainland was reached. Both of these places will be described in Chapter XXII. Leaving Shîrâz this road went by Sarvistân and Fasâ to Dârâbjird, Furg, and Tarum, whence turning due south it struck the coast, in early times at Sûrû, or Shahrû, or, as Mustawfî calls it, Tûsar. Not far from here, in Şafavid days, the port of Bandar 'Abbâs which still exists was founded, as will be noted later. Of this road we have five separate accounts.

¹ Ist. 152-155. I. H. 213-215. Muk. 447, 443.

² I. K. 52, 53. Ist. 131, 132, 170. Muk. 154, 155. F. N. 85 a. Mst. 200.

The next road, running almost due south from Shiraz, went in early times to Sîrâf. After the ruin of this port caravans followed a branch to the south-east at a point half-way down to the coast, the new road leading to the port opposite the island of Kays, and this is the route described by Mustawfi. Mukaddasi also gives an important by-road, going south-west from Dârâbjird, on the Hurmuz route, to Sîrâf, and this cuts across the road from Shîrâz to Kays island given at a later date by Mustawfi, Starting from Shîrâz all these routes went by Kavâr to Jûr or Fîrûzâbâd. Here the older road branched to the right, going down to Sîrâf. The road given in the Fars Namah turned to the left at Fîrûzâbâd, going by Kârzîn to Lâghir, whence, through Kuran, Sîraf was reached. The route given in Mustawil leaves the city of Firûzâbâd a few leagues to the eastward, and goes down like the Fars Namah road to Laghir, where, branching south-east and to the left, it passed through Faryab and the desert to Huzû, the port opposite Kays island. Unfortunately this road from Lághir to Huzû is only found in Mustawfi, and the MSS. give most uncertain readings for the names of the various stages. Apparently, too, no modern traveller has gone by this road, so that we are at a loss for corrections, our maps being here a blank. The cross-road from Darabjird, given by Mukaddasi, goes by Juwaym of Abu Ahmad to Fâryâb or Bârâb, a stage on Mustawil's route, and then to Kuran, on the Fars Namah route, whence it led direct to Sîrāf1.

The western road to the coast followed in its upper section the present track from Shirâz to Bushire, for it passed by Kâzirûn and Darîz to Tawwaj, the important commercial town of the 4th (10th) century, and thence to the port of Jannâbah. The Fârs Nămah gives an important variant to this route, going by the Mâṣaram country to Jirrah, and thence by Ghundîjân to Tawwaj; at Ghundîjân, however, a branch turning off south went down to the port of Najiram, which lies some distance to the west of Sîrâf. Mustawfi only gives the road westwards from Shirâz as far as Kâzirûn, in his day Tawwaj was in ruins, and at that time the chief port on the Persian Gulf was Kays island.

¹ Ist. 128, 129. Muk. 454, 455. F. N. 86 a, b. Mst. 200, also v. supra, p. 257, note 1.

² Ist. 130. Muk. 453, 454, 456. F. N. 86 a. Mst. 200.

The most fully detailed of all the roads in Fårs is that going from Shîrāz, north-west, to Arrajān and Khūzistān, for we have no less than eight separate accounts of it, though they vary as to some of the stages; the last being that given by 'Alî of Yazd describing in the reverse direction the march of Tīmūr in 795 (1393) from Ahwāz through Bihbahān to Shîrāz, when, on his way, he stormed the great White Fortress of Kal'ah Safīd. Leaving Shîrāz, the high road to Khūzistān, as described in the Road Books, goes north-west by Juwaym (Goyun) to Nawbanjān, and thence through Gunbadh Mallaghān to Arrajān, whence by the great bridge over the Tāb river it reached Bustānak on the frontier of Fārs. Mukaddasī and the earlier geographers add the distances from Arrajān to the port of Mahrubān, and thence south-east along the coast to the port of Sînîz and on to Jannābah'.

From Shîrâz to Isfahân there were three separate routes in use during the middle-ages. The westernmost turned off to the right, at Juwaym, from the Arrajan road, going to Bayda in the Marvdasht plain, and thence by Kûrad and Kallâr to Sumayram and Isfahân. This route is described by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Mukaddasi. The middle route is the summer road through the hill country, which goes from Shiraz to Mayin, and thence by Kûshk-i-Zard and Dîh Girdû through Yazdikhwâst to Isfahân. This road, with some variants in the names of the stages, is given by the earlier Arab geographers and also by the later Persian authorities. The easternmost of the three roads (the winter or caravan road, through the plains) went from Shiraz north-eastward to Istakhr and thence to Dih Bid. Here a main route went off to the right going by Abarkûh to Yazd, while the road to Isfahân turned to the left, and passing through Surmak and Abadah village joined the summer road at Yazdikhwast, whence by Kumishah Isfahân was reached. This winter road, which at the present time is the usual post-road from Shîrâz to Isfahân, is given by Mukaddasî and the Fars Namah: the stages to Yazd are enumerated by nearly all our authorities".

¹ I. K. 43, 44. Kud. 195. I. R. 189, 190. Ist. 133, 134. Muk. 453, 455. F. N. 856. Mst. 201. A. Y. i. 600.

⁷ By the Western Road: I. K. 58. Muk. 457, 458. By the Summer Road of Hill Road: Kud. 196, 197. Ist. 132, 133. Muk. 458. F. N. 83 b. Mst.

The roads from Shiraz to Shahr-i-Babak and thence on to Sîrjân, one of the capitals of Kirmân, followed two routes, one to the north of Lake Bakhtigan, the other passing along the southern shore of the lake. The northern route went first from Shîrâz to Istakhr (Persepolis), and from here to Shahr-i-Bâbak we have two roads, one direct by Harât village, the other by Abâdah city to Sahik, where it joined the road along the southern shore of the lake. This last left Shîraz, going eastward by the northern side of Lake Måhalû to Khurramah, whence by the southern shore of Bakhtigan it reached Khayrah. From here the Fars Namah gives the distances of a branch road to Nîrîz and Kutruh. The main road went from Khayrah to Great Sâhik, where, as already said, it was joined by the route from Istakhr along the northern lake shore, and from Great Sâhik it crossed a desert tract, going north-east to Shahr-i-Bâbak. Both by the northern and the southern shore of Lake Bakhtigan full itineraries exist in the Arab and Persian authorities, but the names of some of the intermediate stages are uncertain, namely of villages that no longer exist at the present day, for the whole of this country has gone out of cultivation and become depopulated since the close of the middleages1.

200. By the Winter Road: Muk. 458. F. N. 84 b. By the Yand Road: I. K. 51. Ist, 129. Muk. 457. F. N. 86 b. Mst. 201.

¹ The road vid Harát: Muk. 455, 456, 457. The road vid Abâdah and north lake shore: I. K. 53. Kud. 195. Ist. 130, 131. F. N. 846. The road vid Khayrah and south lake shore: I. K. 48. Muk. 455. F. N. 85 a. Mst. 201. For the roads which centred in Sîrjân, coming up from Fârs, see the next chapter, note 1, p. 302, and Chapter XXII, p. 320.

CHAPTER XXI.

KIRMÂN.

The five districts of Kirmân. The two capitals. Sîrjân, the first capital, its position and history. Bardasîr, the second capital, now Kirmân city. Mâhân and its saint. Khabîş. Zarand and Kûhbinân, Cobinan of Marco Polo.

The province of Kirmân, as Iştakhrî writes, is for the most part of the hot region, only a quarter of the country being mountainous and producing the crops of a cold climate, for the larger part of the province belongs to the Desert, the towns lying singly, and separated one from another by broad stretches of uncultivated land, and not standing clustered in groups as was the case in Fârs. Yâkût states that under the Saljûks Kirmân had been most populous and flourishing, but already in the 7th (13th) century, when he wrote, ruin had set in, lands going out of cultivation. Finally this evil state was rendered permanent by the devastation which resulted from the invasion of Tîmûr at the close of the 8th (14th) century.

Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century divides the province of Kirmân into five Kûrahs or districts, called after their chief towns; namely (i) Bardasîr, with the sub-district of Khabis to the north; next (ii) Sîrjân, on the Fârs frontier; then (iii) Bam and (iv) Narmâsîr on the desert border to the east; and lastly (v) Jîruft to the south, running down to the sea-coast of Hurmuz. On the north and east the frontier was the Great Desert, on the south-west the sea-coast, while on the west the Kirmân frontier, round about Sîrjân, ran out 'like a sleeve' into the lands of the Fârs province, as

Iştakhrî puts it, and according to some early accounts Shahri-Bâbak was herein included as of the Kirmân province¹.

The present capital of the province is the city of Kirman, the province and its chief town being of the same name, as is so often the case in the East. During the middle-ages, however, the Kirman province had two capitals, namely Sîrjan and Bardasîr, of which the latter town is identical with the modern city of Kirman, standing near what is still known as the Bardasîr district.

Sîrjân, the older Moslem capital of Kirmân, was already the chief city under the Sassanians. The Arab geographers always write the name As-Sîrjân or Ash-Shîrajân (with the article), and though no town of the name now exists, the district of Sîrjân still occupies the western part of the Kirman province, with Sa'idabad for its chief town. The recently discovered ruins at Kal'ah-i-Sang", on a hill spur some 5 miles to the east of Sa'dabad, on the Baft road, are evidently the site of Sîrjân, the ancient capital, for they are those of a great city, and the distances given in the medieval itineraries show that these ruins exactly occupy the position of Sîrjân city; and though the modern Sîrjân district covers but a portion of the older Kurah, it has preserved for us the ancient name. After the Arab conquest Sîrjân continued to be the capital of the Moslem province until the middle of the 4th (10th) century, when all southern Persia came under the power of the Buyids. The governor they sent to Kirman was a certain Ibn Ilyas, and he for an unknown reason changed his residence to Bardasîr (the modern Kirman city), and later, with the transference of all the government offices thither from Sîrjân, this last fell to be a place of secondary importance. When Istakhri wrote, however, Sîrjân was still the largest city of Kirman. He states that there was little wood used

¹ Ist. 158, 163, 165. Muk. 460, 461. Yak. iv. 263.

² Kal'ah-i-Sang, otherwise known as Kal'ah-i-Bayda (the Stone or the White Fort), occupies a limestone hill rising some 300 feet above the plain, and egg-shaped, being about 400 yards in length. The ruins, still surrounded by a low wall of sun-dried brick, built on older foundations, were discovered and first visited by Major Sykes, in 1900, who has described them in detail, p. 431 of Ten Thousand Miles in Persia (London, 1902).

in its houses, since these were all built with vaulted roofs. Mukaddasi describes the place under the Buyid rule as larger and more populous than Shiraz. It had two chief markets, the old and the new, and both were full of goods, especially clothes and stuffs for making them, for which it was famous. The streets were well built, and most of the houses had gardens. The city was closed by eight gates (Mukaddasi cites their names, some of which however are uncertainly written in the Mss.), and near that called Bab Ḥakim, 'the Physician's Gate,' 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, had built a great palace. The Friday Mosque stood between the old and the new market, its minaret had been erected by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, and the water of the town was derived from two underground channels that had been dug in the 3rd (9th) century by 'Amr and Ţāhir, sons of Layth the Ṣaffārid.

Yakût, who states that when he wrote-7th (13th) century-Sirjan was the second city of Kirman and contained forty-five mosques, large and small, asserts that the town in his day was known under the name of Al-Kasran, 'the Two Palaces,' but he gives no explanation. The name of Sîrjan frequently occurs in the chronicles of Ibn-al-Athir and Mirkhwand, when relating the history of the Buyids and Saljuks. Mustawfi, after the Mongol conquest, described it as having a strong castle and its lands grew both cotton and corn. Sirjan afterwards passed into the possession of the Muzaffarid princes, who reigned in Fars at Shîrâz, but conquered all Kirmân from the Karakhitay dynasty at the beginning of the 8th (14th) century. In the year 789 (1387) Tîmûr marched into Fârs, appeared in force before Shîrâz, received the submission of the Muzaffarid princes, and was induced when he left Fârs to conquer Irâk, to reinstate some of them as tributaries. Left to themselves, however, they fomented rebellion, and in 795 (1393) Tîmûr again entered Fârs, overthrew the Muzaffarid forces in a pitched battle, and appointed his own son Prince 'Omar Shaykh governor of Fars and Kirman,

Many districts, however, especially in Kirman, refused to submit to Timur, and Gudarz, the governor of Sirjan, held out in the name of the Muzaffarids, so that Prince 'Omar Shaykh at last had to send troops to lay formal siege to that stronghold. According to the account given by 'Alt of Yazd, the Kal'ah (castle) of Sîrjân had been recently repaired, so that the place was very strong, and after the lapse of a year, as the siege operations were making no progress, 'Omar Shaykh set out for Sîrjân in person, to bring matters to a crisis. He was however at this moment recalled by his father, and met his death by mischance while travelling through Kurdistan to join Timur at the royal camp before Âmid in Upper Mesopotamia. This was in 796 (1394) and for another two years Sirjan still held out, the garrison ultimately yielding to famine rather than to force of arms; and by order of Tîmûr, when Gûdarz at length did surrender, he and his few remaining soldiers were all massacred in cold blood, as a warning to the disaffected throughout the province. Sîrjân was left a ruin, and though Hâfiz Abrû, writing in the reign of the successor of Timur, still speaks of Sirjan as the second city of Kirman (second to Bardasir), with a strong castle crowning a high rock, the name of Sirjan after this date disappears from history, and its exact site has only quite recently been discovered in the ruins of Kal'ah-i-Sang, as already said1.

As mentioned above, the modern capital of the province is Kirman city, and this, though not the first Moslem capital, appears to have been an important town from early Sassanian

¹ Ist. 166. Muk. 464, 470. Yak. iv. 106, 265., Mst. 182. Hfz. 140 a. A. Y. i. 618, 667, 784. Mirkhwand, pt. iv. 170; pt. vi. 48, 69. The position of Strian is given by the Arab geographers in marches from various known places, often with an equivalent total in farsakhs or leagues. Unfortunately in the Kirman province the stage-by-stage itineraries, with details of places passed (as we have for the Jibal province, and the whole of Fars), are lacking. The following, however, is a summary of the distances recorded, and they agree with the position of Kal'ah-i-Sang for Strjan city. From Shahr-i-Babak on the north-west, where the high roads coming up from Shiraz and Istakhr united, Sfrian was distant 24 and 32 leagues by different roads, and it was 38 to 46 leagues, or three long marches, from Great Sahik. From Rustak-ar-Rustak (one short day's march north-west of Furg) Sirjan was four marches. and from Nirlz five and a half marches distant. Going east and south-east, the road from Strjån to Jirust measures six marches or 54 leagues; while to Råvin it was five marches, and to Sarvistan (to the south-east of Rayin) 45 or 47 leagues. Finally, from Sîrjân to Mâhân was counted as three marches, and to Bardasir (Kirman city) two marches. The authorities for these distances are as follows :- I. K. 48, 49, 53, 54. Kud. 195, 196. I. F. 206, 208. Ist. 131. 135, 168, 169. Muk. 455, 464, 473.

times. In regard to its origin, we have it stated by Hamzah of Isfahân, an historian of the 4th (10th) century, that King Ardashîr, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, built a city called Bîh-Ardashîr, meaning 'the good place of Ardashîr'; this name the Arabs corrupted in their pronunciation to Bihrasîr (or Bihdasîr) and Bardasîr (or Bardashîr); while the Persians, as Mukaddasî informs us, pronounced it Guwâshîr, from Wîh-Artakhshîr the more archaic form of Bîh-Ardashîr. Yâkût adds that the name was in his day spelt Juwâsîr, Juwâshîr, or Gawâshîr, these being all equivalent to, and used indifferently with, the Arabic form Bardasîr'.

This city of Bardasir, which became the new capital of the Kirmân province under the Buyids, is without doubt identical in every respect with the modern city of Kirmân, as is proved by its position as given in the Itineraries, and from the description by the Arab geographers of various buildings in Bardasîr, and natural features, all of which still exist, and are to be recognised in Kirmân city. The Arab and Persian chronicles, it will be seen, fully bear out the identification, for after the 4th (10th) century Bardasîr, indifferently called Guwâshîr, becomes in their narratives the capital of Kirmân, and these names are in time replaced by 'the city of Kirmân,' or briefly Kirmân, the province—as is so often the case—giving its name to the capital.

Mukaddasî, writing at some length upon Bardasîr, describes it, at the time when the Buyid governor had made it the new capital, as a well-fortified though not a very large city. Outside the town was a great castle (Kal'ah) standing high up on a hill with gardens, where there was a deep well, dug by the governor Ibn Ilyâs, and hither the aforesaid Ibn Ilyâs was accustomed to ride up every night to sleep on the height. At the town gate was a second fortress (Hisn) surrounded by a ditch, which was crossed by a bridge; and in the centre of the town was a third castle (Kal'ah) overlooking the houses, alongside of which

¹ Hamzah, 46. Muk. 460, 461. Yak. i. 555; ii. 927; iv. 265. The pronunciation Yazdashtr sometimes given is merely a clerical error, from a mis-setting of the diacritical points in the Arabic writing. At the present day Bardasht is the name of the small district lying to the south-west of modern Kirman city, of which the chief town is Mashtz. As the name of a town Bardasht is unknown. For another instance of Bik or Wik in Persian placenames, see above p. 262, note.

stood the Great Mosque, a magnificent building. The city had four gates, the first three being called after the towns whither their roads led, namely, Båb Måhån, Båb Khabis, and Båb Zarand; the fourth was the Båb Mubårik, 'the Blessed Gate,' or possibly so called after somebody of the name of Mubårik, or Mubårak. Mukaddasi adds that the place was full of gardens, wells were common, and underground channels gave an abundant water-supply'.

From the time when Ibn Ilyas in the reign of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah removed the government offices (Divân) to Bardasir, this town, as already said, remained the chief capital of Kirmân. and followed the fortunes of the province, which, as a rule, was annexed by whoever was the ruler of Fars. In the early part of the 5th (11th) century, the Buyids fell before the rising power of the Saljuks, who were masters of the Kirman province from 433 to 583 (1041 to 1187). Under them, though Sîrjân is one of their chief cities, Bardasîr continued as the 'Dâr-al-Mulk' or official capital of this governorship. In the Saljûk chronicle written by Ibn Ibrâhîm the name of the capital is given sometimes as Bardasir, sometimes as Guwashir; while in the corresponding chapters of the Rawdat-as-Safa, Mirkhwand invariably refers to the Saljûk capital as 'the city of Kirmân,' or more briefly as Kirman, and the name Bardasir is nowhere mentioned by him. The two names, therefore-Bardasir and Kirman -were for a time used indifferently to denote one and the same place. Ibn-al-Athir, for example, under the year 494 (1101), relates how Îrân Shâh the Saljûk was expelled 'from the city of Bardasir, which same is the city of Kirman*.'

In 583 (1187) the province of Kirman was overrun by the

¹ Muk. 461.

² Ibn-al-Athir, x. 219. This passage has a fallacious appearance of being conclusive evidence that Bardastr was later Kirmân city. But though the fact is beyond doubt from both history and topography this passage is no real proof of it, for 'the city of Kirmân' (Madinah Kirmân) merely means the capital (city) of Kirmân (province), and is ambiguous. In an earlier volume, Ibn-al-Athir (iii. 100) relating how, under the Caliphate of 'Omar, Sirjân was first taken by the Arab armies, adds the words 'which same is the (capital) city of Kirmân' (Madinah Kirmân), though Sirjân certainly is not the modern city of Kirmân, as might be inferred at first sight from this passage.

Ghuzz Turkomans, who plundered and half-ruined Bardasîr. and temporarily made Zarand the capital of the province. The power of the Saljuks was then on the wane, and in 619 (1222) all Kirman passed under the sway of the short-lived dynasty generally known as the Kârâkhitay. Kutluk Khân, the first prince of this line, is described by Mirkhwand as taking possession of 'the city of Kirman,' and later it is stated that he was buried in the Madrasah, or college, which he himself had caused to be built 'in the quarter called Turkabad, outside the city of Kirman.' On the other hand, both Mustawfi in his Guzidah, and Ibn Ibrâhîm in the Saljûk chronicle, state that Kutluk Khân, in the year 619 (1222), took possession of 'the city of Bardasir' (or Guwashir as the Guzidah has it), thus becoming ruler of all the Kirmân kingdom. Lastly the contemporary authority of Yâkût gives Bardastr as the name at this time (13th century A.D.) of the capital of Kirman'.

The Mongol conquest of Persia did not materially affect Kirmân, and the daughter of the last prince of the Kârâkhitay in the first years of the 8th (14th) century married the Muzaffarid ruler of Fårs, who afterwards took over the province of Kirman, under Mongol overlordship. Mustawfi, speaking of the capital Guwashîr, otherwise Bardashîr, describes the Old Mosque as dating from the close of the 1st century of the Hijrah, and the reign of the Omayyad Caliph 'Omar II, who died in 720 A.D. He also speaks of the garden laid out by the Buyid governor Ibn Ilyås, called Bågh-i-Sirjanî, namely, 'the garden of him who came from Sîrjân,' which when he wrote in 730 (1330) was still flourishing. Ibn Ilyas, Mustawfi adds, had also built the castle on the hill, already recorded as having been described by Mukaddasi, and within the town there was the mosque called the Jâmi'-i-Tabrîzî, founded by Tûrân Shâh, the Saljûk, and the celebrated shrine over the grave of the saint Shâh Shujâ' Kirmânî. A somewhat later authority, Hâfiz Abrû, states that Turkhân Khâtûn, daughter of Kutluk Khân of the Kârâkhitay, in the year 666 (1268), erected a magnificent Jâmi' (Friday Mosque) in

Le S.

¹ Mst. Guztdah, Chapter 1V, section x, Reign of Burak Hājib. Ibn Ibrahlm, 4, 54, 200, 201. Mirkhwand, part iv. 104, 105, 128, 129. Yak. iv. 265.

Kirmân, besides other mosques and colleges, one of which will be noticed presently; and the same author, writing in 820 (1417), refers to the city indifferently under the two names of Bardasir (or Guwāshir) and Kirmân¹.

These descriptions of Bardasîr given by our various authorities, from Mukaddasi in the 4th (10th) century down to Hafiz Abrû in the early part of the 9th (15th) century, clearly refer to many of the buildings that still exist, mostly in ruin, in the present city of Kirman. Thus, as we have seen, Mukaddasl mentions the three fortresses or castles for which the city was famous, and in the Saljûk chronicle frequent reference is made by Ibn Ibráhîm to the castle on the hill (Kal'ah-i-Kûh), to the old castle, and to the new castle,-which are evidently identical with the three places described by Mukaddasi. In modern Kirman we find that there is, in the first place, an ancient fortress crowning the hill near, and to the east of the city, now generally known as the Kal'at-i-Dukhtar or the 'Maiden's Fort,' which is attributed to King Ardashir in the popular belief. Next, still further to the south-east, is a second hill, fortified of old with walls and towers, now crumbling to ruin, which is known as Kal'ah Ardashir, and this must be the fortress 'outside the city gate'; while, lastly, the older fortress, within the town, doubtless stood on the site of the present governor's palace2.

The mosque of Tûrân Shâh, mentioned by Mustawfi, still exists under the name of Masjid-i-Malik; while another building, connecting Kirmân city with the time when it was still called Bardasîr, is the magnificent green (or blue) dome, the Kubbati-Sabz, which, until quite recently, covered the tomb of Turkhân Khâtûn, the daughter of Kutluk Khân, already mentioned, of the Kârâkhitay. This princess, as history relates, some time after her father's death, ousted her brother from the throne, and then during twenty-five years remained virtual ruler of Kirmân, governing in the name of her husband—a nephew of Kutluk Khân—and of her two sons, whom in turn she allowed nominally to succeed to the throne. Mîrkhwând states that she died

¹ Mst. 182. Hfz. 139 6, 140 a.

² A plan of Kirmân city is given by Major Sykes (p. 188), also a view of these two ancient forts (p. 190), in *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*.

in 681 (1282) and was buried under the dome of the Madrasah-i-Shahr, or city college. The green dome within which her tomb was placed bore an inscription on its walls, giving the names of the architects, with the date 640 (1242) when the building was completed, namely during the nominal reign of the son of Kutluk Khan, whom his sister Turkhan Khatun afterwards set aside.

Of other towns in the Bardasir district the Arab geographers give on the whole but meagre accounts; groups of villages, so common in Fårs, did not exist, and generally in Kirman each town was separated from its neighbour by a wide stretch of desert country. A score of miles to the south-west of Kirman city lies Baghîn, and a like distance beyond this Mashiz, both on the road from Kirman to Strjan. At the present time these are the only towns in this quarter, and both are frequently mentioned by Ibn Ibrahim, in the Saljuk chronicle, when relating events of the latter half of the 4th (10th) century. It is curious therefore that neither Baghin nor Måshiz should be mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers, nor by Mustawfi, nor, apparently, by any of the Persian authorities who have described the campaigns of Tîmûr. Two short marches to the south-east of Kirman city lies the town of Mâhân, at the present day celebrated for the shrine at the tomb of Ni'mat-Allah, the Sufi saint and 'Nostradamus' of Persia, whose prophecies are still current throughout Moslem Asia. He died in 834 (1431) aged over a hundred years, and is said to have been a friend of the poet Hafiz. In the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasî describes Mâhân as a town chiefly inhabited by Arabs. The mosque was near the fortress, which, surrounded by a ditch, stood in the middle of the town; and for a day's march around the land was covered with gardens which were irrigated from a stream of running water.

¹ The Kubbat-i-Sabz was completely ruined by an earthquake in 1896. It is described by Major Sykes, who gives an illustration (*Persia*, p. 264) representing the building as he saw it before the earthquake. Major Sykes gives a description of it, p. 194, as also of the mosque of Türân Shâh, who reigned from 477 to 490 (1084 to 1097). Ibn Ibrâhîm. 28, 34, 177, 187, 189, 190, 194. Mirkhwand, part iv. 129, 130. See also Stack, *Persia*, i. 203, 204. Schindler, 'Reise in Persien,' *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1881, pp. 329, 330.

Ghubayra and Kughun, two towns lying one league apart, of which apparently no trace remains at the present day, were to the south of Mâhân, being one march west of Râyin (which still exists). In the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi describes Ghubayra as a small town surrounded by villages, with a fortress in its midst, while outside was the market recently built by the Buyid governor Ibn Ilyas, already many times mentioned. Both this place and Kûghûn had fine mosques and the water was from underground channels. Some fifty miles east of Kirman, and on the borders of the Great Desert, lies Khabis, which was counted as three marches distant from Måhân. The level was low, for the desert is here far below the plateau of central Persia on which the city of Kirman stands, and Khabis, as Istakhri remarks; is very hot, and the date palm was consequently much grown. Mukaddasi adds that there was a fortress here, and the town had four gates. It was very populous, much silk was manufactured, for the gardens were celebrated for their mulberry-trees, being watered by a stream that passed through the town. Excellent dates, too, were exported1.

Two marches to the north-west of Kirmân is the city of Zarand, and half-way between the two, during the middle-ages, lay the town of Janzarûdh, of which apparently no trace remains. Mukaddasî describes Janzarûdh as possessing a mosque standing in the market, where abundance of fruit was sold, for the town was on a river, the Janz. Zarand still exists, and Mukaddasî speaks of the castle near by, which Ibn Ilyâs, the governor, had recently built. Zarand was in the 4th (10th) century a place of considerable size, it had six town gates, and the mosque was in the Maydân or public square, which was surrounded by market streets. Here a kind of fine gauze, used for linings and called biţânah, was made. These Zarandî gauzes were largely exported to Fârs and Trâk, and in the 4th (10th) century were in great repute.

¹ Ibn Ibråhlm, 66, 108, 109, 121. Ist. 234. Muk. 462, 463. Col. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, p. 21. Major Sykes (Persia, p. 41) found a grave-stone in Khabls dated 173 (789), also the ruins of a building that appears to have been a Christian church, or some non-Moslem shrine. As of the Khabls sub-district Mukaddasî (p. 460) mentions the four towns of Nashk, Kashld, Kûk, and Kathrawå, but no details are given of position, and apparently all trace of them is now lost.

Fifty miles north of Zarand lies Ravar on the border of the Great Desert, and west of this is Kübinan, which was visited by Marco Polo. Both towns are described by Mukaddasi, who says that Ravar in the 4th (10th) century was larger than Kübinan, and had a strong fortress, which served to protect the frontier. Kûbinân or Kûhbanân he speaks of as a small town with two gates, and a suburb where there were baths and caravanserais. The mosque was at one of the town gates, and was surrounded by gardens which stretched to the foot of the neighbouring mountains. In the vicinity is the town of Bihâbâd, a name which Mukaddasi writes Bihavadh, and he couples it with Kavák, a populous hamlet, which lay three leagues distant, both places being of the cold region and possessing many gardens. Bihabad still exists, but Kavak no longer appears on the map. Yâkût in the 7th (13th) century states that both Kûbbanân and Bihâbâd were in his day celebrated for the tútiyâ or tutty (an impure oxide of zinc), which was manufactured and exported hence to all countries. Mustawfi in the next century also refers to Kûhbinân, which Marco Polo, his contemporary, calls 'the city of Cobinan,' and the Venetian traveller carefully describes the manufacture here of the tutty, 'a thing very good for the eyes.' Already in the 4th (10th) century this was one of the notable exports of the Kirman province, and Mukaddasi states that because it came out of the crucible in finger-like pieces, it was commonly known as Tútiyà Murâzîbîy, 'cannular tutty.' These bunches of 'pipes,' he says, were separated one from another by water being poured over the hot mass, and it was purified by being roasted in long furnaces which he himself had seen built on the mountain side, near where the ore was extracted. The same was done also in the case of iron'.

Ist. 233. I. H. 224, 292. Muk. 462, 470, 493. Yak. i. 767; iv. 316. Mst. 183. See The Book of Ser Marco Polo, Yule, i. 127—130, for the description of the manufacture of tutty, which Major Sykes (Persin, p. 272) saw made in Kühbanân at the present time, and in the identical manner above described. The name of Râvar is often miswritten Zôvar by a clerical error; and similarly Kühbanân appears under the forms of Kühayân and Kühbayân from a misplacing of the diacritical points. Banân is the Persian name for the wild pistachio, Kühbanân therefore signifying the mountain where this tree grows.

Some fifty miles west of Kûhbanân, and on the edge of the desert half-way between that town and Yazd, lies at the present day the hamlet of Bâfk. There are in the Kirmân province two towns of very similar names, Bâfk aforesaid, and Bâft or Bâfd, the latter lying 80 miles south of Kirmân city, and 200 miles distant from the northern Bâfk. The confusion is worse confounded by the fact that (northern) Bâfk is often now pronounced Bâfd, and hence is identical in name with the town south of Mâshîz, for dialectically the change of the dotted & into d or t is common in Persian. A town of Bâfd is mentioned by Yâkût as a small city of the Kirmân province, lying on the road to Shîrâz, and of the hot country. Ibn Ibrâhîm in the Saljûk chronicle mentions the names of both Bâft and Bâfk, but neither by him nor by Yâkût are details afforded sufficient to identify the places.

¹ Yak. i. 474. A. F. 336. Ibn Ibrâhîm, 31, 43, 67, 90, 158, 159, 164, 172. Stack, Persia, ii. 13.

CHAPTER XXII.

KIRMÂN (continued).

The Strjan district. Bam and Narmastr districts. Rīgān. Jīruft and Kamadin, Camadi of Marco Polo. Dilfarid. The Bāriz and Kafs mountains. Rūdhkān and Manūjān. Hurmuz Old and New, Gombroon. The trade of the Kirmān province. The high roads.

The Sîrjân district—of which Sîrjân city, the older capital of the Kirmân province, which has already been described in the previous chapter, was the chief town—lay to the west of the Bardasîr district, and on the frontier of Fârs. Mukaddasî mentions a number of towns in this district which now, unfortunately, no longer appear on the map, though their positions in relation to the site of Sîrjân city are known.

Four leagues west of Sîrjân, and close to the Fârs frontier, was Bîmand, described in the 4th (10th) century as an impregnable fortress, having iron gates. It was a place of importance too, as being the point of junction of the three high roads—from Shahr-i-Bâbak (north), from Rûdhân (north-east), and from Sâhik (west)—whence these all converged on Sîrjân. Mukaddasî describes Bîmand as having a Great Mosque standing in the middle of its market street, and its water was from underground channels. Then one day's march to the east of Sîrjân, on the road to Râyîn, was a place called Shâmât, a town with many gardens and vineyards, exporting much fruit to outlying villages, and with a Friday Mosque standing in its midst. The town also bore the alternative name of Kûhistân. One march again east of Shâmât was Bahâr, and another day's march led to Khannâb, both places growing many dates. Beyond Khannâb lay Ghubayrâ, already

described as of the Bardasîr district. Two days' march to the south-east of Sîrjân, on the road to Jîruft, stood a town the name of which is written either Vâjib or Nâjat (with some other variants). Mukaddasî describes it as a very pleasant and populous place with many gardens, the water being supplied by underground channels, and the Great Mosque standing in the midst of its market streets'.

The district of Bam (or Bamm, as the Arab geographers write it), surrounding the town of this name, lies to the south-east of Måhån, at the border of the Great Desert, on the eastern frontier of Kirman. Ibn Hawkal describes Bam in the 4th (10th) century as larger and healthier than Jiruft, the town being surrounded by palm-groves. Near by stood the celebrated castle of Bam, held to be impregnable, and there were three mosques, the Masjid-al-Khawarii, the Mosque of the Clothiers (Al-Bazzázîn), and the Castle Mosque. Cotton stuffs were largely manufactured here and exported; also napkins, the cloths for turbans, and the scarfs for head-wear known as Taylasan. Mukaddasi records that the city wall, which made a strong fortification, had four gates, namely, Båb Narmåsir, Båb Kûskân, Båb Asbîkân, and Båb Kûrjin. There were great markets both within the city and outside in the suburbs, while on the river which passed by the castle was the market of the Jarjan bridge. A celebrated bathhouse stood in the Willow street (Zukak-al-Bidh). A league distant from Bam was the mountain called Jabal Kud, where there were mills, surrounded by a large village, and where much cloth was manufactured. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century still refers to the strong castle of Bam, and speaks of its climate as rather hot2.

Râyîn, lying due south of Mâhân, and about 70 miles northwest of Bam, is described by Mukaddasî aş a small town, with its

I. K. 49, 54. 1st. 168, 169. Muk. 464, 465. For Najat Ibn Hawkal reads Ndjtah, and Bákhtah, Fákhtah, or Kákhtah, are the variants in Ibn Khurdádbih; all of which may possibly be merely clerical errors for Báfi, the town mentioned in the last chapter (p. 310), which still exists approximately in the position indicated.

² The ancient fort of Bam, which stands at the present day, is described by Major Sykes (*Persia*, pp. 216, 218). The rains of the medieval town are on the river bank at Guzârân, about a mile distant from the fort.

mosque standing in the market-place, and gardens extending all round the habitations. At one-third of the way from Râyîn to Bam stood the neighbouring towns of Avârik and Mihrkird (or Mihrîjird), of which the former still exists, the name being now pronounced Abârik. Between the two, in the 4th (toth) century, stood a castle built by the Buyid governor, Ibn Ilyâs. The water-supply was from a river, and the houses were clay-built. Between Abârik and Bam stands Daharzin, which Mukaddasî writes Dârzîn, other spellings being Dârjîn and Dayrûzîn. It had a fine Friday Mosque, and was a pleasant place, surrounded by gardens irrigated from a neighbouring stream.

The Narmasir district (in Persian Narmashir) lay south-east of Bam and on the desert border; its capital, the city of Narmasir, stood half-way between Bam and Fahraj. Fahraj still exists and in the 4th (10th) century, Narmasir was an important town; Mukaddasi speaks of its many fine palaces, and of its numerous population. Merchants from Khurásan trading with 'Omán lived here, for Narmäsir stood on the Pilgrim road from Sistån to Mecca and was a mart for Indian goods. Narmasir was then smaller than Sîrjân, but fortified, and it had four gates, Bâb Bam, Bâb Sûrkân, the Gate of the Oratory (Musallâ), and lastly the Gate of the Kiosque (Kūshk). The Friday Mosque was in the midst of the markets. To its gate was an ascent of ten steps of burnt-brick stairway, and a fine minaret, famous in all the country round, towered above. The castle was known as the Kal'ah Kûsh-va-Rân (the name unexplained), and at the Bam gate were three forts called Al-Akhwât, 'the Sisters.' Palm-groves and gardens surrounded the town. At the present day no town of Narmasir appears on the map, but the ruins at the site called Chugukâbâd, 'Sparrow-town,' lying on the right bank of the sluggish river which winds through the Narmasir plain, must be the remains of the great medieval city. The place is now a complete wilderness, though as late as the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi still refers to Narmasir as a populous city.

Twenty miles due south of Fahraj is Rîkân (also spelt Rîkân or Rîghân), the fortifications of which Mukaddasî describes. The

¹ I. H. 223, 224. Muk. 465, 466, 470. Mst. 181. Vak. iv. 700. Abarik and Darzin are described by Major Sykes (*Persia*, p. 214).

Great Mosque stood near the town gate, and outside were palm gardens. Mustawfi refers to it as a very hot place, where dates and corn were grown abundantly. Between Righân and Bam stands Kurk, which Mukaddasî couples with the neighbouring town of Bâhar (not to be confounded with the differently spelt Bahâr of Sîrjân, see p. 311), and both were populous towns in the 4th (10th) century, being surrounded by palm-groves. The town of Nisā was also of the Narmāsîr district, but its position is unknown. It is stated that it had gardens in the plain, and a mosque in its market-place, and it was watered by a river.

The whole of the southern half of the Kirmân province, and down to the coast, was included in the district of Jiruft. Jîruft (or Jayruft) during the middle-ages was a city of much importance, and past it ran the only river which the Arab geographers mention by name in this province. The ruins of Jîruft (the name is now preserved in the Jîruft district only) are those now known as the Shahr-i-Daķiyānûs, 'the City of the Emperor Decius,' who figures as a proverbial tyrant in the East, for in his reign the Seven Sleepers entered the Cave, as mentioned in the Kurân (chapter xviii, v. 8, and see above, p. 155), the story being amplified of course in the popular legends. Near these ruins runs the stream now known as the Khalil Rûd (or Ḥalīl Rûd), which the Arab and Persian geographers name the Dîv Rûd, 'the Demon Stream,' from its swiftness. It is an affluent of the Bampûr river, and drains east to the Hâmûn or swamp.

In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Hawkal describes Jiruft as a great city, measuring two miles across, 'the mart of Khurāsān and Sijistān,' lying in a fruitful neighbourhood where the crops of both the hot and the cold regions were grown. The chief exports of the city were indigo, cardamoms, sugar-candy, and the dūshāb or raisin syrup. The surrounding district was called Al-Mizān (Iṣṭakhrī writes Al-Mījān), where the numerous gardens produced dates, nuts, and oranges. Snow came from the neighbouring hills, and water was supplied by the Dīv Rūd, which made a great

¹ I. K. 49. Muk. 463, 464. In Mustawíi (p. 182) for Máthíz as given in the lithographed edition, 'Narmástr' must be read, according to all the best MSS., confirmed by the Turkish text of J. N. 257. For Chugukábád, see Sykes, Persia, p. 220.

noise flowing over the rocks. There was water-power here for turning from twenty to fifty mill-wheels. Provisions were also brought into the city from the neighbouring valley of Darfarid, and according to Mukaddasi the sweet melons from here and the narcissus flowers, from which a perfume was made, were both celebrated. The town itself, which had a fortified wall, was closed by four gates, namely, Bâb Shâpûr, Bâb Bam, Bâb Sîrjân, and Bâb-al-Musallâ, 'the Oratory Gate.' The Great Mosque, built of burnt brick, was near the Bam gate, at some distance from the market streets. Mukaddasi adds that Jiruft was in his time a larger city than Istakhr, and that its houses were mostly built of clay bricks on stone foundations.

Yâkût states that the fertile district round Jîruft was called

Jirdûs, and Mustawff refers to the lion-haunted forests which had originally surrounded the town, but which in his day had given place to immense palm-groves. Ibn Ibrâhîm in the Saliûk chronicle during the 6th (12th) century frequently refers to Kamadin, 'a place at the gate of Jiruft where foreign merchants from Rûm (Greece) and Hind had their warehouses and where travellers by sea and land could store their goods'; and in another passage he mentions the 'precious goods from China, Transoxiana, and Khitáy, from Hindustán and Khurásán, from Zanzibar. Abyssinia, and Egypt, also from Greece, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Adharbayjan,' which were all to be found for buying and selling in the storehouses of Kamadin. The Persian Kamadın is the place mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of Camadi, or the 'city of Camadi.' It had been formerly 'a great and noble place,' but when Marco Polo visited it 'was of little consequence, for the Tartars in their incursions have several times ravaged it.' This explains why both Jiruft and Kamadın, after the close of the 7th (13th) century, disappear from history, and the map no longer bears these names. Round Jîruft was the Rûdhbâr district, mentioned by the Arab geographers, which reappears in Marco Polo under the name of 'Reobarles'

¹ For the ruins of Shahr-i-Dakiyanus, lying on the right bank of the Halll Rûd, a short distance to the west of modern Sarjâz, see Keith Abbott in J.R. G.S. 1855, p. 47; and Sykes, Persia, p. 267. Ist. 166. I. H. 212. Muk. 466.

One march to the north-east of Jiruft, and half-way to Dârjin, lay the large hamlet of Hurmuz-al-Malik ('of the King,' so called to distinguish it from the port of Hurmuz), which was also known as Kariyat-al-Jawz, 'Nut Village.' According to Idrisi-but it is not clear whence he got his account-this was an ancient city founded by the Sassanian king Hurmuz in the third century A.D., and it had been the chief town of the province of Kirman, until, falling to ruin, the administration had been transferred to Sirjan, which remained the capital of the province under the later Sassanians. The position of Hurmuz-al-Malik is indicated by Mukaddasi and other early geographers, but they give no details; Idrisi adds that in his day (or more probably in the time of the unknown author from whom he takes his account) this Hurmuz was a handsome though small town, inhabited by a mixed population, having abundant water, and good markets with much merchandise. It lay, he says, one march distant from Bam'.

A day's march to the north of the ruins of Jîruft lies Dilfarîd, which Mukaddasi calls Darfanî, and Ibn Hawkal Darfand. It lay in a fruitful valley producing crops of both the hot and cold regions, and, as already stated, was the granary of Jiruft. One march to the north-west of this again was the Jabal-al-Ma'adin—'Hill of Mines'—where silver was found, more especially in a gorge that ran up into the Jabal-al-Fuddah or 'Silver Hill'.'

To the eastward of Jiruft was the hill country called Jabal Bariz, described as clothed with great forests in the 4th (10th) century, and here at the time of the first Moslem conquest the hunted Magians had found safe refuge from the troops sent against them by the Omayyad Caliphs. This country was only brought under the Moslem yoke by the Şaffarid princes; it was afterwards famous for its iron mines. Nearer the coast, and to

^{470.} Yak. ii. 57. Mst. 182. Ibn Ibrahlm, 48, 49, 83. Schindler, J.K.A.S. 1898, p. 43; and The Book of Ser Marco Polo (Yule), i. 98.

¹ Ist. 161, 189. I. H. 219, 125. Muk. 473. Idrisi, Jaubert, i. 423, and text in Paris MSS. Arabes, No. 2221, folio 157 b; No. 2222, folio 104a. Yak. ii. 151. Major Sykes (Persia, p. 444) would identify Hurmuz-al-Malik (which no longer exists under this name) with Carmana omnium mater of Ammianus Marcellinus.

² Ist. 165, writes the name, probably merely by a clerical error, *Durbây*.

 11. 221, 222. Mak. 467, 471. A. F. 335.

the south-east of Jiruft, lay the hilly region known as Jabal-al-Kufs, the outlying regions of which, in the 4th (10th) century, were inhabited by mountain folk, while the Balûs (or Balûch) tribes wandered on their eastern borders, towards the lower limits of the Great Desert. Of the robber tribes of the Kufs mention will be made later when describing the Great Desert. Part of this outlying country was known as Al-Khawash, namely of the tribes called Al-Akhwash. These were camel-men, who lived in a valley where by reason of the heat much sugar-cane was grown for export to Sijistan and Khurasan-this being the tract of mountainous country which intervenes between the southern end of the Great Desert and Makran. In these highlands were seven separate mountains, each ruled, it was said, by its own chief, and 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, in the 4th (10th) century, had made an expedition to conquer them. These people then had no horses, they were regarded as of the Kurds, for they owned flocks and herds, lived in hair-tents and possessed no cities. The date palm flourished abundantly in the lower regions of this country'.

Some fifty miles south-west of Jiruft lies Gulåshkird, which Mukaddasi writes Valåshgird, stating that it was a strongly fortified town protected by a castle known as Kûshah, and with its gardens irrigated by underground watercourses. Maghûn, a town with many gardens growing orange-trees and the indigo plant, lay one march north of Valåshgird towards Jiruft; its ruins are probably those now known as Fariyâb or Pariyâb. Fifty miles south of Valåshgird was the important town of Manûkân, now called Manûjân, which Mukaddasî refers to as 'the Baṣrah of Kirmân' to mark its commercial importance. The town consisted of two opposite quarters, divided by the dry gorge called Kalân; one quarter was called Kûnîn, the other Zâmân, and a fort, which still exists, stood between the two, with the mosque known as the

Major Sykes (Persia, p. 269) refers to Fariyab, which 'was once a great city, and was destroyed by a flood, according to local legend.'

¹ Khwash is now the chief town of the Sarhad, a mountainous district described by Major Sykes (*Persia*, pp. 130, 353), which lies to the east of Narmashir. Ist. 163, 164, 168. I. H. 220, 221, 224. Muk. 471. Yak. iv. 148, where for *Al-Kārin* we should read Al-Bāriz.

Jâmi' Sayyân. One march from here, in the sandy plains nearer the coast, was the town of Darahkân; no trace of which, however, now appears to exist. There was a mosque in the town, and its gardens produced much indigo, water being procured by underground channels.

Between Valåshgird and Manûjân runs a river with many tributaries, now known as the Rûdkhânah-i-Duzdî: it is mentioned by Istakhri as the Nahr-az-Zankan, and by Yakût as the Raghan river. Mukaddasi refers to the populous town of Rudhkan, which probably stood on its course, as surrounded by gardens growing date palms and orange-trees. To the north-east of Manûkân, and on the road to Rigan, being three marches from the port of Hurmuz, stood the twin cities of Bas and Jakin, each with its mosque and market. Nahr or Jûy-Sulaymân (Solomon's Brook), a populous town, one march west of Rigan, is referred to by Mukaddasi as of the Ifrust district. Its fertile lands were watered by a stream which ran through the town, in the centre of which stood a mosque and a castle. Lastly, in the northern part of the mountainous district of Jabal-al-Kufs, Mukaddasi mentions the town of Kühistán, for distinction called after a certain Abu Ghanim. It was very hot, and palm-groves grew all round the town, in the midst of which was a castle beside the mosque'.

Old Hurmuz, or Hurmuz of the mainland, lay at a distance of two post-stages, or half a day's march, from the coast, at the head of a creek called Al-Jir, according to Iṣṭakhrì, 'by which after one league ships come up thereto from the sea,' and the ruins of the town are still to be seen at the place now known as Minâb, vulgarly Minao. In the 4th (10th) century Old Hurmuz was already the seaport for Kirmân and Sijistân, and in later times, when New Hurmuz had been built on the island, this place supplanted Kays, just as Kays had previously supplanted Sîrâf, and became the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf. Iṣṭakhri speaks of the mosque and the great warehouses of (Old) Hurmuz, many of the latter being in the outlying villages, two leagues from the town. Palm-groves were numerous and dhurrah was cultivated, also indigo, cummin, and the sugar-cane. Mukaddasi praises the markets of Hurmuz, its water was from underground

¹ Ist. 169. Muk. 466, 467. Yuk. iv. 330.

channels, and its houses were built of unburnt brick. On the sea-shore, half a day's march distant, was Al-'Arşah, 'the Camp,' presumably at the entrance of the Hurmuz creek.

The adjacent island is mentioned by Ibn Khurdâdbih, in the middle of the 3rd (9th) century, under the name Urmûz (which Mustawfî spells Urmûş), and this is doubtless the later island of Jirûn. At the beginning of the 8th (14th) century—one authority gives the year 715 (1315)—the king of Hurmuz, because of the constant incursions of robber tribes, abandoned the city on the mainland, and founded New Hurmuz on the island aforesaid called Jirûn (or Zarûn), which lay one league distant from the shore. At this period New Hurmuz was visited by Ibn Baţûţah, and it is described by his contemporary Mustawfî, who notes the abundance of the date palms and sugar-cane growing here. Ibn Baţûţah states that Old Hurmuz in his day was known as Mûghistân, and the new town had taken the name of the island, being called Jirûn. It had a Friday Mosque, and fine markets, where goods from Sind and India were brought for sale.

At the close of the 8th (14th) century, Timûr ordered an expedition against the coast towns near Old Hurmuz, and seven castles in its neighbourhood were all taken and burnt, their garrisons escaping to the island of Jirûn. These seven castles, as enumerated by 'Ali of Yazd, were, Kal'ah-Mînâ, 'the Castle of the Creek,' at Old Hurmuz, Tang-Zandan, Kushkak, Hişar-Shâmîl, Kal'ah-Manujan (the town already mentioned), Tarzak, and Táziyan. In 920 (1514) Hurmuz, more generally called Ormuz, was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque, and their port of landing on the mainland became celebrated under the name of Gombroon. This is the place which a century later Shâh 'Abbâs renamed Bandar 'Abbâs; it is the present harbour for Kirman, and probably occupies the position of Suru or Shahrû mentioned above in the chapter on Fårs. The name Gombroon is said to be a corruption of Gumruk (from the Greek Κουμερκί), which became the common term for a 'custom-house' throughout the East. In the Turkish Jahan Numa it is referred to as 'Gumru, the port of Hurmuz, whence to the city of Lar (in Fars) it is four or five days' march'.'

¹ I. K. 62. Ist. 163, 166, 167. I. H. 220, 222, 223. Muk. 466, 473.

Commercially Kirmân stood far behind Fârs, and the Arab geographers give us no detailed account of the trade of the province. Kirmân as a whole, Mukaddasî states, grew dates and dhurrah as food-stuffs; dates were exported to Khurâsân, and indigo to Fârs, while the cereal crops raised in the Valâshgird district were taken down to Hurmuz, and thence shipped to more distant countries'.

The geographers of the 3rd and 4th (9th and 10th) centuries give far less detail concerning the high roads of Kirmán than is the case when they are treating of the Fârs province. Further, as a rule, only the inexact measurement of the day's march (marhalah) is given, and for most of the roads the reckoning from stage to stage in leagues (farsakh) is wanting.

The roads from Fårs into Kirmån converged on Bimand, which, as already said, lay four leagues to the west of Sîrjân. From the north-east, one road from Unås and the Rûdhån district came down to Bîmand (given by both Iṣṭakhrī and Mukaddasî); while from Great Şâhik to Bîmand (and Sîrjân) we have two roads, both measured in farsakhs, one by Shahri-Bâbak (given by Ibn Khurdådbih only), and another leading directly across the desert to Bîmand, to which there are two alternative routes, one (Ibn Khurdådbih) by Kariyat-al-Milh, 'Salt Village,' the other by Rubåṭ-Pusht-Kham, 'Crook-back Guard-house' (Kudāmah and Iṣṭakhrī). Further, Mukaddasī gives the road from Nîrīz (in marches) to Bīmand and Sīrjān; while both he and Iṣṭakhrī describe the route from the south-west which came up from Rustāk-ar-Rustāk in somewhat over four days' march, going direct to Sîrjān².

From Sirjan to Bardasîr (Kirman city) it was two days' march. Mustawfi says 20 leagues, but no halting-place or town is

Mst. 182, 222. I. B. ii. 230. A. F. 339. A. Y. i. 789, 809, 810. J. N. 258, 260. The name of the king who transferred the capital to the island is variously given as Shains-ad-Din, Kuth-ad-Din, or Fakhr-ad-Din. The island of Hurmuz was taken by the English in 1622; for its present state see Stiffe, Geographical Maguzine, 1874, i. 12, and J.R. G.S. 1894, p. 160. The name is spelt indifferently Hurmuz, and Hůrmůz.

¹ Muk. 470.

^{1 1.} K. 48, 53. Kud. 195. Ist. 131, 168. Muk. 455, 473. Mst. 201.

mentioned in between, although, as already remarked, both Mâshîz and Baghîn must have been near the road followed, and both these places are frequently mentioned as existing in the 4th (10th) century by Ibn Ibrâhîm, who wrote in the 11th (17th) century. From Bardasîr (Kirmân) it was two marches to Zarand, Janzarûdh lying half-way between the two. From Sîrjân to Mâhân it was three days' march, and thence three more to Khabîş, but the intermediate stages cannot be identified.

From Sîrjân, eastward, the great caravan road towards Makrân went through a number of towns that no longer exist, coming to Râyîn, thence on by Darzin, Bam, and Narmâsîr to Fahraj on the desert border. The stages along this road are given in farsakhs (leagues) by both Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah, besides the stations by the day's march (marḥalah) in two of our other authorities².

From Sîrjân south-east to Jîruft, in spite of the route being described in leagues by Ibn Khurdâdbih, and in marches by Iştakhrî, none of the places mentioned, except Darfârid, can be surely identified; for, possibly with the exception of the southern Bâft, none of them are found on the map, and the true reading of the many variants in the Mss. is by no means certain. From Jîruft the road turned south, and passing through Valâshgird and Manûkân, came to the coast at (Old) Hurmuz. According to Iṣṭakhri, at Valâshgird a branch struck off westward to the frontier of Fârs, passing through a series of towns or villages that have now entirely disappeared, and unfortunately even the terminus of this road on the Fârs frontier cannot now be fixed.

From Old Hurmuz, up to Rîgân and Narmâsîr, Mukaddasî gives the route in marches, passing through the towns of Bâs and Jakîn; while going south from Râyîn to Jîruft the distances through Darjîn and Hurmuz-al-Malik are given in marches by Iṣṭakhrī⁴.

¹ Ist. 160. Muk. 473. Mst. 201.

² I. K. 49. Kud. 196. Ist. 168. Muk. 473.

³ I. K. 54. Ist. 169. 4 Ist. 169. Muk. 473.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GREAT DESERT AND MAKRAN.

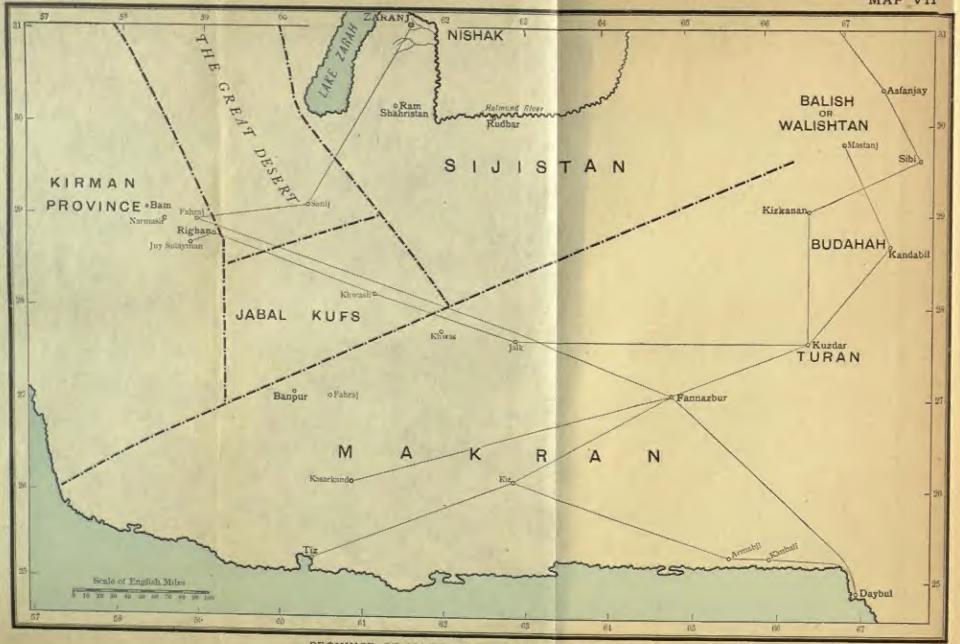
The extent and characteristics of the Great Desert. The three oases at Jarmak, Nåband and Sanij. The chief roads across the Desert. The Makrån province. Fannazbûr and the port of Tiz. Other towns. Sind and India. The port of Daybul. Mansûrah and Multân. The river Indus. The Tûrân district and Kundâbil.

The Great Desert of Persia stretches right across the high plateau of Îrân, going from north-west to south-east, and dividing the fertile provinces of the land into two groups; for the Desert is continuous from the southern base of the Alburz mountains, that to the north overlook the Caspian, to the arid ranges of Makrân, which border the Persian Gulf. Thus it measures nearly 800 miles in length, but the breadth varies considerably; for in shape this immense area of drought is somewhat that of an hour-glass, with a narrow neck, measuring only some 100 miles across, dividing Kirmân from Sistân, while both north and south of this the breadth expands and in places reaches to over 200 miles.

The medieval Arab geographers refer to the Desert as Al-Mafazah, 'the Wilderness,' and carefully define its limits. On the west and south-west it was bounded by the Jibal province, by the

¹ The general outline of the Great Desert is given in Map t (p. 1), details of the northern portion are shown in Map v (p. 185), of the lower part in Maps v1 (p. 248), v11 (p. 323), and v111 (p. 335). At the present day the Desert, as a whole, is known as the Lût or Dasht-i-Lût (Desert of Lot); the saline swamps and the dry salt area being more particularly known as the Dasht-i-Kavîr, the term Kavîr being also occasionally applied to the Desert as a whole. The etymology of the terms Lût (the Arab form of the Biblical Lot) and Kavîr is uncertain; see Major Sykes, Persia, p. 32.





PROVINCE OF MAKRAN, WITH PART OF SIJISTAN

district of Yazd (originally counted as part of Fårs) and by Kirmân, south of which it spread out among the ranges of the Makrân coast. To the east and north-east lay Khurâsân with its dependent and adjacent provinces; namely Kûmis to the north of the Desert, and next a corner of Khurâsân proper; then Kûhistân, and below this Sijistân at the narrow part opposite Kirmân, Sijistân being coterminous with what is now known as the Balûchistân desert, which in the middle-ages was considered as a part of Makrân.

Both Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi write of the Desert from personal experience, for each had crossed its wastes on more than one occasion. Ibn Hawkal briefly describes it as a No Man's Land, belonging to no province, where robbers from every district found shelter, and where permanent villages, except in three instances, were conspicuously absent. Mukaddasi enters into the matter in some detail, and of his remarks the following is a summary:-The Desert was, he writes, like the sea, for you could cross it in almost any direction, if you could keep a true line, and pick up the tanks and domes, built above the water-pits, which in the 4th (10th) century were carefully maintained along the main tracks at distances of a day's march. He, Mukaddasi, had once been 70 days on the passage across, and he speaks from experience of the countless steep passes over the ever-barring ranges of hills, the fearful descents, the dangerous salt swamps (sabkhali), the alternate heat and bitter cold. He notices too that there was but little sand, and there were palm-trees and some arable lands hidden away in many of the minor valleys.

At that date the Desert was terrorised by roving bands of the Balûş (Balûchî tribesmen), whose fastnesses were in the Kufş mountains of the Kirmân border, 'a people with savage faces, evil hearts, and neither morals nor manners.' None could escape meeting them, and those they overcame they would stone to death 'as one would a snake, putting a man's head on a boulder, and beating upon it, till it be crushed in'; and when Mukaddasî enquired why they so barbarously put men to death he was answered that it was in order not needlessly to blunt their swords. 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, in Mukaddasî's day, had in part curbed these Balûch brigands, by carrying off a tribe of them to

Fårs as hostages, and caravans were after this tolerably safe, if they had a guide and letters of protection from the Sultan. These Balûs, Mukaddasi adds, went mostly on foot, but possessed a few dromedaries (jammåz). Though nominally Moslems, they were more cruel to True Believers than either the Christian Greeks or the heathen Turks, driving their prisoners before them for twenty leagues a day barefoot, and fasting. Their own food was from the nut of the Nabk, or Sidr (Lotus) tree, and the men were famous for their power of bearing without complaint both hunger and thirst.

About half-a-century after the time of Mukaddasî, namely in the year 444 (1052), Nasir-i-Khusraw crossed the northern part of the Desert on his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca. He gives no special name to the Great Desert, referring to it merely as the Bivábán, 'the waterless land,' but he notes its two chief characteristics and dangers, namely the moving sands (Rig-ravân) and the salt swamps (Shûristân), the latter often as much as six leagues across. He travelled from Nayin in the Jibal province to the central oasis at Jarmak, and thence on to Tabas in Kûhistân, by the route which will be mentioned presently. His description of the road, however, is vague and adds little to our information. He speaks of the Amir Gilaki, of Tabas, as in his day keeping such order throughout the Desert that the Kufs robbers, whom he calls the Kufai, were powerless to molest travellers; and he mentions that every two leagues along the road he travelled there were cupolas (gumbad) over water-tanks, which marked the safe track to be followed, and relieved the wants of the traveller. remarks that if the tanks were only kept in order, the passage of the Desert could always be effected without much hardship, except for fear of robbers; and his account in this matter is confirmed by the numerous caravan roads, crossing the waste in more than one direction and sufficiently supplied at each stage by water in pits, which are detailed in the itineraries given by Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi1.

Three far-separated oases were found along the central line of the great waste, and to these naturally the various roads crossing from west to east converged. In the middle-ages these oases

¹ I. H. 187, 288. Muk. 488, 489. N. K. 93, 94. Yak. iv. 147.

were known as Jarmak, Nåband (still so called), and Sanij; this last according to Mukaddasi being the only town that the Desert could boast as possessing within its compass.

In the very centre of the upper expansion of the Desert, halfway across from Isfahân to Tabas in Kûhistân, is the oasis now called Jandak or Biyâbának, which in the middle-ages was known to the Arabs as Jarmak, and in Persian was written Garmah. It consisted of three hamlets called Jarmak (or Garmah), Biyadak (or Piyadah in Persian), and Arabah. Ibn Ḥawkal names the whole settlement Sihdih, 'Three Villages'; and Nāṣir-i-Khusraw says there were from ten to twelve hamlets here in the 5th (11th) century. At Piyadah also there was a small fort, garrisoned by the Amir Gilaki, for the safe control of the Desert routes. In this oasis there were palm-trees, and arable fields of some extent where cattle throve; and the three chief settlements, Ibn Hawkal says, all lay within sight of water, the population in the 4th (10th) century numbering over 1000 men. Later authorities add nothing to these details, and in fact down to the time of Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century the accounts are almost identical, all copying Ibn Hawkal.

Nâband, the second oasis, still bears this name, and it lies at the northern end of the narrow part of the Desert, between Râvar in Kirmân and Khûr in Kûhistân. Ibn Hawkal describes Nâband as possessing a Rubât or guard-house, with a score of houses round it, water being plentiful, enough indeed to work a small mill. Palms grew here, and many springs irrigated the fields; and two leagues distant from the place was an outlying spring, surrounded by palms, where there was a domed tank, of evil fame as a noted hiding-place for robbers.

The third oasis lay somewhat further to the south again, and at the very narrowest part of the Desert, at the half-way stage on the road from Narmasir in Kirman to Zaranj, the capital of Sijistan. Here there is a small valley with springs, which is now known to the Persians as Nasratabad, but which the Balüchis still call Ispî or Isfi. This name is identical with the reading Isbidh for this oasis, which is otherwise called Sanij, or Sanig, by Mukaddasi. He counts it as a town of Sijistan, while according to Ibn Ḥawkal it belonged rather to Kirman. It was,

as already said, the only city in the Desert according to the Arab geographers, and Mukaddasi speaks of it as having a considerable population, with much arable land, watered by underground channels; but all around and close up to the houses was the waterless wilderness.

The roads across the Desert are given in detail by the geographers of the 4th (10th) century. From the western side, starting from Isfahân and from Nâyin, two roads converged on Jarmak; the first (given by Mukaddasi) is in eight stages, while from Nâyin it was five stages to Jarmak, and there were water-tanks and domes all along the way at distances of a few leagues apart.

From Jarmak, Mukaddasi is our authority for a direct road due north to Dâmghân in Kûmis; the distance was 90 leagues, it being 50 leagues across to a place called Wandah, and thence 40 on to Dâmghân. From Jarmak, going eastward, it was four days' march to a place called Naw Khani, or Nawiay, with water-domes all along the route at every three or four leagues. At Nawiay the roads bifurcated, going north-east to Turshiz, and south-east to Tabas, both in the Kûhistân province. The distance from Nawjāy to Turshîz was four stages, the half-distance being at Bann Afridûn (now known as Dih Naband, a place not to be confused with the oasis of Naband, just described); and from Jarmak to this Bann Afridûn, Mukaddasî also gives a route across the Desert direct, in seven days' march, with a tank (hared) at each stage. From Nawjay, going south-east, Tabas was reached in three marches. The distances between Tabas and Turshiz viá Bann Ibn Khurdâdbih gives in leagues; elsewhere, and as a rule on the Desert routes, only the stages by the day's march (marhalah) are given*.

From Yazd to Tabas, direct, the way went by Anjirah and Khazanah to Saghand on the Desert border, places already men-

¹ I. H. 289, 293. Muk. 488, 494, 495. N. K. 93, 94. Mst. 183. Vak. iii, 170. The oasis of Biyabanak (otherwise Jandak or Khur) is mentioned by Tavernier (Voyagrs, i. 769, La Haye, 1718) in the 17th century, and it was visited in 1875 by Col. Macgregor (Khorasan, i. 91). Both Naband and Isfi, or Nasratabad, have been visited lately by Major Sykes (Persia, pp. 36, 416).
² Ist. 231. I. H. 291. I. K. 52. Muk, 491.

tioned as of Fars (see p. 285). From Såghand Ibn Khurdådbih gives the six stages in leagues to Tabas, an itinerary which is duplicated by Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi, but going by the day's march, and following a not quite identical route. Two stages from Såghand was the guard-house called Rubåt Åb-Shuturan, 'of the Camel-stream,' the water coming from an underground channel, and flowing into a pool. Mukaddasi describes the guard-house as a fine building of burnt brick, with iron gates, and it was well garrisoned. It had been built by Nasir-ad-Dawlah Ibn-Sîmjûr, a famous general of the Buyids, who was governor in these regions during the middle of the 4th (roth) century. Three marches beyond this guard-house the Desert ended; and here the road, as described by Ibn Hawkal (repeating Istakhri), leaves Tabas aside, going in a single march from the stage one march south of this town, to the stage one march north of it, on the road to Bann!

The next passage of the Desert starts from the village of Birah, of the district called Shûr, meaning 'the Salt-water,' which was on the frontier of Kirman near Kûhbanan. From here the passage was made in seven or eight stages—each halt at a watering-place—to Kuri, a village on the Desert border of Kûhistan, situated a few miles to the south-east of Tabas. On this, which was known as the Shûr route, Iṣṭakhrī states that at one point about two leagues to the north of the track there might be seen curious stones, doubtless fossils, in the likeness of various fruits, to wit, almonds, apples, nuts, and pears, while the forms of men and trees were simulated by the rocks here, with likenesses of other created things. In addition to the foregoing route, Mukaddasî states that there was a road direct from Kûhbanan to Kuri, in 60 leagues, with water in tanks at every second march.

Råvar, as described in Chapter XXI, lies some leagues east of Kûhbanân on the Kirmân frontier, and from this place a road went in five marches to Nâband, the oasis mentioned above, and thence in three marches on to Khûr in Kûhistân. There were the usual water-tanks at every three or four leagues along this route also. The town of Khabis, three marches from Måhån on the Kirmån border, was already almost within the Desert limits (see p. 308); and from here a road is given which reached Khawst (modern Khusf) in Kuhistån in ten marches. The frontier of Kuhistån was reached two marches before Khawst, at the village of Kukur, where the Desert ended; and on this road, at a place where was the tomb of a certain Al-Khârijî, there were to be found curious white and green pebbles, 'as though of camphor and glass,' while at another place, about four leagues off the road, was a small black boulder of very remarkable appearance'.

Lastly from Narmásír in Kirmán to Zarani, the capital of Sistan, the way crossed the narrow part of the Desert, going by the oasis of Sanij or Ispi, which has been described above. The first stage of this route was to Fahraj on the Desert border, and in four stages it brought the traveller to Sanij. Ibn Khurdådbih gives each stage of this route in leagues, Istakhri mentioning the day's march only, but the latter gives also a second route to Sanij by what he calls 'the New Road,' but this was a longer way. From Sanij it was seven or eight days' march to the city of Zaranj, the frontier of Sistân being crossed at Gâvnîshak, which was not far from Kundur, a place that is still marked on the map. Between Gâvnîshak and Kundur, and three or four stages south of Zaranj, was a Rubât or guard-house, built by 'Amr the Saffarid in the 3rd (9th) century, which according to Istakhri was known as Kantarah Kirmân, 'the Kirman Bridge'; although, as he is careful to remark, no actual bridge existed here. This place marks an important point, for in the middle-ages the Zarah lake had its borders as far south as this, as will be noticed in the following chapter4.

¹ Ist. 232, 233, 234- I. H. 292, 293, 294. Muk. 491, 492.

⁷ I. K. 49, 50. 1st. 237, 251, 252. 1. H. 296, 306, 307. Muk. 492. Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i. 256.

The province of Makran.

The arid ranges of the Makran coast are, in their general physical features, a prolongation of the Great Desert, and though during the earlier middle-ages the country appears to have been more fertile and populous than it is now, Makran was never a rich, or, politically, an important province. The chief product of Makran was the sugar-cane, and the particular kind of white sugar, known to the Arabs as Al-Fanidh (from the Persian Panid), and made here was largely exported to neighbouring lands.

The earlier geographers name many towns as in Makran, but give scant descriptions of them. The chief commercial centre was the port of Tiz on the Persian Gulf, and the capital of the province was Fannazbûr or Bannajbûr, which lay inland, at the place now known as Panj-gûr. Bannajbûr, according to Mukaddasî, had in the 4th (10th) century a clay-built fortress, protected by a ditch, and the town was surrounded by palm-groves. There were two city gates, Bâb Tîz opening south-west on the road to the gulf port, and Bâb Tûrân opening north-east on the road to the district of that name, of which the capital was Kuzdâr. A stream brought water to the city; and the Friday Mosque stood in the market-place, though, according to Mukaddasî, the people were really only Moslem in name, being savage Balûşîs (Balûchîs) whose language was a jargon*.

The ruins of the great port of Tiz lie at the head of what was a fine harbour for the small ships of the middle-ages. Mukaddasi describes Tiz as surrounded by palm-groves, and there were great warehouses in the town, and a beautiful mosque. The population

¹ I. H. 426, 232, 233. Muk. 475, 476. Vak. iv. 614. The sites of the various medieval towns in Makran are ably discussed by Sir T. H. Holdich in the Geographical Journal for 1896, p. 387, and, in the present state of our information, his conclusions cannot be bettered.

² Kannazbûr, or Kannajbûr, as the name has often been printed, is merely a clerical error for Fannazbûr, by a doubling of the diacritical points over the first letter. Ist. 170, 171, 177. I. H. 216, 232. Muk. 478. Panjgûr, 'Five Tombs,' is so called after the five martyred warriors of the first Arab conquest. It lies one march west of Kal'ah Naghah, and the surrounding district is also called Panj-gûr. Sykes, Persin, p. 234.

was of all nations, as is usual in a great seafaring port; and in the 6th (12th) century the place had, in large measure, acquired the trade of Hurmuz, which had fallen to ruin¹.

Of other towns in Makran the Arab geographers give only the names, and no descriptions. The names of the well-known town of Bampur, and Fahraj its neighbour, occur in Mukaddasi as Barbûr (for Banbûr) and Fahl Fahrah, Yâkût giving the last under the form Bahrah". The town of Kaşarkand, north of Tiz, is still a place of some importance; and Kaj, some distance to the east of this, is mentioned as Kij or Kiz. The names of Jalk and Dazak also occur; and Khwash or Khwas, which is probably the modern Gwasht, lying to the east of Khwash in the Sarhad district (already mentioned, p. 317). Råsk was, in the middle-ages, a town of some note on account of its fertile district called Al-Kharûj, but, from the Itineraries, there is doubt whether it can be identical with the present township of this name. Armabil and Kanbali were two important towns, on or near the coast, about half-way between Tiz and Daybul at the Indus mouth. Istakhri describes these as cities of considerable size, lying two days' march apart, and one of them was situated half a league distant from the sea. Their people were rich traders, who had dealings chiefly with India".

Fahraj a few miles to the east of Bampur in Makran, and Fahraj a few miles to the east of Narmasir in Kirman, must not be confused. There was

also Fahraj near Yazd.

Muk. 478. Yak. i. 907. For the present ruins of Tiz see Sykes, Persia, 101, 110, also Schindler, J.R.A.S. 1898, p. 45. See also the history of Afdal Kirmáni, Houtsma, Z. D. M. G. 1881, pp. 394 and 402.

³ Ist. 170, 171, 177, 178. I. H. 226, 232. Muk. 475, 476. Yak. i. 769; iv. 332. The spelling Armayil for Armabil is a frequent clerical error of the Mss. The rains of Armabil are probably at Lus Bela, and those of Kanball at Khayrokot. Sir T. Holdich, J. R. G. S., 1895, p. 400. The earlier Arab geographers in point of fact knew little about Makrân, and the later ones add nothing worth mentioning. Yâkût only repeats what his predecessors of the 4th (10th) century have said. All that Kazvini (ii. 181) has to tell us of this province is that there was a wonderful bridge there, crossing a river, and formed of one single block of stone. He adds,—'he who crosses it vomits up the contents of his belly, so that naught remains therein, and though thousands should pass over the bridge this always happens to each one. So when any man of that country requires to vomit he has only to cross this bridge.'

The present work does not pretend to deal with medieval India, and indeed the Arab geographers give no systematic account of that country. The Indian port best known to them, beyond the eastern end of the Persian Gulf, was Daybul, then a fine harbour at the principal mouth of the Indus. This was in the Sind province, of which the capital was Al-Mansûrah, called Brahmanâbâd by the Indians, a great city lying on one of the canals or branches of the lower Indus. The Indus was known to the Arabs as the Nahr Mihran, and many of the towns along its banks are named, more especially Al-Multán, the great city far up the affluent of the Indus called the Sindarûdh, where there was a famous idol temple. Istakhri, who compares the Indus with the Nile for size and importance, notices that the Indian river also had crocodiles like those of Egypt. The sources of the Indus, he says, were in the great mountains to the north, and near the origin of the Oxus. Of the Sind province were the people known to the Arabs under the name of Az-Zutt, called Jat by the Persians, who are now generally held to be identical with the forefathers of the Gipsies1.

On the north-eastern frontiers of Makran, and close to the Indian border, the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely, Turan, of which the capital was Kuṣdar, and Budahah to the north of this, of which the capital was Kandabil. Kuṣdar, also spelt Al-Kuzdar, is mentioned among the earlier conquests of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah. Ibn Hawkal describes it as standing on a river (wadi), and having a fortress in its midst. The plain around the town was very fertile, producing vines and pomegranates with other fruits of a cold climate. Mukaddasi adds that the city lay in two quarters, on either side of the dry riverbed; on one side was the palace of the Sultan and the castle,

Ist. 171, 172, 173, 175, 180. I. H. 226, 227, 228, 230, 234, 235. Muk. 476, 479, 482, 483. The ruins of the port of Daybul, now lying far inland, exist some 20 miles south-west of Thatta, and 45 miles east-south-east of Kurachi. Mansurah is on an old channel of the Indus delta, about 40 miles north-east of Hyderabad. Sind is of course only the old Persian form of the name Hind, but the Arabs used it vaguely to denote the great province to the east of Makran, which is now in part called Balüchistan and in part is included in modern Sind. Sindarüdh is the River of Sind.

on the other, which was called Bûdin, dwelt the merchants, whose shops in the market were much frequented by the Khurâsân folk. Mukaddasî adds that the houses were clay-built, and there were underground channels for the water-supply, but this was bad in quality and scanty.

Turan, the name given to the Kuşdar district, was often held to include the lands to the north, known as the Budahah district, of which the chief town, Kandabil, has been identified with the present Gandava, lying south of Sibi and east of Kelat. Kandabil is described by Ibn Hawkal as a large city, standing solitary in a plain, and no date palms grew here. Of its dependencies was the town of Kizkanan, or Kikan, which from its position in the Itineraries is to be identified with modern Kelat. Both these towns were often described as of Turan, some others being also named which it is impossible now to identify, for no sufficient description is given of them, and the readings of the Mss. vary considerably as to orthography. To the north of these districts was Bâlis, or Walishtan, with the towns of Sibi and Mastanj; but these were held by the early geographers to be included in Sijistan, and will therefore be noticed in the next chapter.

The routes across Makrân are in continuation of the roads of the Great Desert already described, and their ultimate point is India. They are unfortunately as a rule only given in a summary way, so many days' march from one town to another, and the distances cannot be considered as reliable. Ibn Khurdâdbih, however, gives the detail of one route in leagues, and stage by stage, though it is impossible now to identify the exact line across the Desert. Starting from Fahraj on the Desert border east of Bam and Narmâsir in Kirmân, he gives the 14 stages to Fannazbûr, the capital of Makrân; and thence, eastward, the names of three halting-places on the road to Kuṣdâr. An almost parallel route, but in the contrary direction, is given by Mukaddasi, from Kuṣdâr to Juy or Nahr Sulaymân, which lay 20 leagues east of Bam, but this road keeps north of Fannazbûr, passing by Jâlk and Khwāṣ².

¹ I. K. 56. 1st. 171, 176, 178. I. H. 226, 232, 233. Muk. 476, 478.

From the port of Tiz it was five marches to Kiz, and then two marches on to Fannazbur, to which city a road also came in from Kaşarkand, but by an indirect route. From Kiz, and from Kaşarkand, it is given as six marches to Armabil, then two to Kanbali, and thence four on to Daybul at the mouth of the Indus'.

It was reckoned as fourteen marches from Fannazbûr to Daybul. The distances in round numbers are given from Kuşdâr to Kandâbil, and to Kîzkânân (Kelat), also from these places on to Sîbî and Mastanj in Wâlishtân; and the Itineraries close by a summary of the number of days' march that it took to reach Multân and Manşûrah, the cities on the Indus, from Kuşdâr and from Kandâbîl, and from the frontiers of Wâlishtân beyond Sîbî².

¹ Ist. 178. I. H. 233. Muk. 485.

² Ist. 179. I. H. 233, 234. Muk. 486.

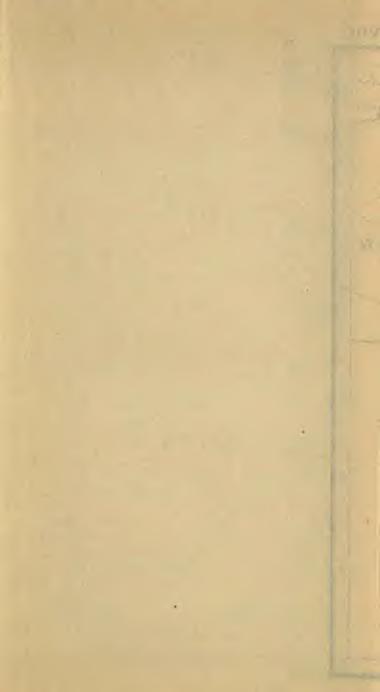
CHAPTER XXIV.

SIJISTÂN.

Sijistān, or Nīmrūz, and Zābulistān. Zaranj, the capital. The Zarah lake. The Helmund river and its canals. The ancient capital at Rām Shahristān. Nih. Farah, and the Farah river. The Khāsh river and the Nīshak district. Ķarnīn and other towns. Rūdbār and Bust. The districts of Zamīn Dāwar. Rukhkhaj and Bālis, or Wālishtān. Ķandahār, Ghaznah, and Kābul. The silver mines. The high roads through Sijistān.

Sistán, which the earlier Arabs called Sijistán from the Persian Sagistán, is the lowland country lying round, and to the eastward of, the Zarah lake, which more especially includes the deltas of the Helmund and other rivers which drain into this inland sea. The highlands of the Kandahár country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zâbulistân. Sîstân was also called Nîmrûz in Persian, meaning 'mid-day,' or the Southern Land, a name said to have been applied to the province in regard to its position to the south of Khurásân. Iştakhrî describes the Sijistân province as famous for its fertility; dates, grapes, and all food-stuffs were grown here abundantly, also assafœtida, which the people were wont to mix with all their dishes'.

It is to be borne in mind that the Zarah lake was, in the middle-ages, far more extensive than it has come to be at the present day. Besides the Helmund, a great river of many affluents, three other considerable streams drained into the lake, namely, the Khwash river, the Farah river, and the river from the neighbourhood of Asfuzar (Sabzivar of Herat), which is now known as the Harad. In Persian legend, Sistan and Zabulistan





PROVINCES OF KUHISTAN, KHURASAN, AND PART OF SIJISTAN

were famous as the home of Zâl, the father of the national hero Rustam, whose exploits are still current among the people. In the times of the early Abbasid Caliphate, Sîstân further became known to fame as the place of origin of the Saffârid Amirs, who in the second half of the 3rd (9th) century governed most of southern and eastern Persia, being virtually in the condition of independent princes.

The capital of the province, during the middle-ages, was the great city of Zaranj, destroyed by Timûr, of which the ruins still remain, covering a considerable area of ground. The name of Zaranj, however, has now entirely disappeared, and even in the later middle-ages had dropped out of use, the capital of the province being known to the later Arab-geographers merely as Madinah Sijistân, 'the City of Sijistân,' the Persian form being the equivalent, Shahr-i-Sistân, which was in use when Timûr finally laid the town in ruins'. Under the Sassanian kings Zaranj was already a great city, and at the time of the first Moslem conquest, in the year 20 (641), it is more than once mentioned. It was situated near the Sanârûdh canal, a great branch from the Helmund, which flowed out to the westward, and in flood-time reached the Zarah lake.

Ya'kûbî, in the 3rd (9th) century, describes Zaranj as four leagues in circumference, and in the next century we have a detailed notice of the city by Ibn Hawkal. It was then strongly fortified, consisting of an inner town surrounded by a wall having five gates, beyond which lay the suburbs of the outer

The rains of Zaranj lie round the modern villages of Zâhidân and Shahristân, along the old bed of one of the chief canals from the Helmund, which since the middle-ages has become dry. For the modern condition of these, and other ruined sites, see Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.G.S. for 1873, pp. 280, 283, 284; Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Perria, i. 301; Sykes, Persia, pp. 375, 382, 383. A sketch plan of the chief ruin is given by A. H. Savage Landor in Across Coveted Lands, ii. 228. Near Zâhidân is still seen the remains of a tower about 80 feet high, called the Mil-i-Zâhidân, having a spiral staircase, and two partly legible Kufic inscriptions. This tower, tradition says, was destroyed by Tîmûr; see G. P. Tate, in J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 171. Naṣratâbād, the modern capital of Sistân, lies a few miles to the south of these ruins; it was known at first under the name of Nâṣirâbād, which name, however, has now gone out of use. According to Mr Savage Landor it is at the present day also known as Shahr-i-Naṣriyah.

town, enclosed by the outer wall, which had thirteen gates, these latter opening across a great moat filled with water from springs and from the overflow of the canals. The five gates of the inner town were all of iron. Two, close by one another, opening to the south-east towards Fårs, and known as the Fårs gates, were individually called the Båb-al-Jadid and the Båb-al-'Atik, 'the New Gate' and 'the Old Gate.' To the north, towards Khuråsån, was the Båb Karkûyah, called after the neighbouring town of Karkûyah; the Båb Nîshak was on the eastern road, toward Bust; while the Båb-at-'Ja'ām, 'the Victuals Gate,' which was most in use of all the five, opened on the road leading south through the markets and the gardens lying outside Zaranj.

The Great Mosque, Masjid-al-Jâmi', was in the outer town, standing near the two south-western gates, on the Fars road, and the prison stood near it, beside the old Government House. Between the Nishak and the Karkûyah gates, in the north-east part of the town, was the ark or citadel containing the treasury, which had been erected by 'Amr, the second Saffarid prince. His elder brother Ya'kûb, the founder of the dynasty, had built himself a palace, which subsequently became the new Government House, in that part of the inner town lying between the two southwestern gates and the Bab-at-Ta'am. Near this was also the palace of 'Amr; and these, like all the other houses of the town, were constructed of clay bricks and vaulted, since no beams could be used here for roofing, all woodwork rapidly perishing from the damp climate, and from being bored through by worms. . In both the inner and the outer town were many hostels (fandûk), and in the outer town or suburb were the Government offices. The markets of the inner town stood near the Great Mosque. Those of the outer town were extremely populous, and especially famous was that called Sak 'Amr, built by the second Saffarid prince, the rents from which, amounting every day to over 1000 dirhams (£,40), were divided between the Great Mosque, the town hospital (Bîmaristân), and the Mecca sanctuary.

In the outer town the markets extended for nearly half a league in length, with a continuous line of shops going from the two Fars gates of the inner wall, to the gate of the outer suburb wall. Throughout Zaranj water was plentiful, being brought from

the Sanarûdh by a series of minor canals or watercourses, which entered the inner city at three points-the New Gate, the Old Gate, and the Gate of Victuals. The three together had waterpower 'sufficient to turn a mill,' and they flowed into two great reservoir tanks near the mosque, whence the water was distributed throughout the inner town. The houses of the outer town were also well provided by channels with running water, which was an indispensable convenience in this hot climate; and each house had a Sardab, or cellar-room, for living in during the hot season, when the heat of Zaranj was most oppressive. Round the town lay the sabkhah, or salt marshes, where date palms grew, environed by the desert sands. Here violent winds blew continually, moving the sands about in a dangerous way and often overwhelming whole villages and devastating the cultivated districts. ceaseless wind was used by the people to turn their windmills, which were a feature peculiar to this country. The 'moving sands,' however, were a continual source of danger, and Ibn Hawkal gives a long account of how, in the year 360 (970) and odd, the Great Mosque of Zaranj became quite choked up with sand.

Such was Zaranj in the 4th (10th) century, and this description is repeated by Mukaddasi. He refers also to the riches and the learning of the inhabitants, notes the strongly fortified castle (Kal'ah), and the two famous minarets of the Great Mosque, one of which had been built by Ya'kub the Saffarid. The city continued to flourish for many centuries, and even during the Mongol invasion of the year 619 (1222), when Changiz Khân sent his hordes to ravage Sîstân, the capital seems to have escaped devastation, and it was for some time after this date under a Mongol governor. In the early part of the 8th (14th) century, Mustawfi speaks of Zaranj (the name of which the Persians pronounced Zarang) as very flourishing; and the city, he says, was protected from the 'moving sands' of the neighbouring desert by a great dyke (Band), stated to have been originally built by the ancient king Gurshasf, and to have been afterwards restored by King Bahman, son of Isfandiyar. Mustawfi praises the gardens of Zarani, which produced excellent and abundant fruit, these gardens being irrigated from the Black Canal (Siyah Rûd) which

was taken from one of the branches of the Helmund river. At the end of the century, however, in 785 (1383), Timûr appeared with his armies before the city, which, as already said, was then known as Shahr-i-Sistân (Sistân city), and its fate was not long left in doubt. Timûr had already taken and destroyed the neighbouring fortress, called the Kal'ah or Ḥiṣār Zarah, which probably stood to the north of Zaranj, near the borders of the lake. The capital of Sistân closed its gates, and declined to surrender. After a short siege it was taken by storm, all its inhabitants who could be found were massacred, its walls were then razed and its houses destroyed. Since that time Zaranj has come to be a nameless ruin.

The Zarah or Zirrah lake (Buhayrah Zarah), as already said, in medieval times had permanently a far greater extent than is now generally the case; but at all times its area is noted as fluctuating in size, according as the rivers were in flood or drought. It is described by Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century as having a length of 30 leagues (100 miles), counting from a place called Kurin in Kühistân to the Sijistân frontier post near Kanṭarah Kirmân, at the third stage on the road from Zaranj to Narmâsir (see above, p. 328). The lake was reckoned as the equivalent of a day's journey (marhalah, about 30 miles) across. It was of sweet water and full of reeds, and was plentifully stocked with fish; its borders, except on the desert side, were dotted with many farmsteads and populous villages, where the fish were caught and dried for export.

The chief water-supply of the Zarah lake came from the great river Helmund, which Yakût rightly characterises as 'the

¹ Baladhuri, 392, 394. Ykb. 281. Ist. 239—242. I. H. 297—299, 301. Muk. 303. Mst. 183. A. Y. i. 362.

² A number of sketch maps, showing the present condition of the Helmund delta and the lake, are given by Major Sykes, *Persia*, pp. 364, 372. At its southern extremity the great lake basin is in connection with an immense channel—some 50 miles in length, and averaging 350 yards broad, with cliffs 50 feet high—which is called the Shela. This runs in a south-easterly direction into the Gawd-i-Zarah, or 'Hollow of Zarah,' a second lake bed, lying due south of the bend in the lower Helmund, and this Gawd, or hollow, in seasons of flood, receives the overflow of the lake. The Gawd-i-Zarah has an area measuring 100 miles from east to west by about 30 miles across. Sykes, *Persia*, p. 365.

river of the thousand affluents.' He spells the name Hindmand, Hidmand being a common variant probably due to clerical error, also Hirmand (or Hirmid), and by this name Mustawfi describes the river, which he also calls the Ab-i-Zarah, or Stream of the Zarah (lake). Helmund is the more common modern form. The great river rises in the mountain range lying between Ghaznah and Bâmiyân, which now forms part of Afghanistân, but which, in the middle-ages, was known as the district (or kingdom) of Ghûr. Taking a south-westerly course it passed down through the broad valley known as the Zamîn-Dâwar to the city of Bust, where it was joined on its left bank by the Kandahar river, which watered the country called Rukhkhaj. Bust was the first city the river came to of Sijistan proper, and from here the Helmund began its great semicircular bend, flowing south, then west, and then north to Zaranj, whence turning west again its waters were discharged into the Zarah lake.

When one march, or some 30 miles distant, from Zaranj the Helmund was checked by a series of great dams, which had been built to hold up its waters for irrigation needs, and at this point the greater volume of the main stream was drawn off into five great canals flowing out towards Zaranj and the lake. The first or southernmost of these was the Nahr-at-Ta'am, 'the Victuals Canal, which irrigated the lands and farms outside the Bab-at-Ta'am, the gate of Zarani already mentioned, which lands in part were of the Nishak district. The next canal was called the Nahr Bâsht Rûdh; and the third was the Sanârûdh, which, starting from the main stream of the Helmund one league from Zaranj, was the waterway to the capital, so that, as Ibn Hawkal remarks, in floodtimes a traveller could go by boat all the way from Bust to Zaranj. The fourth canal, which irrigated some thirty villages, was called the Nahr Sha'bah, and the fifth was the Nahr Mila. Beyond this what was left of the main stream of the Helmund entered the channel known as the Nahr Kazak, where its waters were again dammed back for irrigation purposes, except in the flood season, when the overflow escaped direct to the Zarah lake'.

¹ Ist. 242-244. I. H. 300, 301. Muk. 329. Yak. i. 514; iv. 272, 993, 993. Mst. 216, 226. Mukaddast refers to the lake under the name of Buhayrah-aş-Şanat, but this possibly is merely a clerical error.

Zaranj, according to the earlier Arab geographers, had not been originally the capital city of Sijistân under the ancient Persian kings. Their capital had stood at Ram Shahristan, otherwise called Abrashahriyar, a city that had already in the 4th (10th) century been swallowed up by the desert sands, but of which the ruins, with parts of houses, still remained standing, and visible at that date. The situation of this ancient capital is given vaguely as lying three marches from Zarani, on the left hand of one going from that city towards Kirman, 'near Darak and over against Råsak,' two unknown places. It is stated that in older days the main branch canal from the Helmund had brought water to this place, by which all the surrounding lands were fully irrigated. The dam across the great river which fed this canal had, however, suddenly burst, and the waters, pouring down another channel, became permanently diverted. As a result the whole region round the older city lapsed to the state of a desert, and the inhabitants, migrating in a body, founded the city of Zarani.

At some distance to the west of the Zarah lake, on the Kûhistân frontier and close to the border of the Great Desert, is the town of Nih, or Nih, which is named by earlier Arab geographers as belonging to Sistân. Mukaddasî mentions it as a strongly fortified town, the houses of which were built of clay, water being brought down from the hills by underground channels. Nih is also referred to by Yâkût and Mustawfî, who, however, add no details, except to state that it was founded by King Ardashir Bâbgân, though at the present day the remains of great fortifications, and the immense ruins found here, would seem to prove that in the middle-ages it had been a place of much importance.

Of the rivers flowing into the Zarah lake from the north that which comes down from Asfuzâr (Sabzivâr of Herât), and is now known as the Hârûd, does not appear to be mentioned by the

¹ Ist. 242. I. H. 300. Muk. 306. Vak. iv. 871. Mst. 183. The position of Râm Shahristân is not certain. Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S. 1873, p. 274) would place it at Râmrûd, near the beginning of the Shela, where there are extensive ruins. These ruins, which apparently at the present day are known as Shahr-i-Rustam, Rustam's city, are described, and a sketch plan given, by A. H. Savage Landor in Acress Coveted Lands, ii. 270. The ruins of Nih are described by Major Sykes, Persia, p. 413.

Arab geographers. They notice, however, the Farah river, which takes its rise in the mountains of the Ghur district. This, the Wâdî Farah, after leaving the hill country, soon entered the province of Sijistân, and came to the city of Farah, which Ibn Ḥawkal speaks of as lying in a plain, being a large place of clay-built houses, and with sixty dependent villages having many farms where much fruit was grown, more especially dates. Mukaddasi adds that the city of Farah was in two quarters, occupied respectively by the orthodox Moslems, and by the Kharijite sectaries. One stage south of the city was the bridge over the river called the Kantarah Farah (Pûl-i-Farah, in Persian), where the high road down to Zaranj crossed from the right bank to the left. This bridge, where there was also a town, was four days' march above Juvayn, and about half-way between the two (according to Ibn Rustah) was a place called Kahan. Near Kahan, one league away to the westward, was a remarkable sand-hill, with strange acoustic properties; for if water, or any small object, were thrown on the sand of this hillock 'a great noise was heard, like a buzzing sound, and very terrible to listen to.' This wonderful sand-hill is also mentioned by Bîrûni, writing in the 5th (11th) century, and similar acoustic properties of 'the moving sand' have been remarked at the present day in the hillocks of the dunes forming the desert between Sijistan and Kûhistân. The modern double town of Lâsh-Juvayn, at the present time a place of much importance, is mentioned by Mukaddasi, under the form Kuwayn (for Guvayn), as a small city, strongly fortified, in which there was no Friday Mosque, for its inhabitants were all Kharijite sectaries; but except as a stage on the high road, no medieval authority other than Mukaddasi describes the place, and the name Lash is not found.

About half-way between Juvayn and Zaranj the high road crossed the chief overflow canal of the Helmund by a bridge, and a few leagues south of this stood the important town of Karkûyah. This last was one stage north of Zaranj, and gave its name, it will be remembered, to the northern city gate. Karkûyah was peopled by Khârijites, according to Yâkût, and many ascetics lived here, but it was chiefly remarkable for its great fire-temple, so much venerated by all the Magians of Persia. Ķazvînî, writing at the

close of the 7th (13th) century, gives a long account of this building, which he says was covered by two domes, said to date from the mythical times of the national hero Rustam. Each dome was surmounted by a horn, the two horns curving apart one from the other like the two horns of a bull, and these were relics of the aforesaid hero. Under the twin domes stood the fire-temple, where the sacred fire had never been allowed to become extinguished. A priest, who was at stated times relieved by his fellows, served this temple; and he was wont to stand twenty ells away from the fire, having a veil before his mouth, lest his breath should defile the fire, and he fed the flame continually with span-long logs of tamarisk wood, which he laid on with silver tongs. Kazvînî adds that this was one of the most venerated of the fire-temples of the Magians. Not far from Karkûyah, and three leagues from Zaranj, was the town of Kurunk, which Yakût says was commonly pronounced Kurûn, and under this last name it still exists. It was, Yâkût adds, a pleasant place, full of good things, with a population of Khārijites and weavers'.

The Khåsh, Khwåsh, or Khuwåsh² river flows down to the Zarah lake between the Farah river and the Helmund. It is called by Ibn Hawkal the Nahr Nîshak, Nîshak being the name of the populous district lying due eastward of Zaranj, which gave its name, as already stated, to the eastern gate of the capital. This river also took its rise in the Ghûr mountains, and the town of Khwåsh lies on its banks, being about one day's march from Zaranj. Ibn Hawkal describes Khwåsh as the largest town of this district,

² There were in this region at least three places of this or a similar name; viz. the present river and town of Khāsh, then the town of this name in the Jabal-al-Kufs (see p. 317), lastly, Khwās of Makrān (see p. 330).

of Ancient Nations, translated by C. E. Sachau, p. 235 (Arabic text, p. 246). For an example, at the present day, of a sand-hill that gives sounds like 'an Acolian harp,' see Sir F. Goldsmid (Eastern Persia, i. 327), who visited this extraordinary hill, which is at the shrine of Imam Zâyid, five miles west of Kal'ah-i-Kâh. Ist. 244. I. H. 303, 304. Muk. 306, 329. Mst. 215. Kaz. ii. 163. Vak. iii. 42, 888; iv. 263, 269. The site of Karkûyah probably is to be sought among the immense ruins to the south of Pîshâvarân. There is an old bridge here, of two arches, called Takht-î-Pûl; cf. Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, î. 315. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 118. The fire-temple was known to the Zoroastrians as the Mainyo Karko.

and famous for its date palms. When Yākût wrote the name had already come to be more generally pronounced Khāsh, as at the present day. The most famous city of the district, but a smaller place than Khwāsh, was Karnîn or Al-Karnîn, the birth-place of the Ṣaffārid princes Ya'kûb and 'Amr, sons of Layth, the famous coppersmith. Karnîn was situated out in the desert plain to the north-west of Khwāsh, and one march from it on the road to Farah. They showed here, Ibn Khurdādbih remarks, the relics of the stall of Rustam's horse. Mukaddasî speaks of Karnîn as a small place, but well fortified, having a stream going through the town, which had a Friday Mosque, and possessed suburbs. Mustawfī also refers to it, adding that both corn and fruit were grown in the neighbouring lands, which were very fertile.

Half-way between Karnîn and Farah stood the little town of Jizah, about equal to the former in size, which Ibn Hawkal describes as possessing many villages and farms, for it stood in a very fertile country, amply irrigated by underground water-courses. The buildings of the town were of sun-dried bricks; and Yâkût adds that in his day the people pronounced the name Gizah. The whole district along the Khwâsh river, known as Nîshak, was, as already said, extremely populous in the 4th (10th) century. Harûrî, 'a populous village belonging to the Sulţân,' which still exists, lies on the river bank below Khwâsh, where the high road coming in from Bust crossed the Khwâsh river by a bridge of burnt brick. The village of Sarûzan was the next stage on the way to Zaranj, and between these two was situated Zânbûk, a strongly fortified hamlet, which Mukaddasî ranks for size with Iuvayn.

One day's journey north of Zaranj, but its exact position is not given in the Itineraries, lay the important town of At-Tak, 'the Arch.' It was very populous, and Mukaddasi records that grapes in abundance were grown here and in the adjacent farmsteads. Abu-l-Fidâ in the 8th (14th) century, quoting from Ibn Sa'îd, states that this place, which he names Hisn-at-Tak (the Fortress of the Arch), crowned a high hill at a bend of the Helmund, where, after throwing off the canals to Zaranj, the main stream finally turned westward and flowed out to the Zarah lake; and the town is mentioned, together with the fort of Zarah (Kal'ah

or Hiṣār-i-Zarah), as having been captured by Tîmûr immediately prior to his attack on Zaranj. In the days of the first Moslem conquest another fortress is mentioned as of this region, namely, Zâlik, which is given as lying five leagues from both Karkûyah and from Zaranj. Nothing further, however, is known of it, and in later times the place is not referred to'.

Bust, approximately, lies in the same latitude as Zaranj, and the direct road from Zaranj thither goes due east by Harûrî as already described, and across the desert. The course of the Helmund, however, doubles the distance by making its semicircular sweep to the south, and half-way along its course stands the town of Rûdbâr. This place is apparently mentioned by Baladhuri, at the time of the first Moslem conquest, for he speaks of a town called Ar-Rüdhbar of Sijistan as lying in the direction of Kandahar; and near this Ar-Rûdhbar was Kishsh (or Kiss), which appears to be the place called Kaj, or Kuhîch, at the present day. Rûdhbâr is elsewhere only incidentally mentioned by the Arab geographers; possibly it is identical with the Rudhbar described by Istakhrî as of the Fîrûzkand district near Bust. This place had many fruitful fields and farms, but the chief export is said to have been salt. Another place of this neighbourhood is Az-Zâlikân, otherwise spelt Sâlakân, or Jâlikân. It is described by Ibn Hawkal as one march from Bust, but in which direction is not stated, and the name does not occur in the Itineraries. It was a town mostly inhabited by weavers, but surrounded by extensive and fruitful lands, well watered by streams, and in the ath (10th) century it was of about the size of Karnin.

Bust (or Bast) on the Helmund, at the junction of the river from the Kandahâr district, has always been an important place. Iṣṭakhrī mentions that at its gate was the great bridge of boats, 'like those used in 'Irâk,' across which the high road came in from Zaranj. Bust was the second largest city of Sijistân in the 4th (roth) century, the people were in easy circumstances, and are described as dressing after the fashion of the men of 'Irâk, and as being for the most part merchants who traded with India. The neighbouring lands were extremely fertile, growing dates and

Baladhuri, 393, 395.
 I. H. 301, 302, 303, 304.
 I. K. 40.
 Muk. 306.
 Yak. ii. 72, 486; iv. 272.
 Mst. 185.
 A. F. 343.
 A. Y. i. 370.

grapes; and Bust was accounted the chief town of all the mountainous country of eastern Sijistân, which included the two great districts of Zamin-Dawar and Rukhkhai. Mukaddasi states that the city and its fortress, surrounded by great suburbs, stood one league above the junction of the river Khardarûy (the modern Argandab) with the Hirmand (Helmund). It possessed a fine mosque, and the markets were well stocked. Half-a-league distant, on the Ghaznah road, was Al-'Askar, 'the Camp,' built like a small city, where the Sultan had his residence. In the 7th (13th) century Yâkût writes that Bust was almost entirely a ruin, and he notices the heat of the climate, while mentioning the abundance of its gardens. At the close of the 8th (14th) century the place and its neighbourhood were devastated by Tîmûr, who marched hither from Zaranj, destroying on his way one of the great dams across the Helmund, known as the Band-i-Rustam, that kept up the head of water which served to irrigate all the western lands of Sîstân1.

The broad valley, down which the Helmund flows from the mountains of Hindû Kush to Bust, still bears the name, Zamin-Dâwar, by which the Arab geographers refer to the district. This is the Persian form of which the Arabic equivalent is 'Ardad-Dawar or Balad-ad-Dawar, the meaning being the same, namely, 'the Land of the Gates,' or passes, into the mountains. During the middle-ages this was a fertile and very populous district, with four chief towns, namely, Dartall, Darghash, Baghnin and Sharwan, with numerous great villages and farmsteads. The chief town of the district was Dartal, Dartall, or Tall as Istakhri writes the name, which appears to be identical with the city of Dawar described by Mukaddasl. It was a fine large town, with a fortress, garrisoned by horse guards, who in the 4th (10th) century. held this as the frontier post on the road towards the Ghur mountains. It lay on the bank of the Helmund river, three marches above Bust, and in the account of the first Moslem conquest it is stated that near here was the mountain, Jabal-az-Zûr, where the great idol called Zûr, or Zûn, had been taken as

¹ Baladhuri, 394, 434. Ist. 244, 245, 248. I. H. 302, 304. Muk. 297, 304. Vak. ii. 10, 612; iv. 184. A. Y. i. 370.

booty by the Arabs, this idol being all of gold, with eyes of corundum (yákût).

One march yet higher up the Helmund, and on the same bank as Dartall, was Darghash, while Baghnin lay one march to the westward of Dartall, in the country held by the Turkish tribes known as the Bishlank, among whom abode the tribe of the Khalaj. These Khalaj Turks afterwards emigrated westward, but Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes them as then living very contentedly in the Zamin-Dâwar country, 'after the Turk fashion.' A fifth town of the Zamin-Dâwar was Khwâsh (spelt like the place on the river of that name, just mentioned), which Istakhri described as an unwalled city, but protected by a castle. Unfortunately its position is not given, but some authorities count it as belonging to Kâbul.

Between Bust and Dartall, and one march south of the latter town, being apparently not situated on the Helmund river, stood the city of Sarwân or Sharwân, which Ibn Ḥawkal describes as of the size of Karnîn, but more populous and prosperous. Great quantities of fruit, dates and grapes especially, were exported from its district, and that of Fîrûzkand, which latter lay south of the Sharwân district and one march to the eastward of Bust¹.

The Rukhkhaj district, occupying the country round about Kandahâr, lay to the eastward of Bust along the banks of the streams now known as the Tarnak and the Argandâb. The capital of Rukhkhaj in the middle-ages was Banjaway, the Arabic form of Panj-wây, 'Five Streams,' which is still the name of the district west of Kandahâr, near the junction of the two rivers Tarnak and Argandâb. The Rukhkhaj district was immensely fertile during the middle-ages, and wool was exported thence in large quantities, bringing in a good revenue to the treasury. The site of Banjaway city is difficult to fix. It lay on the high road four marches from Bust, at the point where the ways bifurcated, one road going north in 12 marches to Ghaznah, the other east in six marches to Sibi. It probably was not far from Kandahâr,

¹ Baladhuri, 394. Ist. 244, 245, 248. I. H. 302, 304. Muk. 305. Yak. ii. 541; iv. 220. None of these towns of the Zamln-Dawar now exist, but Dartall, the capital, must have occupied approximately the site of modern Girishk.

but the distance between the two cities is nowhere given. One league to the west of Banjaway city was the fortress of Kûhak, 'the Hillock,' with a town lying round the fort. Banjaway itself had good fortifications, as well as a fine mosque. It got its water from the neighbouring river.

One stage from here, on the Sîbî road, lay the town of Bakrāwādh (for Bakrābād, which Iṣṭakhrì and Ibn Ḥawkal give as Takînābādh, probably from a clerical error), where there was a Friday Mosque in the town market-place; and this town too stood upon a stream that joined the Ḥandahār river.

The city of Kandahâr (or Al-Kunduhâr) is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first Moslem conquests of the places near the Indian frontier. Balâdhurî says it was reached from Sijistan after crossing the desert, and the Moslems, he adds, attacked the place in boats from the river, destroying the great idol Al-Budd, doubtless a statue of Buddha. After this period only incidental mention of Kandahar occurs-generally as of Hind or the Indian frontier-in Mukaddasi, Ibn Rustah, and Ya'kûbî. Unfortunately no early Itinerary takes us to Kandahâr, and in the systematic accounts of the province by Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal the name is altogether wanting. Possibly Banjaway replaced it during the earlier middle-ages, for Yakût gives no description of the town, and the name only reappears in history when it is spoken of as being devastated first by the Mongols in the early part of the 7th (13th) century, and then again by Tîmûr at the close of the next century'.

The district round Sibi was known to the Arab geographers as Bâlis, otherwise Bâlish, or Wâlishtân. The capital city according to Iṣṭakhri was Sîbi, spelt Sivi or Sîwah, but the governor generally resided at Al-Kaṣr (the Castle), a small town situated one league distant from Asfanjây, or Safanjavî, the second city of the district, the exact site of which has not been identified, but which lay two marches north of Sîbi on the road to Banjaway of Rukhkhaj. The town of Mastang, or Mastanj, is also mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī and Mukaddasī, who name a number of other villages of this

Baladhuri, 434, 445. Ist. 244, 250. I. H. 301, 302, 305. Muk. 305. Yak. iv. 331. A. Y. i. 376. Dr H. W. Bellew, From the Indus to the Tigris, p. 160.

district, which was said to include in all some 2200 hamlets, but no description is given of any of these places 1.

Ghaznah, or Ghaznayn, became famous in history at the close of the 4th (beginning of the 11th) century as the capital of the great Mahmûd of Ghaznah, who at one time was master both of India on the east and Baghdad on the west. Unfortunately no adequate description has come down to us of Ghaznah at the time when it was rebuilt and adorned by Mahmûd with all the plunder of his Indian raids. A generation before this Iştakhrî describes the place as like Bamiyan, with fine streams but few gardens. He adds that no city of this countryside was richer in merchants and merchandise, for it was as the 'port' of India. Mukaddasi gives a long list of the names of its districts and towns, most of which, however, it is impossible to identify at the present day. He writes the name Ghaznayn, in the dual form, but to what the 'Two Ghaznahs' has reference is not stated, though Ghaznayn in later times is more generally used than the form Ghaznah. Mukaddasi adds that all the country between this and Kábul was known as Kábulistán.

It was about the year 415 (1024) that Mahmud had rebuilt Ghaznah, on his return home laden with the spoils of India, and the city then reached its greatest splendour, which lasted for over a century. The Ghurid Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Din, surnamed Jahân-sûz, 'world incendiary,' to revenge his brother's death at the hands of Bahrâm Shâh the Ghaznavid, took Ghaznah by storm in 544 (1149), and afterwards both sacked and burnt the city, which never recovered from this calamity. The tomb of the great Mahmud in the mosque nevertheless appears to have been spared, or else it was restored, for Ibn Batutah saw it here in the 8th (14th) century. He describes Ghaznah as then for the most part in ruins, though formerly, he adds, it had been an immense city. His contemporary Mustawfi speaks of it as a small town, with a very cold climate on account of its great elevation, but he gives no details of any importance².

¹ Ist. 179, 244. I. H. 301. Muk. 297.

² Ist. 280. I. H. 328. Muk. 296, 297. I. B. iii. 88. Mst. 184. Unfortunately 'Utbl, in his History of Mahmhd of Ghaznah, gives no detailed

As we have seen, the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahâr rivers was known to the Arabs as Zābulistān, a term of vague application, but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand Kābulistān was the Kābul country, lying more to the north on the frontiers of Bāmiyān; and this is the division found in the accounts of the conquests of Tīmūr. Already in the 3rd (9th) century Ya'kūbī describes Kābul as much frequented by merchants, who brought back from this country the Kābulī Ahlīlaj, or myrobalan of the larger sort. Ya'kūbī says the chief city was then known as Jurwas, while Iṣṭakhrī in the next century gives the name as Tābān. Kābul, however, appears also to have been the name in common use, but more especially for the district.

There was here a famous Kuhandiz or castle, and the town which was approached by only a single road was well fortified. It was the great emporium of the Indian trade, indigo (nîl) being brought here for export to the value of a million gold dînârs yearly (about half-a-million sterling); further, most of the precious stuffs of India and China were warehoused here. As early as the 4th (10th) century the Moslems, the Jews, and the idolaters, had each a separate quarter in Kâbul, where the suburbs, the markets, and the merchants' warehouses were alike famous. Mukaddasi mentions, too, a wonderful well in the castle; and for him Kâbulis especially the country of the myrobalan. He counts Kâbulistân as an outlying region of Sijistân. Kazwinî, in the 7th (13th) century, states that Kâbul was then famous for the breed of she-

description of the capital. See the article on Ghaznah by Sir H. Yule in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed.). x. 560, where a plan is given.

Myrobalan was a name applied during the middle-ages to certain dried fruits and kernels of astringent nature, imported from India, which had a high reputation in the concoction of the medicines of those days. The name is of Greek origin, the Indian fruits used in the manufacture of this condiment are of a variety of species, and one of the best known kinds of myrobalan was that called *Chebulic*, namely, that from Kâbul. The Arabs named the drug (for this it came to be) Ahlilaj or Halilaj, and Ibn Baytâr in his Dictionary of Drugs (translated by Dr J. Sontheimer, i. 163; ii. 572) has two articles about it; see also Doty, Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes, s.v. Ihillaj, and Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms, by Yule and Burnell, s.v. Myrobalan.

camels, known as Bactrian (Bukhti), the best in all central Asia. Ibn Baṭúṭah, who visited Kābul in the next century, says that it had then sunk to be a mere village, inhabited by the tribe of Persians known as Afghans (Al-Afghān).

The Kâbul river is an affluent of the Indus, and is formed by the junction of two streams coming down from the Hindú Kush range, the mountains to the north of Kābul1. At the eastern source are the celebrated silver mines, known to the Arabs as Banjahir (for Panj-hir, or 'Five Hills,' in the dialect of the country), from which large quantities of the precious metal were obtained. and Banjahir became a mint city under the Saffarid princes in the 3rd (9th) century, the dirhams, of course, bearing the name also of the Abbasid Caliph. Banjahir city is described by Ibn Hawkal as standing on a hill, and inhabited by 10,000 miners, who were an unruly folk, much given to evil living. Jarbayah was a neighbouring town, also lying on the Banjahir, or Kâbul river, which thence flowed out towards the plains of India, past Farwan, a large town with a mosque. Mukaddasl further mentions the town of Shiyan in the district of Askimasht, where there was a wondrous spring, and a fine mosque built by the Arab general Kutaybah-ibn-Muslim, who had commanded the troops at the time of the first Moslem conquest. Yakût gives us a long account of these silver mines with their population of riotous miners. He says that the whole mountain side was hollowed out in caverns, where men worked in the bowels of the earth by torch-light. The people were given over entirely to a species of gambling, men found themselves rich one day and paupers on the morrow; they would recklessly spend 300,000 dirhams (£,12,000) in the mere digging of a new shaft. The ruin of the place was due to Changiz Khán; and when Ibn Batútah, who speaks of the blue waters of the neighbouring stream, came here in the 8th (14th) century, he found no silver mine, but only the disused tunnels of the former workings.

Hindú Kush, in Persian, means (the Mountain that) 'kills the Hindus.' Ibn Batútah (iii. 84) is one of the first to give this name, which is unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. He explains that the range was so called because many Indian slaves died in crossing it when journeying to Persia.

The products of Sijistân were few in number; and all that Mukaddasi records is that date-baskets, called *sanabil*, were made here for export, also ropes of palm-fibre and reed-mats.

The high roads in Sijistan all centred in Zaranj, to which in the first place led the desert road from Narmasîr viá Sanîj, which has been described in the last chapter. From Zaranj northwards, a road went to Herât, passing through Karkûyah, and thence by a bridge over the Helmund overflow to Juvayn on the Farah river. From Juvayn Farah city was reached by a road up the river bank, which crossed the river by the bridge of Farah (mentioned p. 341), beyond which was Farah city. Three marches north of Farah lay Asfuzâr (or Sabzivâr of Herât), the first town in Khurâsân. The distances in leagues along this road unfortunately are not given, only the stages of each day's march, for which Istakhrî and Ibn Hawkal are the chief authorities*. Moreover a good deal of uncertainty exists in the spelling of the names of many of the halting-places.

From Zaranj the road east went to Harûrî on the Khwâsh river, whence taking a straight line across the desert the city of Bust was reached in five marches. At Bust the roads bifurcated, one going to the Zamîn-Dâwar country of the upper Helmund, and another to Banjaway of Rukhkhaj, in the neighbourhood of Kandahâr. At Banjaway there was again a bifurcation of the roads, one going north-eastward to Ghaznah, and a second to Sîbî, through the town known as Asfanjây. On these routes too it is to be noted that the distances are again given merely in marches, many of the names of the stages being most uncertain.

Ykb. 290, 291. Ist. 278, 280. I. H. 327, 328. Muk. 297, 303, 304,
 Yak. i. 473; ii. 904, 905; iii. 454. Kaz. ii. 162. A. Y. i. 558. I. B.
 85, 89. Mst. 188.

³ I. R. 174. Ist. 248, 249. I. H. 304, 305. Muk. 330.

³ Ist. 249-252. I. H. 305-307. Muk. 349, 350.

CHAPTER XXV.

KÛHISTÂN.

The province called Tunocain by Marco Polo. Kåyin and Tun. Turshîz and the Pusht district; the Great Cypress of Zoroaster. Zåvah. Bûzjân and the Zam district. Bâkharz district and Mâlin. Khwâf. Zîrkûh. Dashti-Biyâd. Gunâbâd and Bajistân. Țabas of the dates. Khawst, or Khûsf. Birjand and Mûminâbâd. Ţabas Masinân and Duruh.

The province of Kûhistân, like Sijistân, was generally held to be a dependency of Khurâsân by the Arab geographers. Kûhistân means 'the Mountain Land,' and the province is thus named in accordance with its distinguishing physical features, the hills here being contrasted with the lowlands of Sijistân, lying to the east of Kûhistân on the Helmund delta. Kûhistân, as Ibn Ḥawkal remarks, has for the most part a cold climate from its elevation, and the date palm only grew at Tabas Gilakî on the edge of the Great Desert. In the 4th (10th) century the nomad inhabitants of the country were Kurds, who possessed great flocks of sheep and camels. Without doubt this province is identical with the 'Tunocaîn kingdom' of Marco Polo, who took the names of its two chief cities (Tûn and Kâyin) to be the designation of the whole country'.

The chief town of Kûhistân was Kâyin, which Ibn Ḥawkal describes as protected by a strong fortress, surrounded by a ditch; and the governor's house stood here, also the Friday Mosque.

¹ Ist. 273, 274. I. H. 324, 325. Muk. 301. Marco Polo, Yule, i. 87, 131. The name is spelt Kûhistân by the Arabs (with dotted K), and Kûhistân in Persian, where Kûh means 'mountain,' but the first vowel in the name is as often as not written short (Kuhistân or Kuhistân).

Water was supplied by underground channels, but the gardens were not very fruitful or numerous, for the cold was severe in winter. The city had three gates, and its merchants carried on a considerable trade with Khurasan. Ibn Hawkal adds that at a place two days' march from Kâyin, on the Nîshâpûr road, a kind of edible clay, called Tin Najāḥā, was found, and this, he says, was exported to all the neighbouring lands and largely eaten by the people. Kayin was visited in 444 (1052) by Nâşir-i-Khusraw, who describes the inner town as forming a fortress of great strength. The Great Mosque here had in its sanctuary (Maksurah) the largest arch to be seen in all Khurasan, and the houses of the town, he says, had all domed roofs. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century notes in the first place the central position of Kâyin, which was, he says, just 20 leagues distant from every other important place in Kühistân. It was a fine city: all the houses were supplied with water by channels below ground, and had cellar-rooms for the hot weather. The crops matured here very rapidly, and the harvest was early. Corn, fruit, and especially saffron were grown largely in the neighbourhood, and the cattle pastured on these lands quickly put on fat. Mustawfl adds that the population were remarkably dark-skinned.

The city of Tun lies rather over fifty miles to the westward of Kāyin, and a little to the north. Mukaddasi speaks of it as a populous place, smaller than Kayin, protected by a castle and possessing a fine mosque. Woollen goods were manufactured here, and Nasir-i-Khusraw praises its carpets, 400 looms being at work at the time when he passed through the town. Much of the city, however, was in his day in ruin, though the great fort remained. In the eastern suburbs were many fine gardens where pistachios were cultivated. Mustawfi states that Tûn had originally been built 'on the plan of a Chinese town,' but he does not further explain the matter. He speaks of the great castle with its deep dry-ditch; this was surrounded by the streets and bazaars of the outer town. The neighbouring lands were very fertile, for he says that the people had the art of building dykes or dams (band) to collect the rain-water and prevent it from flowing away, and on these lands they raised water-melons, noted for their sweet flavour. Much corn and fruit was grown,

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and silk was produced here abundantly, for the climate of Tun was temperate, and the underground watercourses very numerous.

In the north-west corner of Kûhistân is the district of Bûsht, Pûsht, or Busht-al-'Arab, of which the chief towns were Turshîz and Kundur^a. In the Arab geographers the older form of the name is given as Turaythîth, or Turthîth, later spelt Turshîsh and Turshîs, and it was sometimes counted as of the Haremah or domain of Nîshâpûr. Ibn Hawkal speaks of Turshîz as a very populous city, with fertile lands, and in the Pûsht district there were seven other townships with Friday Mosques. Mukaddasî describes the mosque of Turshîz as in his day rivalling that of Damascus for magnificence; there was also a famous water tank, and the markets were renowned, so that Turshîz was considered the 'store-house of Khurâsân,' where merchandise was exported and imported, to and from Fârs and Isfahân. The neighbouring town of Kundur almost equalled Turshîz in wealth, and in the district immediately round it were 226 large villages.

According to Ibn-al-Athlr în 520 (1126) the Wazîr of Sultan Sanjar the Saljûk besieged and plundered Turshîz, which had lately come into the possession of the Ismâîlîs, or Assassins; for the 'Old Man of the Mountain' had recently conquered most of the strong places in the neighbourhood, building many fortresses to overawe all this part of Kûhistân. Yâkût places the advent of the Ismâîlîs as occurring in the year 530 (1136), and relates that the governor of Turshîz had called in the Turkish tribes to aid him against the heterodox Mulâḥids or Ismâilians, but they had failed to fight the enemy, and had themselves pillaged the country, thus bringing Turshîz to ruin. In the middle of the

¹ I. H. 324, 325. Muk. 321. N. K. 95. Mst. 184. There is an inscription in the mosque at Kâyin dated 796 (1394). Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i. 341.

The district of Turshiz exists at the present day, but no town of that name. The small town of Kundur is still marked on the map, and according to Iştakhri the city of Turshiz lay one march to the westward of it, which would place the site of Turshiz at the Firûzâbâd ruins, near the present village of 'Abdulâbâd. In any case the medieval city of Turshiz cannot be identified with Sultânâbâd, the modern capital of the Turshiz district, for this lies east of Kundur.

7th (13th) century Hûlâgû Khân, the Mongol, destroyed the power of the Assassins, and his troops, it is stated, conquered seventy of their castles in the Kühistan province. After this Turshiz quickly recovered its importance; and less than a century later it is described by Mustawfi as one of the chief cities of Kuhistan, though still partly in decay. He mentions the four famous castles in the neighbourhood of the place-namely, Kal'ah Bardarûd, Kal'ah Mikâl (or Haykâl), Mujāhidābâd (the Champion's Home), and Atishgah (the fire-temple)-which doubtless had been those of the Ismaillans. He praises the abundant crops of Turshiz, which he says were exported to all the northern districts round Nishapur. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Turshiz was deemed impregnable from its high walls; but when Tîmûr appeared before it he soon undermined these, and after the sack nothing but ruins remained standing. This was in 783 (1381) and since that time Turshîz has disappeared from the map1.

Mustawfî states that at the village of Kishmar, near Turshîz, had stood the celebrated cypress-tree, originally planted by Zoroaster as a memorial of the conversion of King Gushtasp to the Magian religion. This tree grew to be larger than any other cypress that had ever been, and according to the Shâh Nâmah it sprang from a branch brought by Zoroaster from Paradise. Such too was its power that earthquakes, which frequently devastated all the neighbouring districts, never did any harm in Kishmar. According to Kazvînî the Caliph Mutawakkil in 247 (861) caused this mighty cypress to be felled, and then transported it across all Persia, in pieces carried on camels, to be used for beams in his new palace at Sâmarrâ. This was done in spite of the grief and protests of all the Guebres, but when the cypress arrived on the

¹ I. H. 295, 296. Muk. 317, 318. Yak. i. 628; iii. 534; iv. 309. Mst. 183. A. Y. i. 344. Ibn-al-Athir, x. 445. The representative of the Old Man of the Mountain, at the present day (as was proved in the English law courts), is Âķā Khān, chief of the Khûjah community at Bombay, and it is curious to find that some of the Ismailian sect still linger in Ķûhistān, who now pay their tithes to Âķā Khān, as their predecessors did to the chief at Alāmūt. At the village of Sihdih, to the south of Ķāyin, Major Sykes (Persia, p. 409) found nearly a thousand families of these modern Ismailians, who yearly transmitted a considerable sum to their religious head in India. Marco Polo, Yule, j. 145.

banks of the Tigris, Mutawakkil was dead, having been murdered

by his son1.

To the east of the Turshiz district is that of Zavah. The Zāvah district, or part of it, was also known as Rukhkh, and the chief town was called Bîshak or Zâvah city. The name Rukhkh, when Yâkût wrote, was more commonly pronounced Rikh. In the 7th (13th) century Zavah town became celebrated as the abode of a very holy man, Haydar by name, who dressed in felt, in summer was wont to enter the fire, and in winter to stand in the snow, and who founded a sect of Darvishes known as the Haydariyah. He was alive at the time of the Mongol invasion of the country in 617 (1220), and was afterwards known as Shaykh Kuth-ad-Din (Pole of Religion). When Ibn Batûtah visited Zāvah in the 8th (14th) century, he describes the votaries of the Shaykh as having iron rings fastened for penance in their ears, hands, and other parts of the body, and this the people took to be a proof of their sanctity. Mustawfi describes Zâvah as a fine town, standing in a rich district, with some 50 dependent villages. It had a strong castle built of clay bricks. The irrigation was abundant; corn, cotton, grapes, and much fruit grew here, and silk also was produced. He speaks, too, of the shrine of the Shaykh as greatly venerated in his day. At the present time Zâvah is more commonly the name of the district, the town being generally known as Turbat-i-Haydarî, or 'the Tomb of Haydar,' and the shrine is still a place of pilgrimage*.

To the east of the Zavah district, and in the north-east corner of Kühistan, near the Herat river, was the district of Zam or Jam, of which the chief town was in the 4th (10th) century known as Būzjan. This was a considerable city, and 180 villages were of

Mst. 183. Sháh Nimah, Turner Macan, iv. 1067, eight lines from below. Kaz. ii. 297, where the name is by mistake printed Kishm. The account in Kazvini (13th century A.D.) of course only represents the tradition. There is nothing about the Kishmar cypress in Tabarl or apparently in any of the earlier Arab chronicles. An amplified version of the story will be found in the Dabistán, a work of the 16th century A.D. (transl. by Shea and Troyer, i. 306—309). The cypress of Zoroaster is reckoned to have been 1450 years old. It is possibly the origin of Marco Polo's 'Arbre Sol which we Christians call Arbre Sec.' Yule, Marco Polo, i. 131.

² Muk. 319. Yak. ii. 770, 910. Kaz. ii. 256. I. B. iii. 79. Mst. 188. Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i. 353.

its dependencies. The name Bûzjân was pronounced Bûzkân by the Persians, and in later times it was written Pûchkân. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî describes it, under the name of Jâm, as occupying a most fruitful and well-watered district, yielding much silk, for the mulberry-trees grew abundantly. The town was celebrated for the number of its shrines, for many holy men had been buried here, and Ibn Batûtah specially names the saintly Shihâb-ad-Dîn Ahmad-al-Jâmî, whose descendants had come to own much land in the neighbourhood. The saint indeed was so celebrated that Tîmûr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, visited his shrine in person, and at the present day the town, which is still a flourishing place, is commonly known as Shaykh Jâm¹.

The district of Bâkharz, or Guwâkharz, lies to the south of Jâm, and to the westward of the Herât river, which here takes its northern course. The chief town of Bâkharz was Mâlin, which from the distances in the Itineraries would appear to have been identical in position with the modern city of Shahr-i-Naw, 'New Town,' and in the 4th (10th) century it was already a populous place. From here both corn and grapes were exported, and cloth-stuffs were also manufactured. Yâkût explains that the name Bâkharz had originally, in Persian, been Bâd-Harzah, 'the place where the wind blows,' and he mentions Jawdhakân as among its chief villages, of which 128 might be counted round and about Mâlin. Mustawfî, who gives the name of the chief town as Mâlân, expatiates on its fertility, and especially refers to the 'long melon' of this country, which was famous throughout Khurâsân'.

South-west of Bâkharz is the district of Khwâf (earlier Khwâb), surrounding the chief town of the şame name. Khwâf in the 4th (10th) century was famous for its raisins and pomegranates. Salûmak, later written Salâm, had in early times been the largest town of the district, of which Sanjân (or Sankan) and Kharjird were two other important cities. Under the form Kharkird the

I. K. 24. I. R. 171. Vkb. 278. I. H. 313. Muk. 319, 321. Vak. i. 756; ii. 909; iii. 890. Mst. 188, 197. I. B. iii. 75. A. V. ii. 211, 229.
 C. E. Vate, Khurasan and Sistan, p. 37.

[&]quot; Muk. 319. Yak. i. 458; ii. 145; iv. 398. Mst. 187.

latter town is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal, who also names Farkird (written Farjird or Faljird by Yakût) as lying one march to the east of it, while Kûsûy or Kûsûyah was nearer the Herât river, and to the north of Farkird. Of these three towns Kûsûy was the largest, being a third of the size of the neighbouring city of Bûshanj in Khurâsân, to be described later, to which province many authorities count all three places to belong. The town of Kûsûy possessed many good houses of unburnt brick, and the other two towns, though small, had fine gardens and abundant irrigation. Yâkût also mentions Sirâwand and Lâz as places of importance in his day in the Khwâf district, but their position is unknown. Mustawfi praises the grapes, melons, pomegranates, and figs of Khwaf, and states that much silk was produced in the district. He names the three towns of Salâm, Sanjân, and Zawzan (or Zûzan) as the chief centres of population in the 8th (14th) century. Zúzan when Mukaddasī wrote was already famous for its wool-workers, and it was an important point in the road system, for it communicated with Kâyin, Salâm (Salûmak), and Farjird. Yâkût calls Zûzan 'a little Basrah' for its trade, and refers to it as a shrine of the Magians. Around it lay 124 important villages!.

In this central part of Kûhistân, Mustawfî, writing in the 8th (14th) century, mentions a number of places which are still found on the map, but which do not occur in the works of the earlier Arab geographers. He refers to the district of Zîrkûh, 'Foot-hills,' as most fertile, producing corn and cotton, which with its silk manufactures were largely exported. This is still the name of the hill country south of Zûzan and east of Kâyîn, and Mustawfî mentions its three chief towns, Shârakhs, Isfad, and Istind, which exist to this day. To the north-west of Kâyîn is the district the name of which is written Dasht-Biyâd, meaning 'the White Plain,' which the Persians at the present day pronounce Dasht-i-Piyâz. Its chief town was Fâris, and Mustawfî, who praises its nuts and almonds, says it was the Yaylâk, or summer quarters, of the people of Tûn and Junâbâd.

¹ Ist. 267. I. H. 313, 319. I. R. 17t. Ykb. 278. Muk. 298, 308, 319, 321. Yak. ii. 486, 958; iii. 910; iv. 341. Mst. 188. For the present condition of these places see C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 128, 129.

This last place, now generally called Gunabad, is a considerable town lying to the north-east of Tun. It is named by Ibn Hawkal Yunâbidh, and by Mukaddasî Junâwad, and there are some other variants. It was a large place in the 4th (10th) century, with claybrick houses, and the 70 villages round it were well watered by artificial irrigation. Yakût gives the name as commonly pronounced Gunabidh, for Junabidh. Mustawfi records that its two strong castles, each on a hill, and on either hand of the town, were called Kal'ah Khawashir and Kal'ah Darjan respectively, and from their heights the neighbouring villages, and the desert beyond them, were clearly seen. The sand here, he remarks, did not blow into and invade the garden lands of Gunâbâd, as was the case elsewhere in Kûhistân. The water-supply was from underground channels, described as often four leagues in length, coming from springs in the hill-flank, and the terminal shafts or wells at the fountain-head, were, he avers, sometimes as much as 700 ells (ges) in depth. Much silk was manufactured here, and corn was exported. Some thirty miles to the north-west of Gunâbâd, and a like distance due north of Tûn, is the small town of Bajistan, which appears to be first mentioned by Yakût, who speaks of it as a village in his day; and to this Mustawff adds that it resembled Tun, but gives no further details.

There were, and still are, two towns called Tabas in Kühistän, and for this reason the name often appears in the Arab geographers under the dual form of *Tabasayn*. Moreover the name Tabasayn, in error, is sometimes applied to one or other of these two towns, the dual form for the single place. The Arab geographers, however, clearly distinguish between the two towns, calling one Date Tabas, the other Tabas of the Jujube-tree, or Tabas-al-'Unnab.

Tabas of the Date-Tabas-at-Tamr-was on the border of the Great Desert, where many of the roads crossing it came in, and

Dasht-Biyad, or Dasht-i-Piyaz, is a composite name, Persian and Arabic, very unusual in the nomenclature of Persia. If the last word be really the Arabic Biyad it seems likely that the Persians soon forgot its meaning 'White,' and took it to be a proper name. I. H. 325. Muk. 319, 320, 322. Mst. 183, 184. Yak. i. 497; ii. 120; iv. 206. Faris at the present time is generally known as Kal'ah Kuhnah, 'the Old Castle.' Bellew, Indus to Tigris, p. 329.

hence Balâdhurî names it 'the Gate of Khurâsân.' According to Ibn Ḥawkal, the town was in the 4th (10th) century a somewhat smaller place than Kâyin, and it had strong fortifications. The chief feature of the district was the forest of date palms that grew here, for being on the desert border the climate was very hot, and the water-supply from underground channels was abundant. Mukaddasî speaks of its fine mosque, and of a great tank for storing the drinking-water. There were also excellent hot baths. 'It is (he adds) the only place in Kûhistân where there are trees and a running stream; and for the distance of a day's journey thence I passed through villages and palm-groves with running water-courses.'

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who passed through Tabas in 444 (1052), speaks of it as a fine, populous town, unwalled, but enclosed in its gardens and palm-groves. It was then governed with a strong hand, so that all the neighbourhood was perfectly safe, by a certain Abu-l-Hasan ibn Muhammad Gilaki- the native Gîlân '-and to distinguish this from the other Tabas, it appears in later days to have been called Tabas Gilaki, after this famous governor, who, from what Nasir writes, must have been known far and wide for the vigour of his rule. In the second half of the 5th (11th) century Tabas passed into the hands of the Ismáilian heretics, and in 494 (1102) the town was besieged and in part destroyed by the army sent against the Assassins by Sultan Sanjar the Saljûk. Yâkût and Mustawfi both refer to Tabas of the Date as Tabas Gilaki, and the latter authority notices the place both in his account of the Great Desert, and when describing Kühistän. Besides dates, both lemons and oranges flourished here as they did nowhere else in all Khurasan, and the water of the neighbouring spring flowed in sufficient abundance to turn two mills. A strong fortress protected the town and the numerous villages lying around the place1.

On the desert border north of Tabas, and about half-way to Turshîz, was the village of Bann, possessing a population of 500 males when Ibn Hawkal wrote, and this place was apparently identical with the stage of Afridûn mentioned by Ibn Khur-

Baladhuri, 403. I. H. 324, 325. Muk. 321, 322. N. K. 94. Yak. iii. 513, 514; iv. 333. Mst. 183, 184. Ibn-al-Athir, x. 221.

dâdbih. Ibn Ḥawkal apparently mentions in his itinerary another village called Bann (Bann Ukhrâ), but by the distances given the two stages, if not identical, must have had reference merely to two neighbouring villages of the same name. At the present day Bann is represented by Dih Nâband (not to be confounded with the oasis in the desert of that name described on p. 325). It was an important point where one of the desert roads from Jarmak entered Kûhistân'.

Some three leagues to the south-east of Tabas, on the edge of the desert where the Shûr road from Kûhbanân came in, was Kurî or Kurin, which Balâdhurî mentions as one of the two fortresses of Tabas, which it would appear might justify the name of Tabasayn being given to Date Tabas alone. Ibn Hawkal describes Kurî as a meeting point of many roads, where stood a village of a thousand men with many farms. Kurîn, as Mukaddasî spells the name, was a smaller place than Tabas; and of its dependencies-being 12 leagues from Tabas and 20 from Tûn-was the village of Ar-Rakkah. This last place, when Nașir-i-Khusraw visited it in 444 (1052), had grown to be a fine town, with a Friday Mosque surrounded by numerous well-irrigated gardens. About three marches to the south-east of Tabas were the two towns of Khûr and Khawst, which respectively were the terminal stages of the two roads across the desert from Ravar and Khabis in Kirmân (see pp. 327, 328). Khûr, according to Ibn Hawkal, was smaller than Tabas, but had a Friday Mosque; the water-supply was scanty and there were hardly any gardens. The place, too, according to Mukaddasi, was unfortified.

Khawst on the other hand, though in the 4th (10th) century it had no Friday Mosque, was a place of greater importance. It was well fortified, with a castle to defend it, and the clay-brick houses of the town were surrounded by small gardens, though here too the watercourses gave but a poor supply. Mukaddasi says the town was larger but less populous than Tûn; there were but few trees, and behind it rose the arid hills of Kûhistân. Yâkût by mistake generally spells the name Jûsf, this being a clerical error for Khûsf or Khûsb, which is the modern form of the name, first given by Mustawfi. Yâkût, it is true, acknowledges his

¹ I. K. 32. Ist. 231, 236. I. H. 295.

ignorance and uncertainty of the true pronunciation of the name, which he says is sometimes written Jûzf: but in one passage he rightly gives Khawst, when quoting from Mukaddasl. As just stated the modern spelling first appears in Mustawfl, who describes Khûsf as a small town, with some dependencies, watered by a stream which irrigated its lands, so that excellent crops were produced.

About 20 miles east of Khûsf lies Birjand, which at the present day has taken the place of Kayin as the capital town of Kuhistan. Birjand is not mentioned, apparently, by any of the Arab geographers before Yakût, who in the 7th (13th) century speaks of it as one of the finest villages of this province. Mustawfi in the following century refers to it as an important provincial town, surrounded by many fruitful farms and villages, where, in addition to grapes and other fruits, an abundance of saffron was cultivated. Corn, however, grew badly here. A day's journey to the east of Birjand, is the mountain district still known as Můminábåd-'the Believer's Home'-which Mustawfi mentions as dominated by a strong fortress that had formerly been in the hands of the Assassins. This district included many fine villages; and Mustawfi especially mentions Shakhin, on a stream called the Fasha Rad, which still exists some three days' march to the south-east of Kavin?

About 50 miles due east of Birjand is the second town of Tabas, known to the Arab geographers as Tabas-al-'Unnâb, 'of the Jujube-tree,' which the Persians called Tabas Masînân. This town Ibn Hawkal describes in the 4th (10th) century as larger than Yunâbidh (Gunâbâd, north-west of Kâyin); its houses were built of clay bricks, but the fortifications were then in ruins, and there was no castle. Mukaddasî speaks of the numerous jujube-trees growing here. Kazvînî in the 7th (13th) century states that on the summit of a neighbouring hill was the village called Îrâvah, where there was a fine castle, and gardens with trees, for many

¹ Baladhuri, 403. Ist. 232, 274. ¹. H. 291, 325. Muk. 321, 322. Yak. ii. 152; iv. 23, 270. Mst. 184. N. K. 94.

² Yak. i. 783. Mst. 184. Sykes, Perin, pp. 305, 306. Major Sykes, who spells the name Shahkin, speaks of an ancient fort near this, possibly that mentioned as formerly held by the Assassins.

streams flowed near the place. Mustawfi remarks of Tabas Masinan that the water-supply of the town lands during a drought would hold out for 70 days, while the outlying districts only had sufficient water for seven days. He relates that there was here a pit or well, at the bottom of which the earth was poisonous, so that if anyone by chance swallowed thereof even as much as a grain of millet seed, he forthwith died; hence the water from this well had been carefully closed off. There was another pit or well here which in winter swallowed up all inflowing water, and in summer gave forth continuously enough water to irrigate all the neighbouring lands; and there was also a third well, he says, where, when anyone looked down into it, the image of a fish could be seen. At the present day Tabas Masînân, still bearing this distinctive name, is an important place, being also known as Sunni-khanah (the House of the Sunnis), for it is now inhabited almost exclusively by Afghân Sunnîs. About 60 miles south of Tabas of the Jujube-tree, is the village of Duruh, where there is an ancient fortress on the neighbouring hill-top. Duruh is apparently not mentioned by the earlier geographers. It is first described by Mustawfi, who speaks of Kal'ah Duruh as being a very strong place, with a spring of water welling up within the castle precincts. Jujube-trees and corn grew abundantly in the vicinity, with grapes and other fruit in less profusion.

The products of Kûhistân were few in number. Mukaddasî states briefly that these highlands were famous for their carpets and prayer rugs, also for white cloth-stuffs, similar to those that were made in Nîshâpûr'.

What is known about the high roads crossing Kühistän will be more conveniently dealt with in a later chapter in connection with the roads through Khurásân. Mukaddasî and other authorities mention the total distances, by the day's march, between the various towns in Kühistân: but the stages in leagues are not given; and there appear to have been few direct routes crossing this mountainous province.

¹ L. H. 325. Muk. 321, 324. Yak. iii. 513, 314. Kaz. ii. 202. Mst. 184. Sykes, Persin, 396, 397.

CHAPTER XXVI.

KÚMIS, TABARISTÂN, AND JURJÂN.

The province of Kûmis. Dâmghân. Bistâm. Biyâr. Samnân and Khuvâr. The Khurâsân road through Kûmis. The province of Tabaristân or Mâzandarân. Âmul. Sâriyah. Mount Damâvand, with the districts of Fâdûsbân, Kârin, and Rûbanj. Fîrûzkûh, and other castles. Nâtil, Sâlûs, and the Rûyân district. The fortress of Tâk and the Rustamdâr district. Mamţîr and Țamīsah. Kabûd Jâmah and the Bay of Nîm Murdân. The province of Gurgân or Jurjân. The river Jurjân and the river Atrak. Jurjân city, and Astarâbâd. The port of Âbaskûn. The Dihistân district, and Âkhur. The high roads through Ţabaristân and Jurjân.

The small province of Kûmis stretches along the foot of the great Alburz chain of mountains which will be described below, and these heights bound it to the north, its fertile lands forming a narrow strip lying between the foot-hills and the Great Desert to the south. The Khurāsān road traverses the province from end to end, going from Ray in the Jibāl province to Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān, and the chief towns of Kūmis are, so to speak, strung along this line. At the present day the name Kūmis is become obsolete. The province is included for the most part within the limits of modern Khurāsān, while its extreme western end forms an outlying district of Ray or modern Tihrān'.

The capital town of the province was Damghan, which the Arabs wrote Ad-Damghan, and which in accordance with their usage is often referred to as Kūmis (sc. Madinah Kūmis, 'the

¹ For the map of these provinces see p. 185, Map v. Muk. 353. Yak. iv. 203. Mst. 191. The Arab spelling was Kûmis (with dotted k), the Persian form is Kûmis; Mustawfl, however, calls it Diyar Kûmis, 'the Lands of Kûmis.'

City of Kûmis'), the capital thus taking to itself the name of the province. Dåmghån, according to Ibn Hawkal, had a paucity of water-supply, and hence little cultivation, but the inhabitants manufactured excellent cloth-stuffs which were largely exported. Mukaddasî reports Dâmghân to have fallen much to ruin at the end of the 4th (10th) century; but it was well fortified, and had three gates, of which he names two, the Bâb-ar-Ray and the Bâb Khurasan. He says that there were two markets, the upper and the lower; and a fine Friday Mosque stood in the main street, with water tanks 'like those of Marv.' The extraordinary windiness of the town is mentioned by all the later authorities. Yākût and others state that there was a ceaseless wind blowing down from a neighbouring valley, so that the trees of Dâmghân were always waving about. Within the city was a great building, dating from the days of the Chosroes, which divided the waters flowing to Dâmghân into 120 channels for irrigation purposes. Excellent pears were grown in the town gardens. The walls of Damghan, Mustawfi reports, were 10,000 paces in circuit. Yākût adds that one day's journey from Dâmghân (three leagues according to Mustawfi) up in the mountains, and visible from the town, was the great castle of Gird-kûh, which had been a celebrated fortress of the Assassins. This, writes Mustawfi, was called Diz Gunbadân, 'the Domed Fort,' and its district, which was very fertile, was known as Manşûrâbâd. Mustawfî further speaks of a gold mine in the hills near Dàmghân at Kûh Zar (Gold Mountain), but the situation of the place is not given'.

The second town of Kůmis, for size, was Bistâm (or Bastâm, now Bustâm), which Ibn Hawkal states to have been situated in the most fertile region of the whole province. Its gardens produced abundant fruit, and Mukaddast refers to its magnificent Friday Mosque, which stood 'like a fortress' in the market-place. Nâşir-i-Khusraw, who visited the town in 438 (1046), appears to regard it as the capital of the province, for he calls it the City of Kûmis. He refers to the tomb here, already celebrated, of the great Sûfî Shaykh Abu Yazîd, more generally known as Bayazîd Bistâmî, who had died and was buried here in 260 (874),

¹ I. K. 23. Kud. 201. I. H. 271. Muk. 355, 356. Yak. ii. 539. Kaz. ii. 245. Mst. 191, 204.

and whose shrine is still at the present day greatly venerated. Yākūt, speaking from personal experience, praises the apples of Bisṭām, and says that on a neighbouring hill-top stood a great castle with strong walls, said to date from the days of the Chosroes, having been built by Shāpūr Dhū-l-Aktāf (Sapor II). Yākūt also commends the markets of the city, and its general air of prosperity, and Ibn Baṭūṭah who visited it in the 8th (14th) century confirms this account, referring also to the shrine over the tomb of the Ṣūfī saint.

Four leagues from Bistâm, on the road towards Astarábâd, was the town of Khurkan, a place of some importance in the 7th and 8th (13th and 14th) centuries. Mustawsi refers to it as a village, with a good climate and plentiful water-supply, and it was famous for the tomb of the local saint Abu-l-Hasan Kharkanî. About 50 miles south-east of Bistâm, and on the edge of the Great Desert, is the little town of Biyar, 'the Wells,' which is now called Biyar-Jumand. Mukaddasi describes it in the 4th (10th) century as a small town with no Friday Mosque, but possessing a castle, good markets, and fertile fields, where grapes and other fruits were produced. Camels and sheep were also numerous. A small mosque for daily prayers stood in the inner castle, and the town was fortified, having three iron gates in its walls, with a single gate leading to the castle precincts. Mustawfi speaks favourably of the temperate climate and excellent corn crops. Less than half-way between Dâmghân and Ray is the city of Samnan, or Simnan, on the Khurasan road, of which Mukaddasi notices the fine Friday Mosque standing in the market-place, with its great water tanks. Mustaws? mentions the pistachios of Samnán as famous, and a varied abundance of fruit was grown. He also mentions Ahûvân, a small town lying between Samnân and Dâmghân, noteworthy for several tombs of holy men, and for the plentiful crops of both corn and fruit that were raised in its neighbourhood".

¹ I. H. 271. Muk. 356. N. K. 3. Yak. i. 623. I. B. iii. 82. The city of Shahrud, a couple of miles south of Bissam, which is at the present time the centre of trade and population in these parts, is not mentioned by any of the Arab or Persian geographers, so that the Şanl'-ad-Dawlah confesses he could not discover when it was built. Mirát-al-Buldán, i. 210.

² Muk. 356, 357. Kaz. ii. 243. Yak. ii. 424. Mst. 186, 191. Khurkan

The westernmost town of Kûmis, also on the Khurásân road, and the first important place east of Ray, was Khuvâr, written Al-Khuwâr by the Arabs, which Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes as a pleasant little town, a quarter of a mile in diameter, very populous, with streams that came down from the great Damâvand mountain flowing through its lands. Khuvâr, he adds, was the coldest place of all Kûmis, but its fields were very fertile. Kazvînî says that much cotton was grown here for export; and Mustawíî records that the place was also famous for its corn and 'Shaltûk,' or rice in the husk. To distinguish this from the town of the like name in Fârs (see p. 279) it was generally spoken of as Khuvâr of Ray, and it is thus mentioned in the campaigns of Tîmûr. Mustawîî, further, says that this Khuvâr was also known as Maḥallah-i-Bāgh—'the Garden Place'—in Persian.

Of the products of Kûmis, Mukaddasî states that a peculiarly valuable kind of cotton napkin was made in this province. These famous napkins (mandil) were woven large and small, plain and ribbed, with a coloured border, and of so fine a texture as to fetch 2000 dirhams (about £80) apiece. Kûmis also produced woollen stuffs for robes, and the head-veils called taylasān.

As we have seen, the province of Kûmis was traversed in its length by the great Khurasan road, and this is given in all the Itineraries, from Ibn Khurdadbih down to Mustawfi. Leaving Ray the road goes in three marches to Khuvar, one march beyond which was Kasr or Kariyat-al-Milh (Salt Castle or Village), in Persian called Dih Namak, as given by Mustawfi, which is its present name. The next stage, according to all the Itineraries, was Ras-al-Kalb, 'Dog's Head,' a name not now found on the map, but the situation is that of the strange fortress-town of Lasgird (a name wanting in all the medieval

is the pronunciation given by Kazvini; the name is identical in form (without vowels) with Kharrakan in the Jibal province, with which it must not be confounded.

¹ I. H. 270. Muk. 367. Kaz. ii. 243. Mst. 191, 196. A. Y. ii. 212. The site of Khuvår is occupied at present by the town of Aradún, but the surrounding district still preserves the older name, Khuvår, of its former chief city.

geographers) which now crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain. Samnån is one long march beyond this, and Dåmghån (which the earlier Itineraries give as Kūmis) again one long march to the eastward. One march beyond Dåmghån was Al-Haddådah (the Forge), which in Mustawfi is given under the alternative name of Mihmån-Dûst ('Guest Friend'). From here it was a day's march up to Biståm; or keeping the lower road the stage was at the post-house, lying two leagues from that city, which was, and is still, known as the village of Badhash, from which you enter the province of Khuråsån, going by the post-road to Nîshâpûr. Further, Mukaddasî gives the road, in 3 days' march, from Bistâm to Biyår, and from Biyår it was 25 leagues across the desert back west to Dâmghân'.

Tabaristân or Mâzandarân.

The region of high mountains,—for the most part occupied by what is, at the present day, known as the Alburz chain* lying along the south coast of the Caspian Sea, being to the east and

1 I. K. 22, 23. Kud. 200, 201. I. R. 169, 170 (giving details of the country traversed). Ist. 215, 216. I. H. 274, 275. Muk. 371, 372. Mst. 196. For an illustration representing modern Läsgird see H. W. Bellew, From the Indus to the Tigris, p. 404. In regard to Badhash it is curious that Yākūt in his Dictionary gives the name once rightly spelt, and then again (but in error) under the letter n as Nadhash. Yak. i. 530: iv. 773.

² Alburz, now generally pronounced Elburz, is the name at the present time given to the great mountain range dividing the high plateau of Persia from the lowlands of the Caspian Sea. This name, however, appears in none of the earlier Arab geographers, who give no single appellation to the range. Alburz is Persian, and according to Vullers (Lexicon Persico-Latinum, s.v.) is derived from two Zend words signifying 'High Mountain.' Mustawfi (p. 202), who is perhaps the first authority to mention the name, used it in a very vague sense. In his chapter on the mountains of Persia he says that Alburz is a high range that runs continuous with the mountains of Båb-al-Abwäb (i.e. the Caucasus): 'they are indeed the great mountains which are continuous, and form a chain, extending for over a thousand leagues, from Turkistän (in Central Asia) to the Ḥijāz (in Arabia), so that many consider them to be the (fabled) mountains of Kåf (which encircled the earth) and on the west they adjoin the mountains of Gurjistân (Georgia).' For the Alburz peak of the Caucasus see above, p. 181.

to the north of Kůmis,—was called Tabaristân by the earlier Arab geographers. Tabar has the signification of 'Mountain' in the local dialect, whence Tabaristân would mean 'the Mountain Land.'

In the 7th (13th) century, about the time of the Mongol conquest, the name of Tabaristan appears to have fallen into disuse, being replaced by Mazandaran, which since that date has been the common appellation of this province. Sometimes also Mâzandarân was held to include the neighbouring province of Jurjan. Yakut, who is one of the first to mention the name Mâzandarân, writes that he does not know exactly when it came into use; and, though never found in the older books, it was in his day already generally current throughout the country. Practically the terms Tabaristân and Mâzandarân were then synonymous, but while the former name was applied primarily to the high mountains, and only included in a secondary use the narrow strip of lowland along the sea-shore running from the delta of the Safid Rud to the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, Mazandaran appears in the first instance to have denoted these lowlands, and then included the mountain region as subsidiary thereto. The name Tabaristân is at the present day obsolete.

During the earlier period of the Caliphate this province was politically of little importance, and it was in fact the last portion of the Sassanian kingdom to accept Islâm. For more than a century after the Arab conquest of the rest of Persia the native rulers-called the Ispahbads of Tabaristan-were independent in their mountain fastnesses, and until the middle of the 2nd (8th) century their coinage continued to be struck with Pahlavi legends, and the Zoroastrian faith was dominant throughout the forests and fens of the great mountain range. In the 4th (10th) century, according to Mukaddasi, garlic, rice, and flax, with waterfowl and fish, were the chief products of the country, which, unlike the rest of Persia, had an abundant rainfall. At a later date, according to Kazvini, sericulture flourished, silk being plentifully exported. Wool-stuffs, carpets, veils, napkins, and cloth-stuffs were also largely manufactured, and various woods were cut in the forests, especially box-wood and that called Khalanj, of which arrows, bowls, and other utensils, were made. The houses in Tabaristân were built of wood and reeds, for, as Ibn Hawkal

remarks, the rains were heavy, both summer and winter. They were built with domed roofs for the like reason'.

The capital of Tabaristan under the later Abbasids was Amul, though the Tahirid governor, in the 3rd (9th) century, had generally resided at Sariyah. Amul, according to Ibn Hawkal, was in his day a larger place than Kazvîn and very populous. Mukaddasî describes the town as possessing a hospital (Bîmaristân) and two Friday Mosques-one, the Old Mosque, standing among trees on the market-place, the New Mosque being near the city wall. Each mosque had a great portico. The merchants of Amul did much trade. Rice was grown plentifully in the country round, and a large river which ran through the town was used for the irrigation of the fields. To this description Yakat adds no new details, but Mustawfl, remarking on the hot, damp climate, says that dates, grapes, nuts, oranges, shaddocks, and lemons grew here abundantly, and the fragrant essences made in the city were celebrated far and wide. The port of Amul, where its river flowed out into the Caspian, was the small town of 'Ayn-al-Humm, a name which Yakût writes Ahlum, and describes as of no great size. Tîmûr ravaged Âmul at the close of the 8th (14th) century, destroying the three castles of Måhånah Sar, which lay four leagues distant from the city towards the sea-coast.

The second, and the earlier, capital of Tabaristân was Sâriyah, now called Sâri, which lies to the eastward of Âmul. Mukaddasî describes Sâriyah as a populous place where much cloth was manufactured, and its markets were famous. There was a small castle with a ditch, and a Friday Mosque where a fine orange-tree grew, also an immense fig-tree on the town bridge. The bridges of boats here were renowned. Of Sâriyah in later times little is reported; it suffered much in the 7th (13th) century during the Mongol invasion, and when Mustawfi wrote was almost a complete ruin, though its lands produced an abundance of grapes and corn, and silk was still manufactured from the produce of the worms reared here."

¹ I. H. 270, 271. Muk. 354. Kaz. ii. 270. Yak. iii. 502. For the word Tabar, see above, p. 217.

² I. H. 271, 272, 275. Mak. 354, 359. Yak. i. 354, 409. Mst. 109. A. Y. i. 391, 571. A. F. 437.

The great mountain of Damavand dominates the whole of Tabaristan, and its snow-capped summit is visible from the plains of Persia a hundred miles and more to the south of Tihran-Mustawsi even says from a hundred leagues distant, and he notes that the peak was always covered with snow. In Persian legend Dunbavand, as the name is written by the earlier authorities, figures as the home of the Simurgh, the fabulous bird which nursed and protected Zâl, the father of Rustam, and Mustawfi relates a number of romantic stories in connection with the national hero. According to Ibn Hawkal the great mountain was visible from Savah, 'rising up like a dome in the midst of the other high mountains,' and he was of opinion that no one had ever climbed to the summit, from which, he adds, smoke was always seen to issue. Magicians much frequented it, and many legends were told of it, relating more especially how that ancient tyrant of Persia, Ad-Duhhāk (Zuhāk), still lived in its recesses.

Damavand gave its name both to a small town lying on its southern spurs, which Mustawfi writes was also called Pishyan, and to the broad fertile district spreading round its flanks. Of this district, in the 4th (10th) century, the chief town was Wîmah, which with the neighbouring town of Shalanbah, are described by Ibn Hawkal as places famous for their corn lands and vineyards. Yâkût, who had passed through Wîmah (or Waymah) and found it a ruin, states that the castle of Fîrûzkûh was visible from it. This latter castle he had also visited, and Mustawfi records that it took its water from the head of the stream that flowed out to the plain through Khuvar of Ray in Kumis. Fîrûzkûh was one of the castles of Mazandaran which are mentioned as having been besieged and taken by Timur. Another equally famous fortress on the slopes of Damâvand was the castle of Ustunávand, or Ustunábad, which, according to Kazvíní, had never been taken for 3000 years, till in 613 (1216) the Mongols stormed it. Yākût, who says it was also called Jarhud and lay 10 leagues distant from Ray, describes it as having been the stronghold of the ancient Magian ruler of the country, the Ispahbad. The last of the line, he adds, was overthrown here by Yahya the Barmecide, who carried captive the daughters of the Persian chief to Baghdad, where one of them, called

Bahriyyah, married the Caliph Mansûr and became the mother of Mahdî, the father of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. At a later date this great fortress, which had been restored in 350 (961) by Fakhr-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, fell into the hands of the Assassins 1.

The medieval geographers mention the names of many fortresses and towns in Tabaristan which are no longer to be found on the map, having been brought to ruin either in the Mongol invasion of the 7th (13th) century, or else stormed and destroyed by Tîmûr, who ravaged Mâzandarân more than once at the close of the 8th (14th) century. Moreover, the names of most of these lost towns and fortresses not occurring in the Itineraries, it is impossible to mark their position, even approximately, on the map. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes three mountain districts, well wooded and very fertile, which lay south of Sariyah, about a day's march from this town. and stretching westward towards the frontier of Daylam, in the province of Gîlân. The first of these was the Jabal Fâdûsbân, the Mountains of Badûsban (in the Persian form of the word), this being the name of the ruling family, who as semi-independent chiefs held these districts for nearly 800 years, namely from the time of the Moslem conquest down to the Mongol invasion. The whole of this mountain district was covered with villages, of which the largest was named Kariyat Manşûr, 'Manşûr's Village,' and another was Uram Khast or Uram Khastah with an upper and a lower village, these places all lying about a day's march from Sariyah, but throughout the mountain side there was no town of sufficient size to have a Friday Mosque.

Adjoining Fâdûsbân was the mountain district called the Jabal Karin after the famous family of this name, which it is said was of Parthian origin; in any case the names of nobles of the Karin occur in the history of the Sassanians, and in Moslem times they still governed this district. The great fortress stronghold of the Karins, which they had held since Sassanian times, was at Firrim, and the chief centre of population was at the town of Sihmar (or Shihmar) where there was the only Friday Mosque

¹ Ist. 201. I. H. 265, 270, 271. Muk. 392. Kar. ii. 195. Yak. i. 143, 244; iii. 930; iv. 944. Mst. 191, 203, 204. A. Y. ii. 577. Firûzkûh still exists, but the site of Ustûnâvand appears to be unknown.

of all this region. The position of Firrim, unfortunately, is not exactly given in any of the Itineraries. It is mentioned by Yâkût, and also in the 8th (14th) century by Mustawfi, who speaks of it as lying on the borders of Kûmis. The third mountain region was the Jabal-ar-Rûbanj, lying north of Ray, and therefore nearer to the Daylam frontier. Of this no towns or villages are mentioned, but it is said to have been extremely fertile and well watered, the mountain slopes being covered with trees and thickets'.

One day's march, or five leagues, to the west of Âmul, in the plain near the coast, was the town of Nâtil or Nâtilah, and a like distance further to the west of this was Sâlûs, or Shâlûs, which Mukaddasî describes as a city having a castle built of stone, with a Friday Mosque adjoining. The name was also spelt Sâlûsh, and near it lay two other towns, namely Al-Kabîrah and Kajjah. In the accounts of the campaigns of Tîmûr Shâlûs is written Jâlûs, and all this country appears to have been permanently ruined during his wars, together with the mountainous region to the south, namely Rûyân and Rustamdâr*.

The city of Kalâr, which Yâkût seems to think was identical with the above-mentioned Kajjah, was one march from Shâlûs, but in the mountains—and from Kalâr it was one march on to the Daylam frontier. There is some confusion in the names, but Kalâr, Kajjah, and Rûyân appear all to refer to neighbouring towns, if not to one and the same town, and Rûyân further was the name of one of the great districts in the mountains on the

² I. H. 275. Muk. 359. I. F. 305. Yak. iii. 13, 237. 504; iv. 726. A. Y. i. 391. Shâlûs is said to be only eight leagues from Ray, but this must be a mistake if it lay on or near the shore of the Caspian.

¹ Ist. 205, 206. I. H. 268, 269. Yak. i. 212; iii. 324, 890. Mst. 191. For Fâdûsbân the reading Kâdûsiyân has been wrongly printed in the texts of Istakhri and other geographers by a shifting of the diacritical points, and hence these people have often been supposed to represent the ancient Cadusii of Strabo; see Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, p. 151, note 2, who explains that under the Sassanians the Bâdûsbân were the civil governors of the district, as against the Ispahbads, who were the military commanders of this, the frontier province. See also Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 156, s.v. 'Karen,' and p. 245, s.v. 'Patkospan.' For the list of the Bâdûsbân chiefs in Moslem times see G. Melgunof, Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres, p. 50, and for the Kārin chiefs, idem, p. 52.

western border of Tabaristân. Abu-l-Fidâ says that the city of Rûyân was also known as Shâristân, and that it crowned the summit of the pass 16 leagues from Kazvin. According to Yâkût Rûyân was the capital city of the mountain district of Tabaristân, just as Âmul was of the lowland plains; it had fine buildings and its gardens were famous for their productiveness. Near Rûyân (or Kalâr) was the little town of Sa'idâbâd.

The great fortress of 'Ţâţ' (the Arch) on the frontier of Daylam, and the last refuge of the Ispahbad prince of Ṭabaristân who was conquered in the time of the Caliph Manṣūr, must have been situated in this district of Rūyān. The place is described at some length both by Yāţūt and Kazvinī, who quote older writers. Tâţ was deemed an impregnable stronghold, and had existed since the days of the Sassanian kings of Persia. It was situated high up in the mountains, and was only reached by a tunnel a mile long (it is said) which had been pierced through the encircling cliffs. The tunnel led to an open valley surrounded by precipices in which were many caverns, and from one of these a powerful spring gushed out, and after flowing a short distance disappeared into the depths of a neighbouring cave. Yāţūt adds a long account of the wonders of this place.

At the head-waters of the great Shāh Rūd—the eastern affluent of the Safid Rūd (see above, p. 170)—lay the district of Rustamdār, which Mustawfī describes as comprising near 300 villages, and this country, which was watered by the numerous tributaries of the Shāh Rūd, thus lay between Ķazvīn and Âmul, and to the eastward of the Rūyān district. On the Shāh Rūd, as already described in Chapter XV, p. 221, were the chief castles of the Ismailians or Assassins, and probably in this Rustamdār district also was Kalām, described by Yākūt as an ancient fortress of Tabaristān, which had been in the hands of these sectaries, and was destroyed by Sultan Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh the Saljūķ¹.

Two leagues to the eastward of Âmul, and on the coast road, lay the town of Milah, and three leagues beyond this Barjî, which was one march from Sâriyah. The city of Mamţîr or Mâmaţîr,

¹ I. H. 275. Yak. ii. 873; iii. 93, 490, 504; iv. 240, 296, 297. Kaz. ii. 238. A. F. 435. Mst. 190.

one march from either Âmul or Såriyah, and six leagues from the coast, is identical with the later Bårfarûsh. It had a Friday Mosque, Yákût says, and much fertile land lay adjacent to the city. Near Såriyah, and probably to the eastward, were the towns called Nåmiyah (or Nåmishah), with a fine district, 20 leagues from Såriyah, and Mihrawân, 10 leagues from Såriyah, where there was a Friday Mosque and a garrison of 1000 men, but unfortunately the exact position of these two places is quite uncertain. On the eastern frontier of Tabaristân, and three marches from Såriyah, on the road to Astarâbâd, from which it was one march distant, lay the town of Tamîs, or Tamîsah, standing on the great causeway across the marshes which, according to Yåkût, had been built to carry the high road by King Anûshirwân the Just'.

At the south-east angle of the Caspian is the Bay of Ashuradah, as it is now named, where a long spit of sand stretches out eastward till it almost reaches the Jurjan coast. This bay with its island or peninsula is described by Mustawfi under the name of Nîm Murdân. The settlement here was very populous in the 8th (14th) century, and was a harbour for ships from all parts of the Caspian. The port was but three leagues distant from Astarâbâd, and the town behind it which carried on a brisk trade was called Shahrabad. The neighbouring district, which produced a great deal of silk, and where corn lands and vineyards abounded, was known as Kabûd Jâmah. It had been a very rich country, but was entirely ruined by the wars of Timur at the close of the 8th (14th) century. The city of Rû'ad, or Rûghad, which is also mentioned as passed by Timur on his march into Måzandarån, was probably of the Kabûd Jâmah district. It was, says Mustawfi, a fair-sized town, being 4000 paces in circuit, and it stood in the midst of many fertile lands, where much corn and cotton, besides various fruits, were grown in abundance.

Of the products of Tabaristan, besides the commodities already

^{1.} H. 275. Yak. iii. 503, 504, 547; iv. 398, 642, 699, 733. The earliest mention of Bârfartish, under the form Bârah Farûsh Dih ('the Village where Loads are Sold'), occurs in Hajt Işlim of Ahmad Râzl, a work of the 10th (16th) century; see Dorn, Muhammedanische Quellen, iv. p. 99 of the Persian text.

referred to on page 369, Mukaddasî mentions fine cloth for robes, and stuffs for the *taylasân* veils, also coarse linen cloths that were woven largely for export. Of natural products the Khalanj wood already named was cut and sent away in the rough to be made into bowls and other utensils by the craftsmen in Ray. The Khalanj is described as a tree that produced a variegated and sweet-smelling wood, of which the beads of chaplets were sometimes made, and the best kind grew only on the Tabaristân mountains!

Jurjan.

The province of Jurjan, or Gurgan, as the Persians pronounced the name, lying at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian, consisted for the most part of the broad plains and valleys watered by the two rivers Jurjan and Atrak. In earlier days it was always held to be a province by itself, though dependent on Khurasan, but after the changes brought about by the Mongol conquest, it was annexed politically to Mazandaran. Like other districts near the southern shore of the Caspian it was overrun and devastated by the Mongol hordes in the 7th (13th) century, and then again by Timar at the close of the 8th (14th) century.

Jurjân, as Mukaddasî writes, being rich in streams, its plains and hills were covered with orchards producing dates, oranges, and grapes in abundance. The most important river of the province was that generally called by its name, the Jurjân river, which Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century states was then known as the river Tayfûrî. The river Atrak he does not name. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî gives the name as the Âb-î-Jurjân, and says that the Jurjân river rose in the valley of Shahr-i-Naw (New Town), whence, passing through the plain of Sulţân Darin, it reached the city of Jurjân, past which it flowed, and thence entered the Caspian, near the island of Abaskûn in the bay of Nîm Murdân. Throughout its course the stream was deep, almost

Muk. 367. Mst. 190. 191. J. N. 339, 341. A. Y. i. 349. The forms of Ashuradah Bay and of the peninsula have of course changed greatly since the 14th century, when Mustawii wrote, and the exact sites of the town and port are unknown.

unfordable, so that travellers were often drowned in crossing it; and in flood-time its waters were carried off by channels and used up in irrigation, though much always ran to waste.

The river Atrak is a longer stream than the Jurjan, and rises in the plains of Khurasan, between Nisa and Khabushan, near the sources of the Mashhad river, which latter flows off south-east, and in the opposite direction. The Atrak is very deep and like the Jurjan mostly unfordable, as Mustawfi writes, and flowing along by the Dihistan frontier, on the northern side of the Jurjan province, reaches the Caspian after a course of nearly 120 leagues. The name Atrak is said to be merely a plural form of the word Turk, and the River of the Turks was so called from those who once lived on its banks. No name, however, appears to be given to this stream by any of the earlier Arab geographers, and Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century is one of the first to call it the Atrak, by which appellation it is still known'.

The capital of Jurjan is the city of the same name, at the present day called Min Gurgán, which Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes as a fine town, built of clay bricks, enjoying a far drier climate than Amul, for less rain fell in Jurjan than in Tabaristan. The city consisted of two parts, one on either side of the Jurjan river, which was here traversed by a bridge of boats, and Jurjan was more properly the name of the eastern half of the town. On the west side lay Bakrâbâd, the suburb, and the two parts of the city together, according to the description of Ibn Hawkal, who had been here, were nearly as large as Ray. The fruit from the gardens round was abundant, and silk was produced in great quantities. The main quarter of Jurján, that on the east bank, Mukaddasi calls Shahrastan; it had fine mosques and markets, where the pomegranates, olives, water-melons, and egg-plants, with oranges, lemons, and grapes of the neighbouring gardens were sold cheaply, and were all of superexcellent flavour. The town was intersected by canals, crossed by arched bridges or by planks laid on boats. A Maydan, or public square, faced the

¹ Muk. 354, 367. Mst. 212, 213. J. N. 341. Hfz. 326. The name Atrak is written (and pronounced) with the second vowel short, while the plural of *Turk* is Atrâk; hence the usual explanation of the name is probably erroneous.

governor's palace, and this quarter of the town had nine gates. The defect of Jurjan was the great heat of its climate, and the flies were numerous, as well as other insects, especially bugs of a size so large as commonly to be known as 'the wolves' (Gurgan). Bakrabadh, as Mukaddasi spells the name, was also a populous city with its own mosques, and the buildings extended back for a considerable distance from the river, and for some distance along its western bank.

When Kazvînî wrote in the 7th (13th) century Jurjân was famous among the Shi'ahs for the shrine called Gur-i-Surkh, 'the Red Tomb,' said to be that of one of the descendants of 'All, whom Mustawfi identifies as Muhammad, son of Ja'far-as-Sâdik, the sixth Imâm. Mustawfi reports that the city had been rebuilt by the grandson of Malik Shah the Saljuk, and that its walls were 7000 paces in circuit. In the 8th (14th) century, when he wrote, the town lay for the most part in ruins, never having recovered the ravages of the Mongol invasion. He praises, however, the magnificent fruit grown here, and besides those kinds mentioned above names the jujube-tree as bearing freely here, so that trees which were only two or three years old gave good fruit, twice in each season. The population were all Shi'ahs in his time, but they were not numerous. In the year 795 (1393) Timûr, who had devastated all Mazandaran and the neighbouring country, stopped at Jurjan and built for himself here on the banks of the river the great palace of Shasman, which is especially referred to by Hâfiz Abrů1.

The second city of the Jurjân province is Astarâbâd, near the frontier of Mâzandarân. Mukaddasî describes it as a fine town in the 4th (10th) century, with the best climate of all the region round. Raw silk was its chief product, and in his day the fortress was already in ruin, for the Buyids had ravaged all this country during their wars against the Ziyârids; and Mukaddasî adds that

¹ I. H. 272, 273. Muk. 357, 358. Kaz. ii. 235. Mst. 190. A. Y. i. 578. Hfz. 324. During the 4th (10th) century Jurjân was governed by a native dynasty, the Ziyârids, whose rule extended over Tabaristân and the neighbouring lands. Of these Ziyârids one of the most famous was Kâbûs, who died in 403 (1012) and whose tomb, called the Gunbad-i-Kâbûs, is still to be seen near the ruins of Jurjân city. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, pp. 239-241.

there was the Friday Mosque built at the time of the first Moslem conquest still standing in the market-place near the city gate. Yākūt and Mūstawfi merely confirm the above account, praising the climate of Astarabad and the abundant supplies, but adding no fresh details. The port on the Caspian of both Jurjan and Astarábád was at Ábaskûn, given as one day's march distant from either city, but the site would appear to have been engulfed in the sea during the 7th (13th) century, following on the events of the Mongol invasion. Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal, writing in the 4th (10th) century, describe Åbaskûn as a considerable market for the silk trade, being the border station at that time against the Turks and Ghuzz, and the chief port for the coasting trade of the Caspian, sailing towards Gilân. It was protected by a strong castle built of burnt brick, and the Friday Mosque was in its marketplace. Mukaddasi writes of it as the great harbour of Jurjan,' and the Caspian itself, Yakût adds, was often called the Sea of Åbaskûn. In history Åbaskûn is celebrated as having been the final refuge of Muhammad, the last reigning Khwarizm-Shah, who, fleeing before the Mongol hordes, died here miserably in 617 (1220)1.

Six days' journey (or 50 leagues) north of Åbaskûn, and four marches from Jurjân city, was the settlement of Dihistân in the district of the same name, the outpost in the 4th (10th) century of the Turk frontier. Ibn Hawkal speaks of Dihistân as lying near the Caspian shore. The only settlements were small villages, with some gardens, but only a sparse population. Adjacent was a shallow bay of the Caspian where boats anchored and much fishing was carried on by the coast people. The chief settlement was called Åkhur, which Mukaddasî refers to as a city, surrounded by twenty-four villages, 'and these are the most populous of all the Jurjân province.' In Åkhur was a minaret, or tower, which could be seen from a great distance away in the neighbouring desert.

To the eastward of Åkhur was Ar-Rubât, 'the Guard-house, an important settlement at the entrance of the desert route going

¹ Ist. 213, 214. I. H. 273, 274. Muk. 358. Yak. i. 55, 242. Mst. 190, 225. Ibn Serapion (folio 468) states that the town of Abaskûn lay on the Jurjân river, near where it flowed out into the Caspian. Mar. Tanbik 60, 179.

to Khwârizm. Mukaddasî speaks of it as having three gates, and though in his time it was for the most part in ruin, it was still populous, with good markets and a few well-built houses, and fine mosques. Of these last, the Old Mosque had been built on wooden pillars, Mukaddasî says, and it was in his day half underground. Another of the mosques had a beautiful minaret. Yâkût mentions these and some other places in the Dihistân district, namely the villages of Khartîr, Farghûl, and Habrâthân, but he adds no details. Mustawfî, who gives the route from Jurjân to Khwârizm across Dihistân, describes this as the frontier between the Moslems and the heathen Turks and Kurds. The district had a warm climate and a stream watered its fields, but there was little fruit grown here.

Four stages from Dihistân on the desert border, where the road started for crossing to Khwarizm, stood the city of Faravah, which is given by Istakhrî as a settlement of the Ghuzz Desert. In the 4th (10th) century it was strongly garrisoned by volunteers, and there was a great Rubât, or guard-house, to protect the country lying at the back of it against the Turkish inroads. Its gardens and fields were small in extent and the town or settlement numbered barely a thousand families. Mukaddasi spells the name Afrâvah, and Yâkût says that it was a Rubât built by 'Abd Allah, the Tahirid, during the reign of the Caliph Mamun. From its position there is little doubt that Faravah is identical with the modern Kizil Arvat, a corruption of Kizil Rubât, 'the Red Guardhouse.' The names only of a number of other places in the Jurjan province are given by Yakût, these being the various villages belonging to Jurjan city, or to Astarábad. No details, however, are added, their positions are not indicated, and too often the reading of the name is uncertain*.

Mukaddasî mentions, among the products for which Jurjan

¹ The ruins of these towns lying on the border of the Khwarizm desert are still to be seen at Misriyan, near the mountains now called the Kören Dagh, but all cultivation has long ceased in this district, which is now a waterless desert. I. H. 277, 286. Muk. 358, 359. Yak. i. 59, 500; ii. 418, 633; iii. 880; iv. 949. Mst. 190, 197.

² Ist. 273. I. H. 324. Muk. 333. Yak. iii. 866. Mst. 197. For these villages see for instance sixteen names given by Yakût. Yak. ii. 137, 489, 782: iii. 323, 923, 930; iv. 277, 376, 395, 396, 555, 699, 728, 926, 927.

was famous, a particular kind of face-veil woven of raw silk, which was in his day largely exported to Yaman in southern Arabia. An inferior kind of brocade (dibāj) was also largely manufactured, and of fruits Jurjān was especially famous for its grapes, figs, and olives.

The high roads through Tabaristán and Jurján are not numerous, since in the first-named country the mountains are for roads almost impassable. Istakhri (duplicated by Ibn Hawkal) and Mukaddasi give the road from Ray northwards across the great chain to Âmul, passing through Ask and Bulûr (Pulûr), but many of the stages are now difficult or impossible to identify. Travelling westward from Amul along the coast. Ibn Hawkal and Istakhri give the marches through Nâtil and Sâlûs to the frontier of Gîlân (Daylam); also eastward from Âmul to Astarâbâd and Jurjân city. From Jurjan city north to Dihistan the stations are given by Mukaddasi, as also by Mustawii in his account of the road from Bisţâm in Kûmis to the capital of Khwârizm. Mukaddasî also gives the road from Bistam to Jurjan city across the mountain pass, through Juhaynah, which is described by Ibn Hawkal as a fine village on a river. Lastly from Jurjan eastward into Khurâsân Mukaddasî gives a route in 5 days to Isfarâyin in the Juvayn plain, passing through Aigh, which is now called Ashk. This district will be described in the following chapter*.

¹ Muk. 367.

^{*} Ist. 214-217. I. H. 274-276. Mak. 372, 373. Mst. 197.

CHAPTER XXVII.

KHURÂSÂN.

The four Quarters of Khurâsân. The Nîshâpûr quarter. Nîshâpûr city, and Shâdyâkh. The Nîshâpûr district. Tûs and Mashhad, with its shrine. Bayhak and Sabzivâr. Juvayn, Jâjarm, and Isfarâyin. Ustuvâ and Kûchân. Râdkân, Nîsâ, and Abivard. Kalât. Khâbarân and Sarakhs.

In old Persian Khuråsån means 'the Eastern Land,' and in the earlier middle-ages the name was applied, generally, so as to include all the Moslem provinces east of the Great Desert, as far as the frontier of the Indian mountains. Khuråsån, therefore, was taken in this larger sense to include all Transoxiana on the northeast, besides Sijistån with Kühistån on the south, and its outer boundaries were the Chinese desert and the Pamir towards Central Asia, with the Hindū Kush ranges towards India. Later, however, these limits became more circumscribed, and Khuråsån as a province of medieval Persia may conveniently be held to have extended only as far as the Oxus on the north-east, but it still included all the highlands beyond Heråt, in what is now the north-western part of Afghånistån. Further, the country of the upper Oxus, towards the Pamir, as known to the medieval Arabs, was always counted as one of the outlying districts of Khuråsån.

Arab or medieval Khurâsân is conveniently divided into four Quarters (Rub'), named from the four great cities which at various times were, separately or conjointly, the capitals of the province, to wit Naysâbûr, Marv, Herât, and Balkh. After the first Moslem conquest the capitals of Khurâsân had been at Marv and at Balkh. The princes of the Tâhirid dynasty, however, shifted the centre of government westward, and under their

sway Naysabur became the capital city of the province, being also the chief town of the westernmost of the four Quarters1.

In modern Persian the name is pronounced Nîshâpûr, the Arab form being Naysâbûr, which is from the old Persian Nîv-Shahpuhr, meaning 'the good (thing, deed, or place) of Shâpûr,' and the city is so called after the Sassanian king Shâpûr II, who had rebuilt it in the 4th century A.D., for Naysâbûr owed its foundation to Shâpûr I, son of Ardashîr Bâbgân. Of the chief towns of the Naysâbûr district, in which was included most of the province of Kûhistân already described, long lists are given by the Arab geographers of the 3rd (9th) century, but these are chiefly interesting for the archaic spelling of some of the names, and many places named cannot now be identified.

In early Moslem days Naysabûr was also known as Abrashahr, meaning 'Cloud-city' in Persian, and as such appears as a mint city on the early dirhams of both the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs. The name Îrân-shahr—the City of Îrân—is also given to it by Mukaddasî and others, but probably this was merely used officially and as a title of honour. In the 4th (10th) century Naysâbûr was already a most populous place, measuring from half a league to a league across every way, and consisting of the citadel or fortress, the city proper, and an outer suburb. The chief Friday Mosque stood in the suburb; it had been built by 'Amr the Saffarid, and faced the public square called Al-Mu'askar, 'the Review Ground.' Adjacent thereto was the palace of the governor, which opened on another square called the Maydân-al-Husayniyîn, and not far from this was the prison—all three buildings standing within a quarter of a league one of the other.

The fortress had two gates, the city four. These last were named Bâb-al-Kanṭarah (the Bridge Gate), next the gate of the street of Ma'kil, then Bâb-al-Kuhandiz (the Fortress Gate), and lastly the gate of the Takîn bridge. The suburbs lying beyond

¹ lst. 253, 254. I. H. 308, 309, 310. Muk. 295. Mst. 185.

² Ist. 258. I. H. '313. I. K. 24. Ykb. 278. I. R. 171. The first syllable of the name Nishâpûr in old Persian was Niv, or Nik, which in modern Persian exists in Nikû, 'good'; the Arab diphthong Nay(sâbûr) changes in modern Persian to the long vowel, becoming Nishâpûr, for the Arab b is in Persian pronounced p. Nöldeke, Sassaniden, p. 59.

and round both fortress and city, where the great markets were situated, had many gates. Of these the chief were the gate of the domes (Båb-al-Kubab), opening west, and on the opposite quarter the war gate (Bâb Jang) towards the Bushtafrûsh district; then to the south was the Bab Ahwasabad, and the names of some others are also given. The most famous market-places were those known as Al-Murabba'ah-al-Kabirah, and Al-Murabba'ah-as-Saghirah ('the great quadrangle' and 'the little quadrangle'), of which the great quadrangle was near the Friday Mosque, already mentioned. The little quadrangle was at some distance from the other, in the western part of the suburbs, near the Maydan-al-Husayniyin and the governor's palace. A long line of streets flanked by shops went from one quadrangle to the other; and a like street of shops crossed this at right-angles, near the great quadrangle, going south as far as the graveyard known as the Makabir-al-Husayniyin, and extending north to the head of the bridge over the river.

In these market streets were many hostels for the merchants, and every sort of merchandise might be found each in its separate mart, while cobblers, clothiers, bootmakers, and men of every trade were abundantly represented. Every house in the city had its own separate underground water channel, the supply coming from the stream of the Wâdî Saghâvar, which flowed down through Naysâbûr from the neighbouring village of Bushtankân. These water channels, which were under the inspection of a special officer within the city, often ran as much as a hundred steps below the ground level. Beyond the city the channels reached the surface, and were here used for the irrigation of the garden lands.

No town in all Khurasan, says Ibn Hawkal, was healthier or more populous than Naysabur, being famous for its rich merchants, and the store of merchandise coming in daily by caravan. Cotton and raw silk were its chief exports, and all kinds of stuff goods were manufactured here. Mukaddasi fully bears out this account, adding some further details. He says that there were forty-two town quarters in Naysabur, some of which were of the size of half the city of Shiraz. The main streets (darb) leading to the gates were nearly fifty in number. The great Friday Mosque, which was built in four wards, dated, as already said, from the days of 'Amr the Şaffarid. Its roof was supported on columns of

burnt brick, and three arcades went round the great court. The main building was ornamented with golden tiles, there were eleven gates to the mosque, each flanked by marble columns, and both the roof and walls were profusely ornamented. The river of Naysâbûr, as noted above, came from the village of Bushtankân; it turned seventy mills, and from it the numerous underground watercourses were led off, for the river itself flowed past the place at a distance of a league. Within the city and among the houses there were many wells of sweet water'.

Yakût says that in his day, namely the 7th (13th) century, the name of the city was commonly pronounced Nashavar. He declares that in spite of the ruin which had been the result of the great earthquakes in the year 540 (1145), followed by the sack of the place at the hands of the Ghuzz hordes in 548 (1153), he had seen no finer city in all Khurasan, and its gardens were famous for their white currants (ribàs) and for other fruits. After this Ghuzz inroad, when Sultan Sanjar the Saljūk was carried away prisoner, and the city devastated, the inhabitants for the most part removed to the neighbouring suburb of Shadyakh, which was then rebuilt, being surrounded with a wall and enlarged by Al-Mu'ayyad, the governor, who acted in the name of the captive Sultan Sanjar. This suburb of Shâdyâkh, or Ash-Shâdhyākh, had formerly been a garden, occupied by 'Abd Allah the Tahirid in the early part of the 3rd (9th) century, when he made Naysabûr the seat of his government. Round his palace, what had been originally the camp of his troops became the chief suburb of Naysabûr, which, after the Ghuzz invasion, took the place of the capital. Yakût, who spent some time at Nîshapûr about the year 613 (1216), lodged in Shâdyâkh, which he describes. Shortly after this, namely in 618 (1221), the capital was taken and sacked by the Mongols under Changiz Khan, as Yakut himself heard and reports, he having by this time sought safety in Mosul. According to his information the Mongols left not one stone standing upon another.

Nîshâpûr, however, must have quickly recovered from the

Le S. 25

¹ Ist. 254, 255. I. H. 310-312. Muk. 314-316, 329.

effects of the Mongol invasion, for when Ibn Batûtah was here in the 8th (14th) century it was again a populous city, with a fine mosque encircled by four colleges, while the plain round the city was 'a little Damascus' for fertility, for it was watered by four streams coming from the neighbouring hills. They manufactured here, Ibn Batûtah adds, silk velvets called kamkhû and nakhkh, and the markets were much frequented by foreign merchants. Mustawff, his contemporary, gives a long account of the city of Nishāpūr and of its district. He says that in the days of the Chosroes, as it was reported, the old town of Naysabur had been originally laid out on the plan of a chess-board, with eight squares to each side. Then under the Şaffârids Nîshâpûr had increased in size and wealth, becoming the chief city of Khurâsân, till the year 605 (1208), when it was almost completely destroyed by earthquakes. It was after this date, according to Mustawfl, that Shâdvâkh first took its place as the centre of population, this latter city having a wall 6700 paces in circuit. Nîshāpûr, however, was forthwith rebuilt, but again destroyed by the earthquakes in the year 679 (1280), when a third city of Nishapur was refounded on a different site, and this was the place which Mustawf? describes. Its walls then measured 15,000 paces in circuit, and it stood at the foot of the hills, facing south. The water-supply was plentiful, for the Nîshâpûr river, which rose in the mountains two leagues or more to the eastward, had a sufficient current to turn 40 mills before it came to the town. He relates, further, that most of the houses in Nishapur had cisterns for storing water in the dry season.

The present city of Nîshāpūr lies on the eastern side of a semicircular plain, surrounded by mountains, and facing the desert, which is to the south. This plain is watered by many streams coming down from the hills to the north and east, and Mustawii gives the names of a great number of these, which, after irrigating the lands round Nîshāpūr, become lost in the desert. Five leagues north of the city, at the head-waters of the Nîshāpūr river, was a little lake in the mountains at the top of the pass, called Chashmah Sabz, 'the Green Spring,' from which, according to Mustawii, two streams running west and east took their rise, the eastern stream flowing

down to the valley of Mashhad. This lake appears to have been in the hill called Küh Gulshân, where there was a wonderful Cavern of the Winds, and from its depths a draught of air and a current of water perpetually issued, the latter sufficiently strong to turn a mill. The lake of Chashmah Sabz is described as a league in circuit, and many wonders were related of it, for it was reported to be unfathomable, and an arrow could not be shot from one bank to the other.

Four districts of the Naysabur plain were famous for their fertility, and Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century enumerates these, namely, Ash-Shamat ('the Beauty Spots'), Rivand, which still exists to the west of Nîshāpūr, Māzūl, and Bushtafrūsh. The district of Mazûl lay to the north, and its chief village was Bushtakan (or Bushtankan), a league from the city, where 'Amr the Saffarid had planted a famous garden. The currants of this district were especially renowned. The Bushtafrüsh district, now known as Pusht Farûsh, extended for a day's journey eastwards from the Jang Gate of Naysabûr, according to Mukaddasî, and from the gardens of its villages, which Yakût says numbered 126 in all, apricots were exported in immense quantities. The Shamat district, Mukaddasi says, was named Tak-Ab by the Persians, meaning 'whence waters flow,' and its Tertility was extraordinary. Rîvand, a small town in the district of the same name, lay one stage west of Naysabûr; in the 4th (10th) century the town had a Friday Mosque built of burnt brick, and it stood on its own river. Its vineyards were famous and its quinces were in great demand.

One of the main streams of the Nîshâpûr district, according to Mustawfî, was the Shûrah Rûd, 'the Salt River,' which was joined by the waters of the stream from Dizbâd, and after watering many districts ultimately became lost in the desert. A number of other streams are also mentioned by Mustawfî, but many of their names are misspelt and they are now difficult to identify. Some, however, present no difficulty, as for instance the river of Bushtakân, rising in the Chashmah Sabz neighbourhood, already mentioned, and the Bushtafrûsh river, both of which in the spring freshets, he says, joined the Shûrah Rûd. Finally, there was the stream named the 'Atshâbâd, or 'Thirst' river, which, though in

spring-time it had water enough to turn 20 mills throughout its course of a score of leagues, at other seasons did not give enough to quench a man's thirst, from which cause came its ill-omened name.

To the south-east of Nîshâpûr the great Khurâsân high road bifurcates at the stage which the Arabs named Kaṣr-ar-Riḥ, 'Castle of the Wind,' and the Persians Dizbâd or Dih Bâd. Its river has been already mentioned among the streams which flowed to the Shûrah river. From here the road to Marv went due east, that to Herât turning off south-east. On this last, two stages from Dih Bâd, was the village of Farhâdân, which is also called Farhâdhjird by Yâkût. Its district, which was counted as of Naysâbûr, Mukaddasî calls Asfand; in Ibn Rustah the spelling given is Ashbandh, and Yâkût writes Ashfand, adding that this district comprised 83 villages. The old name of the district appears now to be lost, but the village called Farajird (for the older Farhâdhjird) is still marked on the maps at the place indicated by the Itineraries.

Due east of Nîshāpûr, but separated from it by the range of mountains in which most of the streams of the Nîshāpûr plain take their rise, lies Mashhad—'the Place of Martyrdom,' or 'Shrine' of the Imâm—now the capital of the Persian province of Khurāsân, and a few miles to the north of it may be seen the ruins of Tûs, the older city. Tûs, in the 4th (10th) century, was the second city of the Naysâbûr quarter of Khurāsân, and consisted of the twin towns of At-Tābarān and Nûkân, while two post-stages distant was the great garden at the village of Sanābādh, where lay the graves of the Caliph Hārûn-ar-Rashîd, who died in 193 (809), and of the eighth Imâm 'Alî-ar-Ridâ, who was poisoned by Mamûn in 202 (817). This village of Sanābādh was also known as Barda', meaning 'a pack-saddle,' or as Al-Muthakkab, 'the Pierced',' presumably from the windows of the shrine, or for some other fanciful reason.

¹ I. R. 171. Muk. 300, 316, 317. Yak. i. 630; iii. 228—231; iv. 391, 857, 858. I. B. iii. 80, 81. Mst. 185, 206, 219, 220, 226. J. N. 328. For the Chashmah Sabz lake and the Cave of the Winds, see C. E. Yate, Khurusan and Sistan, pp. 351, 353. Both places are still famous in Khurāsān.

² I. R. 171. Muk. 360, 319. Yak. i. 280; iii. 887. Mst. 196, 197. ³ Al-Muthakkab was a name given to various fortresses; one near Al-

In the 3rd (9th) century, according to Ya'kûbî, Nûkân was the greater of the two halves of Tus, but in the following century Tâbarân had outgrown it, and was the larger city down to the time of Yakût, when Tûs was ruined by the Mongol hordes. In early days Nûkân was celebrated for its stone jars made of serpentine (Barâm), which were largely exported; and there were mines for gold and silver, copper and iron, which were profitably worked in the neighbouring hills. Turquoises, and the stone known as 'santalum' (khumahan), also malachite (dahnaj), were all found in the neighbourhood of Tus, and brought for sale to the markets of Nûkân. This part of Tûs, however, was rather deficient in its water-supply. The fortress of the adjacent quarter of Tâbarân was a huge building, 'visible afar off,' as Mukaddasî writes, and the markets of this half of the town were well supplied. Its Friday Mosque was beautifully built and finely ornamented. The neighbouring tombs at Sanābādh were already in the 4th (10th) century surrounded by a strongly fortified wall, and the shrine, as Ibn Hawkal reports, was constantly thronged by devotees. A mosque had been built near the tomb of the Imam Rida by the Amîr Fâik 'Amid-ad-Dawlah, than which, says Mukaddasî, 'there is none finer in all Khurasan.' The grave of Harun-ar-Rashid had been made by the side of that of the Imam, and many houses and a market had been built in the vicinity of the great garden.

The description given by Yâkût adds little to the above, but he mentions, as one of the most famous tombs at Tâbarân, the shrine of the great Sunnî theologian, the Imâm Ghazzâlî, who had died in 505 (1111), after having served some years at Baghdâd as chief of the Nizâmîyah college. When Yâkût wrote, in the 7th (13th) century, the name Tûs was more generally used to denote the surrounding district, where there were, he says, over a thousand flourishing villages. In 617 (1220), however, all this country,

Massisah (Mopsuestia) has been mentioned in Chapter IX, p. 130. The origin of the name Barda' is not explained. Nûkân, pronounced Nûgân, is still the name of the north-east quarter and gate of modern Mashhad, leading out doubtless towards Nûkân of Tûs, and the Sanâbâd watercourse at the present day supplies the north-west quarter of Mashhad. I. R. 172. I. K. 24. Yak, iv. 414. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 316, 317.

including the two cities of Tûs, with the shrines at Sanâbâdh (Mashhad), was devastated and pillaged by the Mongol hordes. From the Mongol sack Tûs appears never to have recovered, though the neighbouring shrines under the fostering care of the rich Shî'ahs soon resumed their former splendour; and Mustawfî, in the 8th (14th) century, is one of the first to refer to the Sanâbâdh village as Mashhad, 'the Place of Martyrdom,' a name that it has since always borne.

The Caliph and the Imam, as Kazvini remarks, lay under one dome, and the latter only was held in honour by the Shi'ahs, who, however, knew not which tomb to revere, for by order of the Caliph Mamun (son of Harun-ar-Rashid, and the poisoner of 'Aliar-Ridà), the two graves had been made exactly alike. When Mustawfi wrote, Mashhad had already become a great city, surrounded by immense graveyards with many famous tombs, that of Ghazzali, just mentioned, lying to the eastward of the shrines, where also was shown the grave of the poet Firdusi. Around the city lay the fertile plain known as Marghzar Takan, 12 leagues long by 5 across, where grapes and figs were more especially grown. The people of the Tus district were, Mustawfi adds, 'a very excellent folk and good to strangers.'

Ibn Batûtah, who visited the Mashhad of Imam Rida a few years later, gives a careful description of the shrine. Mashhad, was, he says, a large city, plentifully supplied as to its markets, and surrounded by hills. Over the tombs was a mighty dome, covering the oratory, and the mosque with a college (Madrasah) stood adjacent. All these were finely built, their walls being lined with tile-work (kāshānī). Above the actual grave of the Imam was a sort of platform, or casing in wood, overlaid with silver plates, many silver lamps being hung from the beams round about. The threshold of the door into the oratory was overlaid in silver, the aperture being closed by a gold-embroidered silk veil, and the floor under the dome was spread with many fine carpets. The tomb of the Caliph was also covered by a casing of wood, on which candlesticks were set, but it was not held in honour, for, says Ibn Batütah, 'every Shi'ah on entering kicks with his foot the tomb of Harûn-ar-Rashîd, while he invokes a blessing on that of Imam Rida.' The magnificence of the shrine

of the Imam is alluded to by the Spanish envoy Clavijo, who visited the court of Timur in 808 (1405), and on his way passed through Mashhad. In those days it is noteworthy that Christians might enter the shrine, for the Persian Shl'ahs were not then as fanatical in this matter as they are at the present time.

Four days' march due west of Nîshâpûr in the district of Bayhak were the two cities of Sabzivar and Khusrujird, a league only separating them; Sabzivar, the chief town, being itself generally known in the middle-ages as Bayhak. The Bayhak district, which extended as far east as Rivand, measuring 25 leagues across in all directions, comprised according to Yakut 321 villages, and he adds that the name Bayhak was from the Persian Bayhah or Bahâyin, which signified 'most generous.' According to the same authority Sabzavar was the more exact name of the town, which the common people had shortened to Sabzvar; and Khusrūjird had originally been the chief town of the district, but the pre-eminence in his day was gone over to Sabzivar. Mustawff says that the markets of this town were covered by a wooden roof on arches, very strongly built; grapes and other fruits were grown in the district round, and most of the population in the 8th (14th) century were Shi'ahs2.

From Bistâm in the Kûmis province to Nîshâpûr there were two roads. The more direct, the post-road, lies along the edge of the desert, going through Sabzivâr. The longer caravan road is to the north, and curves through the great upland plain of Juvayn, which is separated from the Great Desert by a range of hills. This district of Juvayn, which, according to Mukaddasî, was also called Gûyân, was very fertile in food-stuffs, and its chief town was Azâdhvâr or Azâdvâr. The Isfarâyin district was in its northern part;

The name of the Imam is at the present day pronounced Riza by the Persians. Ykb. 277. Ist. 257, 258. I. H. 313. Muk. 319, 333, 352. Yak. iii. 154, 486, 560, 561; iv. 824. Kaz. ii. 262. Mst. 186. I. B. iii. 77-79. Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, p. 110 (Hakluyt Society). 'The ambassadors went to see the mosque, and afterwards, when in other lands people heard them say that they had been to this tomb, they kissed their clothes, saying that they had been near the holy [shrine of] Horazan.'

Muk. 317, 318. Yak. i. 804; ii. 441. Mst. 186. For the ruins of Bayhak see C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, p. 398.

while at the western end, on the Kûmis border, was the Arghiyân district round Jâjarm. Nearly two hundred villages, according to Yâkût, were dependencies of Azâdhvâr, which he describes as a populous town with fine mosques, and outside its gate was a great khân for merchants, for its markets were much frequented. The gardens of its villages stretched continuously all down the valley, and the water for their irrigation was brought by underground water-courses from the springs in the southern hills. In the 8th (14th) century, according to Mustawíi, the capital of the Juvayn district had changed to Fariyûmad, some miles to the south of Azâdvâr. Khudâshah, a stage east of Azâdvâr on the caravan road, was also a place of importance, where, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, Hâjji Barlâs, the uncle of Tîmûr, was slain, as is mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd in his history'.

The town of Jajarm, also called Arghiyan, which is more particularly the name of its district, had, according to Mukaddasi, a fine Friday Mosque, and was a well-fortified city, with 70 villages of its dependencies. Yakût describes the three towns of Samalkan or Samankan, said to lie east of Jajarm, Ar-Rawanir (or Råwansar), and Bån, as being all of the Arghiyan or Jajarm district, but their exact positions are not given. He also mentions Sabanj or Isfanj, which still exists to the south-west of Jajarm on the road to Bistâm, and this place Mustawfi calls Rubât Savanj. Mustawfi describes Jajarm as a fair-sized town, which no army could come against, for within the circuit of a day's journey round it the plain was everywhere covered by a grass poisonous to all cattle. On the other hand, at the foot of its castle, there grew two plane-trees (chinar), whose bark if chewed on a Wednesday morning infallibly cured toothache. Mustawfi adds that this bark was largely exported. The district round was very fertile, growing fruit and corn. The Jajarm river, which ran south and ended in the desert, he names the Jaghan Rud: it rose by three springs, each of which could have turned a mill, and these after coming

Muk. 318. Yak. i. 230; ii. 165. Mst. 186, 196. A. Y. i. 58. There is some confusion between the names of Khudashah four leagues to the east of Azadvar, and Khurashah, which is about the same distance to the north of Azadvar. The two names are written much alike in the Arabic character.

together ran for a course over 12 leagues in length, the water being much used for irrigation'.

The great plain of Isfarâyin (or Asfarayn), Mukaddasî says, grew much rice and fine grapes. Its chief town, of the same name, was very populous, and had good markets. Yâkût states that the town of Isfarâyin was of old called Mihrajân, this, when he wrote in the 7th (13th) century, being still the name of a village near the ruined town, and 5t villages were of its dependencies. The name Isfarâyin, according to Yâkût, was originally written Asbarâyîn, and meant 'the shield-bearers,' from asbar, 'a shield.' Mustawfî relates that in the mosque at Isfarâyin was a great bowl of brass, the largest ever seen, for its outer edge measured a dozen ells in circumference. To the north of the city was the Kal'ah-i-Zar, 'Gold Castle,' and the town took its water from a stream that flowed past at the foot of the castle hill. Throughout the surrounding plain nut-trees abounded; the climate was damp, but grapes and corn were grown plentifully.

In the marshy plain, where the river Atrak takes its rise to flow westward, while flowing in a contrary direction eastward, the river of Mashhad also has its source, lies the town of Kûchân, which in medieval times was called Khabûshan, or Khûjan. Its district the Arab geographers name Ustuvå, praising it as a very fertile country; the name is said to mean 'the Highland'; and beyond Ustuvā, eastwards, was the Nisâ district. Yākût, who states that the name of the chief town was in his day pronounced Khûshân, says that 93 villages belonged to it. In the Jahân Numå the name appears as Khûchân, and Mustawsi says that though the name of Ustuvâ for the district was still written in the fiscal registers, it was in his day no longer in common use. The surrounding plain he praises for its fertility, and adds that Hûlâgû Khán, the Mongol, had rebuilt Khabûshân in the 7th (13th) century, his grandson Arghûn, the Îl-Khân of Persia, afterwards greatly enlarging the town. About half-way between Khabûshan

¹ Muk. 318. Yak. i. 209, 249, 485; ii. 4, 742; iii. 35, 145. Mst. 186, 196, 220.

Muk. 318. Yak. i. 246. Mst. 186. The medieval city of Isfarayin (the plain is still known by this name) is probably to be identified with the ruins called Shahr-i-Bilkis. C. E. Yate, Khuraran and Sistan, 378, 379.

and Tûs is Râdkân, which is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawkal, and described by Yâkût as a small town celebrated as the birth-place of Nizâm-al-Mulk, the great Wazîr of Malik Shâh, the Saljûk.

The famous district of Naså or Niså is the broad valley now known as Darrah Gaz, 'the Vale of Manna.' The city of Niså is described by Ibn Hawkal as being a large town, of the size of Sarakhs, having an abundant water-supply from the neighbouring hills. Mukaddasî praises its fine mosque and excellent markets. Nearly all the houses, he says, had gardens, and rich villages were dotted about the valley all round the town. Yakût, however, speaks of Niså as most unhealthy, chiefly on account of the guinea-worm (the 'Medina worm,' he calls it), which in summer could hardly be avoided by those living in the place, and the suffering it caused made life unbearable. Kazvînî adds that the town was also called Shahr Fîrûz, after the ancient Persian king who was reported to have built it.

To the east of Niså, beyond the mountain ridge and on the edge of the Marv desert, lies Abîvard, the name being sometimes spelt Bâvard. Mukaddasî says that its markets, in the midst of which stood the Friday Mosque, were finer even than those of Niså, and more frequented by merchants. Mustawfî praises the fruit grown here, and he counts as belonging to Abîvard the great guard-house (rubât) at Kûfan, six leagues distant, standing in a village. This guard-house had been built by 'Abd-Allah, the Tâhirid, in the 3rd (9th) century; it had four gates, and a mosque was built in its midst. The district in which Abîvard stood was called Khâbarân, or Khâvarân, of which Mîhnah, or Mayhanah, was the chief town; further, Yâkût names Azjah, Bâdhan, Kharval-Jabal and Shûkân as among the important places of this district; but Mayhanah, when he wrote, was already in ruins.

¹ I. H. 313. Muk. 318, 319. Yak. i. 243; ii. 400, 487, 730. Mst. 186. J. N. 323. The present town of Bujnurd, lying north of Islardyin, and about 60 miles to the north-west of Küchân, was founded a couple of centuries ago, but near it was an older town called Bizhân, the ruined castle of which, known as the Kal'ah, still exists. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 195, 196. Sykes, Persia, 22.

² Ist. 273. I. H. 324. Muk. 320. Yak. iv. 776. Kaz. ii. 311. The city of Niså is probably identical with the modern Muhammadåbåd, the chief town of Darrah Gaz.

In the following, 8th (14th), century Mustawfî speaks of the many fine gardens of the Khāvarān district—he also gives the name as Khavardān—and he says that in its chief town had resided the poet Anvārī, who flourished in the 6th (12th) century, having been the panegyrist of Sultan Sanjar the Saljūk¹.

In the mountains, and about half-way between Abivard and Mihnah, lies the huge natural fortress now known as Kilāt-i-Nādir, after Nadir Shah, the celebrated king of the Persia of the 18th century A.D., who stored his treasures here. This stronghold does not appear to be mentioned in any of the Itineraries, or by the Arab geographers of the 3rd and 4th (9th and 10th) centuries, and Yakût does not notice it. The earliest mention of Kilât appears to be by 'Utbl, in his History of Mahmud of Ghaznah, and he merely states incidentally that a certain Amir went 'from Nîshâpûr to Kilât, which is also in the Arabic fashion written Kal'ah.' Mustawfi gives a succinct description of the place. adding that its chief towns were called Jurm and Marinan; further, Kilât had much water, besides arable lands that produced abundantly, and many villages belonged to it of the surrounding districts. In history it first became famous for the siege of the fortress by Timur, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, and after it had fallen into his hands he caused its fortifications to be carefully rebuilt and strengthened.

The city of Sarakhs lies on the direct road from Tûs to Great Mary, and on the right, or eastern bank of the Mashhad river, which is now known as the Tajand. This river does not appear

Muk. 321, 333. /ak. i. 111, 232, 462; ii. 383, 395, 428; iii. 337; iv. 321, 723. Mst. 189. A. Y. i. 382. J. N. 318. The name of Khåvarån stands for the older form Kharvarån, meaning 'the west country' (the opposite of Khuråsån, 'the east country'), and this small district of the foot-hills on the Marv desert thus preserves at the present day the name applied originally to all western Persia that was formerly not counted as Khuråsån, 'the country of the east.'

² 'Utbî, Kitâb-i-Yaminî, Arabic text (Cairo, 1286 A.H.), i. 215. Persian text (Tihrân, 1272 A.H.), p. 151. Mst. 187. A. Y. i. 334, 337. J. N. 323. Kilât or Kalât, in Persian, is equivalent to the Armenian Qalaq, signifying 'a city,' and in Arabic appears under the well-known form Kal'ah, or Kal'at, 'a castle.' Kilât-i-Nâdir was visited by Col. MacGregor (Journey through Khuraian, ii. 51) in 1875 and carefully described.

to be named by any of the medieval geographers; it rises, as already described, in the marshes near Kûchân, and at first flows south east, passing Mashhad. When it has gone about a hundred miles beyond this city it receives from the south, as a great affluent, the Herât river, and thence turning north flows to Sarakhs. At some distance further north, in the latitude of Abivard, its waters spread out and became lost in the desert sands, at a place called Al-Ajmah, 'the Reed-beds,' where there were many tamarisk trees. Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal speak of this river Tajand merely as an affluent of the Herât river. Ibn Rustah, who regards it in the same light, says that two leagues before coming to Sarakhs the Herât river (that is, the lower course of the Tajand) throws off a branch canal that goes direct to this city. Other canals too were taken from it to water the Sarakhs district, more especially one named the Khushk Rud (Dry River), across which had been built a great masonry bridge, but for a great part of the year even the main stream at Sarakhs carried no water.

Sarakhs in the 4th (10th) century was a great city, being half the size of Marv, with a healthy climate. Camels and sheep were numerous in its pastures, though its arable lands were limited for lack of a constant water-supply. Mukaddasi praises its Friday Mosque and fine markets, adding that throughout the suburbs there were many gardens. Kazvini, who speaks of it as very populous, says that they made here, for export, scarfs for turbans, and veils that were most beautifully embroidered in gold thread. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi describes the walls of Sarakhs as 5000 paces in circuit and protected by a strongly built fortress. Their drinking water, he says, was from the river coming from Tûs and Herât' (he does not name the Tajand), a fine stream, and of very digestible water, which further served to irrigate the fields round Sarakhs, where melons and grapes grew abundantly.

¹ I. R. 173. Ist. 272. I. H. 323, 324. Muk. 312, 313. Kaz. ii. 261. Mst. 189. Modern Sarakhs lies on the west bank of the Tajand.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

KHURASAN (continued).

The Marv quarter. The Murghâb river. Great Marv and its villages. Amul and Zamm, on the Oxus. Marv-ar-Rûd, or Little Marv, and Kaşr Ahnaf.

The second of the Quarters of Khurasan, that of Marv, lies along the Murghab, or Marv river. This river flows down from the mountains of Ghur to the north-east of Herat, and passing Little Marv turns thence north to Great Marv, where its waters were divided up among a number of canals, after which it became lost in the sands of the Ghuzz Desert, on about the same latitude as the swamps of the Tajand or Herat river, but some 70 miles to the eastward of the latter.

Besides the various towns lying along the Murghâb, the Marv quarter also included the places on the great Khurâsân road, beyond Marv, north-eastward to the Oxus at Âmul, where the crossing for Bukhârâ took place.

The name Murghâb, or Marghâb, is said by Ibn Hawkal to have been originally Marv-âb, 'the Marv-water'; but, says Iştakhrî, Murghâb is the name of the place where its streams rise. Mukaddasî, who calls the Murghâb the river of the Two Marvs, describes it as flowing past Upper (or Lesser) Marv towards Lower (or Great) Marv. One march south of the latter city its bed was artificially dyked with embankments faced by woodworks which kept the river-bed from changing. This embankment in the 4th (10th) century was under the wardship of a specially appointed Amîr who acted as water-bailiff, with 10,000 workmen

under him and horse guards, and saw to the up-keep of the dykes, and the regulation of the water-supply. There was on the embankment a measure which registered the flood-height; in a year of abundance this would rise to 60 barleycorns above the low-level, and the people then rejoiced, while in a year of drought the water would only attain the level of six barleycorns.

At a distance of one league south of Great Mary the waters of the stream were dammed back in a great round pool, whence four canals radiated to the various quarters of the city and suburbs. The height of the pool was regulated by sluices, and it was a great festival when at high flood-time the various dams were cut, and the waters were divided off according to rule. These four main canals were called respectively the Hurmuzfarrah canal, flowing towards the west, next to the eastward that of Majan, then the Nahr Zark or Ar-Razik, and finally the Nahr As'adi. Of these four the Nahr-al-Majan appears to have carried the main stream of the Murghab, and after passing through the suburbs of the city, where it was crossed by many bridges of boats, it came out again to the desert plain, and flowed on till the residue of its waters were lost in the swamp. Yakut in the 7th (13th) century states that the Murghab was in his day known as the river Razîk (probably identical with the canal already mentioned), a name which he states was often incorrectly spelt Zarik, and the Jahan Numå adds, as a third variant, Zarbak. These names are also mentioned by Mustawil, who gives Murghab as the common appellation in his day, and by this name the great river is still known'.

Great Marv, in the middle-ages, was called Marv-ash-Shâhijân, to distinguish it from Marv-ar-Rûd, Little Marv, and Shâhijân is probably merely the Arab form of the old Persian Shâhgân, 'kingly,' or 'belonging to the king,' though Yâkût and others explain the term as Shâh-i-Jân to mean 'of the soul of the king.' Marv, as described by Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawkal, and Mukaddasi, consisted of an inner citadel (Kuhandiz) 'high-built and itself of

¹ Ist. 260, 261. I. H. 315. Muk. 330, 331. Yak. ii. 777. Mst. 214. J. N. 328. The place where the Murghâb ultimately became lost in the sands is called Mâyâb by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū. Hfz. 328. For the places round Marv, see Map X, p. 447. Presumably 60 barleycoms (Sha'frah) went to the ell.

the size of a town,' surrounded by the inner city with its four gates, beyond which again were extensive suburbs stretching along the banks of the great canals. The four gates of the inner town were the Bâb-al-Madînah, 'the city gate' (S.W.), where the road from Sarakhs came in; the Bâb Sanjân (S.E.) opening on the Banî Mâhân suburb and As'adî canal; the Bâb Dar Mashkân (N.E.) on the road to the Oxus; and lastly the Bâb Bâlin (N.W.). In the 4th (10th) century there were three Friday Mosques in Marv, first the citadel mosque called the Jâmi' of the Banî Mâhân; next the Masjid-al-'Atîk, 'the Old Mosque,' which stood at the gate opening on the Sarakhs road, the Bâb-al-Madînah; lastly the New Mosque of the Mâjân suburb, outside this same gate, where the great markets of Marv were found.

The Razik canal flowed into the town, coming to the gate called Bâb-al-Madînah and the Old Mosque, after which its waters were received and stored in various tanks for the use of the inhabitants of the quarter. The Mâjân canal, flowing to the west of it, watered the great Mâjân suburb, which lay round the Maydân, or public square, on which stood the New Mosque, the Government-house, and the prison; all these having been built by Abu Muslim, the great partizan of the Abbasids. To him was principally due their accession to the Caliphate, as history relates, and in a domed house of this quarter, built of burnt brick, the dome being 55 ells in diameter, says Iṣṭakhrî, the place was shown where the first black Abbasid robes had been dyed, that having become the distinguishing colour of the new dynasty.

West of the Nahr Mâjân, as already said, was the canal of Hurmuzfarrah, on the limit of the suburbs of Marv, and along its banks were the houses and quarters built by Husayn the Tâhirid, who had transferred many of the markets to this quarter. Yâkût, at a later date, speaking of the great western suburb of Mâjân, mentions two of its chief streets, namely, the thoroughfare known as Barârjân (for Barâdar-Jân) or 'brother-life' in upper Mâjân, and the street of Tukhârân-bih. The Hurmuzfarrah canal ultimately reached the township of that name, near the swamps of the Murghâb, and the town had its own Friday Mosque. One league distant from Hurmuzfarrah was Bâshân, also a town with its Friday Mosque, while the two hamlets of Kharak (or Kharah)

and As-Sûsankân, standing a league distant one from the other, lay also on this side of Mary and were likewise of sufficient size for each to have its own Friday Mosque.

One march to the westward of Marv was the town called Sinj (in Mukaddasi spelt Sink), with a fine Friday Mosque, standing on a canal with many gardens, and beyond it, two marches to the south-west of Mary on the road to Sarakhs, lay the important town of Ad-Dandankan. This was small but well fortified, having a single gate, with hot baths (Hammams) outside the wall. Its ruins were seen by Yakut in the 7th (13th) century, for it had been pillaged by the Ghuzz in 553 (1158). This was the limit of cultivation of the Mary oasis to the south-west, while Kushmayhan, one march from Mary on the Bukhara road, was the limit of cultivation on the north-eastern side. This Kushmayhan, or Kushmāhan, according to Ya'kûbî, was famous for the Zabîh Kushmāhani, a kind of raisin. The town also possessed a fine Friday Mosque and good markets; it was watered by a great canal, and there were many hostelries and baths here; much fruit being grown in the surrounding gardens.

Immediately outside the Dar Mashkan gate of Marv, which led to the town of Kushmayhan, had stood the great palace of Mamun, where he had lived when he held his court at Mary, previous to setting out for Baghdad to wrest the Caliphate from his brother Amîn. The south-eastern gate of Marv, the Bâb Sanjân, opened on the As'adî canal, along which lay the Banî Mâhân (or Mîr Mâhân) quarter, with the palace of the Marzubân of Marv, the Persian Warden of the Marches. From this gate the road led up the Murghâb river by Al-Karînayn to Mary-ar-Rûd. Six leagues from the city in this direction was the town of Jîranj (or Kîrang, in Mukaddasi) on the river bank, while one league beyond it lay Zark. Here had stood the mill where Yazdajird III, the last of the Sassanian kings, fled for shelter, and was murdered by the miller for the sake of his jewels. According to Ibn Hawkal, it was at Zark township that the waters of the Murghab were first canalised, channels being led off to irrigate the gardens round Mary. These gardens had at all times been famous for their melons, also for the assafoetida root (ushturghās) grown here, which was exported to other parts of Khurasan. Silkworms, too, were raised here largely, the silk being manufactured into the stuffs for which Mary was celebrated'.

In the latter half of the 4th (10th) century, when Mukaddasi knew Mary, a third part of the suburb was already in ruin, and the citadel was in no better state. In the next century, however, the city gained in size and importance under the Saljūks, and here Sultan Sanjar, the last of the great Saljuks, was buried in 552 (1157), and the remains of his tomb may still be seen at the present day. Yākût, who was in Marv in 616 (1219), describes the grave of Sultan Sanjar as lying under a great dome covered with blue tiles, so high as to be visible a day's march away over the plain; and the windows under the dome looked into the adjacent Friday Mosque. It had been built in memory of him, Yākût was told, long after the Sultan's death by some of his servants. At the village of Andarabah, two leagues from Marv, which had been the private property of Sultan Sanjar, the remains of his palace were still standing in the 7th (13th) century, the walls being intact, though all the rest had gone to ruin, as was the case also, Yakût adds, with the adjacent village.

Yâkût describes Marv as in his day possessing two chief Friday Mosques, enclosed by a single wall, one for the Hanafites, the other belonging to the Shâfi'ites. He himself lived in Marv for three years, collecting the materials for his great geographical dictionary, for before the Mongol invasion the libraries of Marv were celebrated; 'verily but for the Mongols I would have stayed

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¹ Ykb. 280. Ist. 258—263. I. H. 314—316. Muk. 298, 299, 310—312, 331. Yak. i. 534, 827; ii. 610; iv. 507. The town and mill of Zark lay seven leagues from Marv, while the pool where the waters of the Murghâb were divided among the four city canals, of which the Nahr Razik was one, lay at a distance of but one league from Marv. The Razik canal and the Zark mill, therefore, were probably not adjacent, but from the shifting of the diacritical point there is much confusion between Zark or Razk, and Zarik or Razik. The name of the mill is sometimes given as pronounced. Zurk or Zurrak, and the Zarik canal appears as Zarbak, on whose banks, according to some accounts, King Yazdajird came to his death. See Yak. ii. 777, 925; iv. 508. Mukaddast (p. 33) records that some two leagues from Marv, but in which direction is not stated, was a small guard-house in which stood a tomb, popularly said to contain the head of Husayn, grandson of the Prophet, but this is a relic that was also shown in divers other localities, and certainly at the time of Husayn's death his head was not sent to Marv.

and lived and died there,' he writes, 'and hardly could I tear myself away.' Thus among others he mentions the two libraries of the Friday Mosque, namely the 'Aziziyah with 12,000 and odd volumes, and the Kamâliyah. There was also the library of Sharafal-Mulk, in his Madrasah or college, and that of the great Saljûk Wazîr the Nizâm-al-Mulk. Among the older libraries were those founded by the Sâmânids, and one in the college of the 'Umay-diyah; also that in the Khâtûnîyah college, and that which had belonged to Majd-al-Mulk. Finally, and especially, there was the Dumayriyah library in one of the Khânkâhs, or Darvish convents, containing only 200 volumes, but each volume, Yâkût writes, worth two hundred gold pieces (dînârs), for all the books there were unique and beyond price.

At the approach of the Mongol hordes in 617 (1220) Yâkût sought safety at Mosul in Mesopotamia, and all the glories of the Marv libraries fell a prey to the flames, which followed in the wake of the Mongol sack of this great city, when nine million corpses are said to have remained unburied among the ruins. The tomb of Sultan Sanjar, Ibn-al-Athîr states, was set on fire by the invaders, together with most of the mosques and other public buildings; and Hâfiz Abrû adds that they broke down all the great dams and dykes of the Murghâb, which under the early Saljûks had been increased in number, and carefully seen to, in order thus to regulate the irrigation of the oasis, which now lapsed into a desert swamp. In the 8th (14th) century, when Ibn Batûtah passed through Marv, it was still one great ruin.

The account which his contemporary, Mustawfi, gives of Marv deals with its past glories in the 2nd (8th) century, when it was under the government of Abu Muslim, who brought the Abbasids to power, and when the Caliph Mamûn resided at this place previous to marching on Baghdâd. Then the Şaffârids had removed the capital of Khurâsân to Nîshâpûr, but the Saljûks restored the primacy to Marv, and Sultan Malik Shâh built the great wall round the city 12,300 paces in circuit. The crops of the Marv oasis were a marvel of productiveness; Mustawfî reports that seed corn gave a hundred-fold the first year, and from the ungathered overfall some thirty-fold for the second year was obtained, with as much as ten-fold of the original sowing even in

the third year. The climate, however, being damp was unhealthy, and the *rishtah*, or guinea-worm, was a terrible scourge. The moving sands of the neighbouring deserts had in his day overwhelmed many of the fruitful districts, but excellent water-melons were still grown, which were dried and largely exported, also grapes and pears.

Mustawfî describes the city of Marv as still almost entirely a ruin, though at the close of the 8th (14th) century it must have regained some of its former splendour, for Tîmûr frequently stopped here in the intervals of his campaigns. He generally lived at a place which 'Alî of Yazd writes Mâkhân, probably a clerical error for Mâjân, which as already said had been in earlier days the name of the great western suburb of Marv, though Yâkût mentions a place also called Mâkhân as a village near the city. Marv was in part restored to its former state of greatness under the reign of Shâh Rukh, the grandson of Tîmûr, who rebuilt much of the city in the year 812 (1409), so that in 821 (1418), when Ḥâfiz Abrû wrote, he describes it as once more being in a flourishing condition¹.

On the left bank of the Oxus about 120 miles to the north-east of Mary, where the great Khurasan road crossed to Bukhara and Transoxiana, stood the city of Âmul, and about a hundred miles to the eastward, higher up on the same bank was Zamm, also at a crossing-place. Âmul, which in the later middle-ages was also known as Amuyah, and then came to be called Chahar Jûy ('Four Canals,' a name the place still bears), is described by Ibn Hawkal as a fertile and pleasant little town, of great importance by reason of the constant passage of caravans going to and coming from the countries beyond the Oxus. All along the road south-west to Marv there were wells at each stage, but otherwise the territory of Âmul was enclosed on all sides by the desert, which here came close up to the river bank. Mukaddasi praises the excellent markets of Amul. The town, with its Friday Mosque crowning a small hill, lay a league distant from the Oxus among well-irrigated fields, where there were vineyards. Opposite Âmul,

¹ Ibn-al-Athir, xii. 256. Yak. i. 373; iv. 378, 509, 510. I. B. iii. 63. Mst. 189. A. Y. i. 147, 130, 569. Hfz. 32b.

on the right bank of the river, in the Bukhârâ district, was the town of Firabr.

To distinguish this Âmul from the town of the same name which was the capital of Tabaristan (see above, p. 370), Yakût states that it was known in books as Âmul of Zamm (after the next Oxus passage upstream), or Âmul of the Jayhûn (Oxus), or Amul-ash-Shatt (of the Stream), or further as Amul-al-Mafazah (of the Desert). In his day, however, in place of the name Amul the town had come to be called Amû, or Amûyah, by which denomination it is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the Mongol invasion, and of the campaigns of Tîmûr. It is also known as Kal'ah Amûyah, or 'the Amûyah Castle.' In the 11th (17th) century Abu-l-Ghâzî gives the name as Amûyah when dealing with the marches of Changiz Khân, but speaking of the events of his own day writes of Chahar Jûy, in reference to this Oxus passage, which proves conclusively that the two places are identical. The town of Zamm, also on the Khurasan bank, as already stated, is the modern Karkhi, and in the middle-ages the town of Akhsisak faced it on the further side, towards Bukhārā. Ibn Hawkal speaks of Zamm as a town of the same size as Âmul, but it was only approached on the Khurâsân side by the road up the Oxus bank in four marches from Amul; for from Zamm direct across to Mary the waterless desert intervened. From Zamm, eastward, Balkh could be reached, and after crossing the Oxus, Tirmidh. Zamm is also briefly mentioned by Mukaddast, who speaks of its Friday Mosque standing in the market-place, so that in the 4th (10th) century it must already have been a place of some importance1.

Coming back now to the Murghab river, about 160 miles higher up than Great Marv stood Upper, or Little Marv, at that part of the river where, after leaving the Ghur mountains, it turns north through the desert plains towards Great Mary. Little Mary, or Upper Mary as Mukaddasi and others call it, is the place known as Bâlâ Murghâb, 'Upper Murghâb,' to the Persians. It is now a complete ruin, and has been so since the invasion of Timur. In the 4th (10th) century, however, Mary-ar-Rudh, or

I Ist. 281, 314. I. H. 329, 363. Muk. 291, 292. Yak. i. 69; ii. 946. A. Y. i. 148, 334, 568. A. G. 124, 329.

'Mary of the River,' as it was then called, was the largest city of this, a most populous district, which had besides four other towns with Friday Mosques. It lay at a bow-shot from the bank of the Murghab, in the midst of gardens and vineyards, being three leagues distant from the mountains on the west, and two leagues from those on the east. In the market-place was the Friday Mosque, a building according to Mukaddasi standing on wooden columns, and Kudamah adds that one league from Upper Mary (as he calls it) was the castle of Kasr-'Amr in the hills, blocking the mouth of a small valley. Yakût states that in his day the name Marv-ar-Rûd was pronounced Marrûd by the common folk. It appears to have escaped the utter ruin which was the fate of Great Mary at the hands of the Mongols. At any rate in the 8th (14th) century Mustawff describes it as still a flourishing place, with a wall 5000 paces in circumference, which had been built by Sultan Malik Shah the Saljûk. The surrounding country was most fertile, grapes and melons were grown abundantly, and living was cheap',

One day's march from Marv-ar-Rûd, on the same bank and down the river towards Great Marv, was the castle called Kaşr Ahnaf, after Al-Ahnaf ibn Kays, the Arab general who in the days of the Caliph 'Othmân, in the year 31 (652), had conquered these lands for Islam. It was a large place, Ibn Hawkal says, with many vineyards round it, and fine gardens, the soil and climate being alike excellent, and Mukaddasî mentions its Friday Mosque situate in the market-place. At the present day the site of Kaşr Ahnaf is marked by the village of Marûchak, or Marv-i-Kûchik (Little Marv) as the Persians call the place. In the middle-ages, four leagues above Marv-ar-Rûd, stood Dizah, a town occupying both banks of the Murghâb, the two parts being connected by a stone bridge. This place too had a fine Friday Mosque, and Yâkût adds that it had originally been called Sinvân.

The hamlets of Panj-dîh (Five Villages) lie below Marûchak on the Murghâb, and the place was visited by Nâşir-i-Khusraw in 437 (1045) on his way to Mecca; Yâkût too was there in 616 (1219) and alludes to it as a fine town. The place is also

¹ Kud. 210. Ist. 269. I. H. 320. Muk. 314. Yak. iv. 506. Mst. 190. For the ruins at Bâlâ Murghâb, see C. E. Yate, Northern Afghanistan, p. 208.

mentioned in the time of Tîmûr at the close of the 8th (14th) century, when 'Alî of Yazd says it was known as Pandî (but the reading appears uncertain, and some manuscripts give Yandî). During the earlier middle-ages all the country from Little Marv to Great Marv, along the Murghâb, was under cultivation, and studded with villages and towns. Al-Karînayn, already alluded to, was four marches above Great Marv, being two below Marv-ar-Rûd; and half-way between Karînayn and the latter was Lawkar, or Lawkarâ, which Mukaddasî mentions as a populous place, as big as Kaşr Ahnaf. Above Marv-ar-Rûd, and all up the Murghâb into the mountains of Gharjistân, there are many flourishing districts, as will be noticed in the next chapter, when speaking of Ghûr in the Herât quarter.

Ykb. 291. Ist. 270. I. H. 321. Muk. 299, 314. N. K. 2. Yak. i.
 743; iv. 108. A. Y. i. 353. For the ruins at Marûchak, see C. E. Yate,
 Afghanistan, pp. 110, 120, 194.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KHURÂSÂN (continued).

The Herât quarter. The Herât river, or Harî Rûd. The city of Herât.

Mâlin and towns on the upper Harî Rûd. Bûshanj. The Asfuzâr district.

The Bâdghts district and its towns. Kanj Rustâk. Districts of Gharjistân and Ghûr. Bâmiyân.

The Herât quarter of Khurâsân lies entirely in what is now known as Afghânistân, and, for the most part, is watered by the Herât river or Harî Rûd. This river takes its rise in the mountains of Ghûr, and at first flows for some distance westward. In order to irrigate the Herât valley many canals were here led from it, some above and some below Herât city, seven in particular being named by Mukaddasî as serving to water the fruitful districts round the capital.

The Herât river, flowing from east to west in its earlier course, passes Herât city several miles from its southern gate, near the town of Mâlin. Here there was a bridge over it, unequalled in all Khurâsân for beauty, says Mukaddasî, it having been built by a certain Magian, and bearing his name on an inscription—'and some say that he afterwards became a Moslem, others that he threw himself into the river, because the Sultan would put his own name upon that bridge.' Mustawfi gives the names of nine of the chief irrigation canals that were taken from the Harî Rûd in the neighbourhood of Herât. Beyond Herât the Harî Rûd passed the town of Fûshanj near its south bank, and turning north flowed on to Sarakhs, before reaching which it took up the waters of the Mashhad river, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Beyond, to the north of Sarakhs, its

waters were lost in the desert. According to Hâfiz Abrû the Herât river also bore the name of Khajacharân (the spelling, from the shifting position of the diacritical points, and the true pronunciation are alike uncertain), and he asserts that its source was at a spring not far from the place where the Helmund river took its rise.

In the 4th (10th) century, as described by Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasî, Herât (written more exactly Harât) was a great city, with a citadel, surrounded by a wall with four gates. These were, the Bab Saray or 'Palace Gate' to the north on the Balkh road; then to the west, towards Naysabûr, the Bab Ziyad; the Fîrûzâbâd gate, which Mukaddasi calls the Bab Firûz, was to the south on the road towards Sijistân; while to the east was the Bâb Khushk towards the Ghur mountains. These four gates were all of wood, except the Bab Saray, which was of iron, says Ibn Hawkal; and the citadel of Herât (called the Kuhandiz or Kal'ah) had also four gates of the like names, respectively, to the city gates. The city measured half a league square, and the government house was at a place called Khurasanabad, a mile outside the town on the western road towards Fûshanj. At each of the four city gates, within the town, was a market; and outside each gate was an extensive suburb. The great Friday Mosque of Herât stood in the midst of the chief market, and no mosque in all Khurasan or Sijistân was its equal in beauty. Behind it, on the west side, was the prison.

To the north of Herât the mountains lay two leagues distant from the city, and here the land was desert, not being irrigated. These mountains produced mill-stones and paving-stones, and on the summit of one of the hills was an ancient fire-temple, called Sirishk, which was in the 4th (roth) century much frequented by the Magians. A Christian church also stood at a place lying half-way between this fire-temple and the city. To the south of Herât, down to the Mâlin bridge over the Harî Rûd, the land was like a garden, well cultivated and profusely irrigated by numerous canals, and divided into many districts. Populous villages lay one after the other, for a day's march and more, along the Sijistân road.

¹ Ist. 266. I. H. 318. Muk. 329, 330. Mst. 216. Hfz. 32a.

The prosperity of Herât continued unabated till the inroad of the Mongols; and in 614 (1217) when Yakût was here, some four years before that disastrous event, he considered Herât to be the richest and largest city that he had ever seen, standing in the midst of a most fertile country. His contemporary Kazvini, who confirms this account, notes that here might be seen many mills 'turned by wind, not by water,' which was to him an uncommon sight. Herât, however, must have recovered quickly from the effects of the Tartar inroad, and Mustawii in the following century bears out the statement of Ibn Batûtah that, after Nîshâpûr, it was the most populous city of all Khurasan. Its walls were then 9000 paces in circuit, and 18 villages lay immediately round the town, watered principally by a canal (Nahrîchah) taken from the Hari Rúd. The grapes of the kind called Fakhri, and the figs were both superlatively excellent. Already in the 8th (14th) century the people of Herat were Sunni. It was in the 6th (12th) century, during the supremacy of the Ghurid dynasty according to Mustawfi, that Herât had reached its greatest splendour. There were then 12,000 shops in its markets, 6000 hot baths, and 659 colleges, the population being reckoned at 444,000.

A strong fortress lay to the north of Herât, when Mustawfi wrote, called the castle of Shamfran, this having been built on the site of the older fire-temple of Sirishk, mentioned by Ibn Hawkal, which was two leagues distant from the city on a hill-top. This fortress also went by the name of the Kal'ah Amkalchah. At the close of the 8th (14th) century, Tîmûr, after taking possession of Herat, destroyed its walls, and sent most of its artificers to augment the population of his new town of Shahr-i-Sabz in Transoxiana. In the Turkish Jahan Numa it is stated that at that period, in the year 1010 (1600), Herât had five gates; that called Darvazah-i-Mulk, 'the Government Gate,' to the north, the 'Irâk gate to the west, that of Fîrûzâbâd to the south, the Khush gate to the east, and the Kipchak gate to the north-east-this last being of late origin. The ten Bulûks, or districts, round Herât are also enumerated, but no statement as to the relative positions of these is afforded!

Ist. 264-266. I. H. 316-318. Muk. 306, 307. Vak. iv. 958. Kaz. ii.
 I. B. iii. 03. Mst. 187. J. N. 310-312. A. Y. i. 322, 323. The infor-

Two leagues, or half a day's journey, to the south of Herât, and presumably beyond the great bridge that spanned the Harî Rûd, to which bridge it gave its name, was the town of Mâlin, or Mâlan, with the district of the same name lying a day's journey in extent all round it. This Mâlan was called As-Safalkât, and Mâlan of Herât, to distinguish it from the place of the same name in the Bâkharz district of Kûhistân (mentioned in Chapter XXV, p. 357). It was a small town, surrounded by most fruitful gardens, and the produce of its vineyards was celebrated. Yâkût who had been there, writes the name Mâlîn, but adds that the people in his day pronounced it Mâlân. Twenty-five villages belonged to its district, and of these he specially mentions four, Murghâb, Bâshinân, Zandân, and 'Absakân.

One march to the north-east of Herât lies Karûkh, or Kârûkh, which Ibn Hawkal says was in the 4th (10th) century the largest town of the Herât district after the capital. Apricots and raisins were exported in great quantities from hence to all the neighbouring districts and cities; the Friday Mosque stood in the quarter of the town called Sabîdân, and the houses were built of sundried bricks. Karûkh stood in a mountain valley, 20 leagues in length, the whole of which was under cultivation, many villages and broad arable lands lying on its various streams. Its chief river flowed to the Harî Rûd, and appears to be that which Yâkût names the Nahr Karâgh.

Eastward from Herât, and lying in the broad valley of the Hari Rûd, a succession of towns are mentioned by the geographers of the 4th (roth) century; namely, Bashân, one day's journey from Herât, then Khaysâr, Astarabyân, Marabadh, and Awfah, each situated a day's journey beyond the last, and to the east of it; finally two days' journey beyond Awfah was Khasht, a place that was counted as in the Ghûr district. Of these towns, Awfah was almost as large as Karûkh, and only second to it in importance.

mation given by Ḥājjī Khalfah, in the Jahān Numā, is in part taken from the monograph on Herāt written by Mu'in-ad-Din of Asfuzār in 897 (1492). This monograph has been inserted by Mirkhwānd in the Epilogue (Khātimah) of the Ramfat-ap-Ṣafā, pt vii. 45—51, and it was translated by M. Barbier de Meynard in the Journal Asiatique, 1860, ii. p. 461; 1861, i. pp. 438, 473; 1862, ii. p. 269. For the present condition of Herāt see C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, pp. 25—28.

The other four towns are described in similar terms as being well watered and populous; all were smaller in size than Målin, each had gardens and fertile fields, and while Astarabyån grew no grapes, being near the hill country, Marabadh was especially noted for its rice, which was largely exported.

One day's march to the west of Herât was the considerable city of Bûshanj or Fûshanj, which apparently occupied the site of the present Ghurian, lying a short distance from the left bank of the Harl Rûd, and to the south of it. Ibn Hawkal describes Bûshanj as about half the size of Herât in the 4th (10th) century, and, like the latter, it lay in a plain two leagues distant from the mountains. The town was well built, and surrounded by trees, among which the juniper throve amazingly, its wood being largely exported. The town was strongly fortified, and was surrounded by a wall and a ditch. There were three gates, the Bab 'Ali towards Naysåbûr, the Herât gate to the east, and the Kûhistân gate to the south-west. Yākût, who had seen the town in passing, lying hidden in its wooded valley, gives the name as Büshanj or Fûshanj. He adds that the Persians pronounced it Bûshang. Mustawff describes Fûshani, in the 8th (14th) century, as famous for its water-melons and grapes, of which last there were 105 different varieties. A peculiarity of the place was that it possessed numerous windmills, their origin or invention being popularly attributed to the Pharaoh of Egypt, of the days of Moses, who had once come during a campaign as far east as this city. In 783 (1381) Fûshanj was stormed and sacked by Tîmûr, and this in spite of its high walls and deep water-ditch which are especially mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd. For some unexplained reason the name of Fûshanj after this disappears from history, and at a later date the town of Ghurian, which is now a flourishing place, sprang up on the ruins of the city which Tîmûr had pillaged and destroyed. It is to be added that the three towns of Farjird, Kharjird, and Kûsûy, which have already been described as of the Kûhistân province (see p. 358), are often given as belonging to Fûshanj".

¹ Ist. 267, 285. I. H. 318, 334. Muk. 50, 298, 307, 349. Ynk. i. 470; ii. 950; iii. 605; iv. 247, 397, 499.

¹ lst. 267, 268. I. H. 319. Muk. 298. Yak. i. 758; iii. 923. Mst. 187.

The Asfuzar district lies to the south of Herat, on the road towards Zaranj, and in the 4th (10th) century four towns of importance existed here, besides the capital Asfuzâr, namely Adraskar, Kuwaran, Kushk, and Kuwashan. Asfuzar, now the chief town, at the present day goes by the name of Sabzivâr (called Sabzivar of Herat, to distinguish it from Sabzivar to the west of Nîshâpûr; see p. 391). In early times, however, Kuwâshân was the largest city of the district, which extended for three days' march from north to south with a breadth across of a day's march. According to Istakhri there was here a famous valley, called Kāshkān, with many populous villages, and the river which has its head-waters near Asfuzâr (Sabzivâr) is that now known as the Hârûd of Sîstân, which flows into the head of the Zarah lake to the west of Juwayn. All these towns of Asfuzâr are described as surrounded by fertile lands and gardens. In the Itineraries Asfuzâr bears the second name of Khâstân (or Jâshân, for the reading is uncertain), and it seems not unlikely that Kuwâshân is merely another form of this name, and therefore really identical with Asfuzâr (Sabzivâr). The town of Adraskar, or Ardsakar, as it is also spelt, still exists to the east of Asfuzār, the name at the present day being written Adraskan. Yākût records Asfuzâr as of Sijistân, and Mustawfî speaks of it as a medium-sized town, with many villages and gardens rich in grapes and pomegranates, where already in the 8th (14th) century most of the people were Sunnis of the Shafi'ite school. The relative positions of the other towns of the district are, unfortunately, not given in the Itineraries 1.

The high road from Herât northward to Marv-ar-Rûd crosses the great district of Bådghîs (Bådhghîs), which occupied the whole stretch of country lying between the Herât river on the west (to the north of Fûshanj) and the upper waters of the Murghâb on the east, where these issue from the mountains of Gharjistân; and Bâdghîs was itself watered by many of the left-

A. Y. i. 312. The Şani'-ad-Dawlah states (Mirât-al-Buldân, i. 298) that he passed near and saw the ruins of Büshanj when travelling down from Nishâpûr to Herât, near but not at Ghurian.

¹ Ist. 249, 264, 267. I. H. 305, 318, 319. Muk. 298, 308, 350. Yak. i. 248. Mst. 187.

bank affluents of the Murghåb. The eastern part of Bådghis, beginning some 13 leagues to the north of Herât, was known as the Kanj Rustâk district, and had three chief cities, Baban, Kayf, and Baghshûr, the positions of which can approximately be fixed by the Itineraries. In the remainder of Bådghis a list of nine large towns is given by Mukaddasî, but unfortunately the positions of none of these can be fixed, for they are not mentioned in the Itineraries, and at the present day the whole of this country is an uninhabited waste, having been ruined in the 7th (13th) century by the Mongol invasions. The numerous ruins scattered throughout the district still attest the former state of prosperity of this well-watered country, but the modern names are not those given by the medieval authorities.

The remains of the city of Baghshur, one of the chief towns of Kanj Rustak, appear to be those now known as Kal'ah Mawr. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Hawkal describes Baghshûr as one of the finest and richest cities of Khurasan, being of the size of Bûshanj. The governor of the district generally lived at Babnah or Baban, a larger town even than Bûshanj, while Kayf is described as half the size of Baghshûr. All these places had well-built houses of sun-dried bricks, and were surrounded by fertile gardens and farms, for this district was abundantly irrigated by streams, and from wells. Yakût, who visited these countries in 616 (1219), confirms the above account of the former riches of Baghshûr and its neighbouring towns, but says that in his day the whole country had gone much to ruin, though this was before the Mongol invasion. Babnah he names Bavan, or Bawn, and he had himself stayed here; having also visited another town called Bâmiyîn, or Bâmanj, which lay at a short distance only from Babnah. The country round he saw to be most fertile, and pistachio trees grew and flourished here abundantly!

In regard to the southern part of the Bâdghîs district the

¹ I. R. 173. Ist. 269. I. H. 320. Muk. 298, 308. Yak. i. 461, 481, 487, 694; ii. 764; iv. 333. For the present condition of the Bådghls country and its ruins, see C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, pp. 67, 68. There are ruined forts and remains at Gulran, and Sagardan, and Kara Bägh (p. 101), also at Kal'ah Mawr (pp. 96, 103), and at Kara Tappah, some of which must be those of the towns named by the Arab geographers.

accounts of its former prosperity are as circumstantial as those describing Kanj Rustâk, but its towns have now completely disappeared from the map, and the medieval names are difficult to locate, or identify with those given to the existing ruins. The capital by all accounts was Dihistan, the position of which may correspond with the present shrine of Khwajah Dihistan to the north-east of Herât; and Mukaddasi mentions seven other great cities, namely Kûghânâbâdh, Kûfâ, Busht, Jádhâwâ, Kâbrûn, Kalwun, and Jabal-al-Fiddah or 'the Silver Hill,' the positions of which can only be very approximately indicated. Dihistân, the second largest city of Bådghis, was in the 4th (10th) century a place half the size of Bushanj, and stood on a hill, its houses built of clay bricks, with good underground chambers for use in the summer heats. It had few gardens, but much arable land. The governor of the province lived at Kûghânâbâdh, a smaller place than Dihistân. Jabal-al-Fiddah, as its name implied, was a town where there was a silver mine in the neighbouring hill, and it lay on the direct road from Herât to Sarakhs, and apparently to the north of Kûghânâbâdh. Fire-wood grew abundantly in its district. The town of Kufa was a larger place than Jabal-al-Fiddah, and stood in a plain with excellent gardens; but of the four other towns mentioned by Mukaddasi no details are afforded, except the fact that they all lay near the road running from Herât north to Sarakhs.

Yākūt, who mentions Dihistān as the capital of Bādghīs, says the name of the district signifies Bād-khīs, 'where the wind rises,' on account of its tempestuous climate. The account which Mustawfī gives of Bādghīs is difficult to understand, for the names of places have been much corrupted in the Mss. Dihistān was the capital, and the silver mine is referred to under the Persian form of Kūh Nukrah, 'silver mountain'; a third place of importance was Kūh Ghunābād (for Kūghānābādh), where the governor lived; and a fourth town was apparently called Buzurgtarin, but the reading is uncertain. Mustawfī also mentions a town named Kārīz (or Kārīzah), 'the Watercourse,' which he adds was the native place of Ḥakīm Burkā'ī—'the physician with the face-veil'—commonly known as the Moon-maker of Nakhshab, in other words the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān, whose revolt in

the 2nd (8th) century gave the Caliph Mahdi so much trouble to suppress.

Other places are also mentioned (with many corruptions in the text), reproducing the list given by Mukaddasi and the earlier Arab geographers, but no details are added. In the 8th (14th) – century, according to Mustawfl, Bâdghîs was chiefly remarkable for its pistachio forests; and at the time of harvesting the nuts, great numbers of men assembled here, each gathering what he could carry away, and the nuts being afterwards sold in the neighbouring districts. Such was the abundance of the pistachio trees that Mustawfl adds, 'many make their livelihood for the whole year round by what they can gather here at harvest-time, and it is indeed a wonder to behold.' At the close of the 8th (14th) century the ruin of Bâdghîs appears to have been finally brought about by the passage of the armies of Tîmûr on their devastating march from Herât to Marv-ar-Rûd¹.

To the east of Bâdghîs, at the head-waters of the Murghâb river, is the mountainous region known to the earlier Arab geographers as Gharj-ash-Shâr. The prince of these mountains had the title of the Shâr, and Gharj, according to Mukaddasi, meant 'mountain' in the local dialect, so that Gharj-ash-Shâr was equivalent to the 'Mountains of the Shâr.' In the later middle-ages this region came to be more generally known as Gharjistân, and as such figures largely in the account of the Mongol invasion. Further, as Yâkût remarks, Gharjistân, often spelt Gharshistân or Gharistân, was often confounded with Ghûristân, or the Ghûr country, lying to the east of it, which will be more particularly

¹ Ist. 268, 269. I. H. 319, 320. Muk. 298, 308. Yak. i. 46t; ii. 633. Mst. 187, 188. J. N. 314, 315. A. Y. i. 308. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, p. 6. The route from Herât to Marv-ar-Rûd, given in the Itineraries of the earlier Arab geographers, goes from city to city through Kanj Rustâk, and the southernmost stage (Babnah) is two days' march from Herât. Mustawft (p. 198) gives a rather different road in seven stages, namely, from Herât in 5 leagues to Hangâmâbâd, thence 5 to Bâdghîs (to be understood doubtless as Dihistân the capital), thence 5 to Bawan (or Babnah), thence 5 to Marghzâr Darrah, 'the Valley of the Meadow-lands,' thence 8 to Baghchî Shûr (Baghshûr), thence 5 to Usrûd, or Lûsrûd, and finally, 4 leagues into Marv-ar-Rûd. For the ruined caravanserais which still apparently mark this route see C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, pp. 194, 195, 222.

discussed presently. The Shar, or prince of Gharjistan, had of old been known to the Arabs as Malik-al-Gharjah (the king of the Gharj people), and in the 4th (10th) century this was a rich district, counting ten Friday Mosques as standing in its various towns.

The two chief cities of Gharjistân were called Abshîn and Shurmîn, the exact sites of which are unknown. Abshîn (Afshîn, or Bashîn) lay a bow-shot distant from the eastern bank of the upper Murghâb, and four marches above Marv-ar-Rûd. Round it were fine gardens, and much rice was sent from thence to Balkh. It had a strong castle, and a Friday Mosque. Shurmîn (or Surmîn) lay in the mountains four marches southward of Abshîn, and likewise four marches from Karûkh to the north-east of Herât. From it they exported currants to all the neighbouring places. The prince of the country, the Shâr aforesaid, resided at neither of these places, but at a great village in the mountains called Balîkân (or Balkiyân). Yâkût gives the names of two other cities of Gharjistân, namely Sinjah and Baywâr, but except that they lay in the mountains, 'as a man of the country told me,' he cannot indicate their position'.

The great mountain region to the east and south of Gharjistân was known as Ghûr, or Ghûristân, and it stretched from Herât to Bâmiyân and the borders of Kâbul and Ghaznah, also southward of the Herât river. The medieval geographers refer to it as the country of the head-waters of many great rivers, namely of the Harl Rûd, also of the Helmund, the Khwâsh, and the Farah rivers (which drained to the Zarah lake), while on its Gharjistân frontier rose the Murghâb. The geography of this immense region of mountains is, unfortunately, a complete blank, for the sites of none of the towns and castles mentioned in its history are known. In the 4th (10th) century, according to Ibn Hawkal, Ghûr was infidel land, though many Moslems lived there. Its

¹ Ist. 271, 272. I. H. 323. Muk. 309, 348. Yak. i. 803; iii. 72, 163, 186, 785, 786, 823. Gharjistân of Khurâsân has nothing to do with Gurjistân south of the Caucasus (see Chapter XII, p. 181) now commonly known to us as Georgia, and it is quite a mistake to give the name of Georgia to Gharjistân, as has been done by some writers when describing the Mongol invasion of this region of the upper Murghâb, for there is no Georgia of Afghânistân.

valleys were populous and extremely fertile; it being famous for mines, both of silver and gold, which existed in the mountains towards Bâmiyân and Panj-hîr (see above, p. 350). The richest of these mines was called Kharkhîz. After the fall of the dynasty of Maḥmûd of Ghaznah, the Ghûrid chiefs, at first his lieutenants, became independent, and eventually founded their capital at Fîrûzkûh, an immense fortress in the mountains, the position of which is not known.

The Ghûrid princes ruled independently from the middle of the 6th (12th) century to 612 (1215), when they were defeated by the Khwārizm Shāh, and a few years later the dynasty disappeared at the time of the Mongol invasion. Before this, however, in 588 (1192), the Ghūrids had conquered much of northern India, holding all the country from Dehli to Herāt, and after the dynasty had been annihilated by the Mongols the Slave Kings (their Mamlūk generals) continued to rule Dehli in a long line of Sultans, down to 962 (1554).

Ghûr, or Ghûristân, attained its highest point of splendour and riches between 543 and 612 (1148 and 1215) under the Ghurid princes of the Sam dynasty. Yakût speaks of their great capital at Fîrûzkûh, or Bîrûzkûh (Turquoise Mountain), but gives no details; Mustawfi also briefly refers to this fortress, and says that another of its chief towns was Rud Hangaran, but the reading is very uncertain. In 619 (1222) the whole country was overrun by Changîz Khân, Fîrûzkûh being stormed and left in ruins. Two other great fortresses are named as having given much trouble to the Mongol troops, namely Kalyûn and Fîvâr, lying ten leagues distant one from the other, but the position of neither is known, and both are said to have been entirely destroyed by Changiz Khân. Kazvînî in the 7th (13th) century also names Khûst as one of the great cities of Ghûr, and possibly this is identical with Khasht, the place previously mentioned (p. 410) as near the headwaters of the Harl Rud. In the time of Timur the only place referred to in Ghur appears to be the castle called Kal'ah Khastar, but, again, nothing is known of its position'.

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¹ Ist. 272. I. H. 304, 323. Yak. iii. 823; iv. 930. Kaz. ii. 244. Mst. 184, 188. A. Y. i. 150. On Ghûr see the article by Sir H. Yule in the Encyclopedia Britannica (9th edition), x. 569.

The city of Bâmiyân was the capital of a great district of the same name which formed the eastern part of Ghûr, and as its very ancient remains show, was a great Buddhist centre long before the days of Islam. Istakhrî describes Bâmiyan as half the size of Balkh in the 4th (10th) century, and though the town, which stood on a hill, was unfortified, its district was most fertile, being watered by a considerable river. Mukaddasi names the city Al-Lahûm, but the reading is uncertain, and he praises it as 'the trade-port of Khurasan and the treasurehouse of Sind. It was very cold and there was much snow, but in its favour was the fact that bugs and scorpions were conspicuously absent. The city had a Friday Mosque, and rich markets stood in the extensive suburbs, while four gates gave egress from the town. In the 4th (10th) century the Bâmiyân territory included many large cities, the sites of which are now completely lost. The three chief towns are said to have been called Basghürfand, Sakiwand, and Lakhrâb.

Yākût in the beginning of the 7th (13th) century describes in some detail the great sculptured statues of Buddha still to be seen at Bamiyan. High up in the mountain side, he writes, there was a chamber supported on columns, and on its walls had been sculptured the likenesses of 'every species of bird that Allah had created-most wonderful to see.' Without the chamber-entrance are 'two mighty idols cut in the live rock of the hill-side, from base to summit, and these are known as the Surkh Bud and the Khing Bud [the Red and the Grey Buddha] and nowhere else in the world is there aught to equal these.' Kazvini speaks of a 'Golden House' at Bâmiyan, and likewise describes the two great statues of Buddha; further he mentions a quicksilver (zibak) mine and a sulphur spring as of this neighbourhood. The ruin of Bâmiyan and all its province, even as far east as the Panj-hir mines, as already mentioned, was due to the wrath of Changiz Khān, whose favourite grandson Mūtūkin, son of Jaghatay, was killed at the siege of Bamiyan. The Mongol troops were ordered to level with the ground the town walls and all the houses, and Changiz forbade any to build or live here ever again, the name of Bamiyan being changed to Mav Balik, which in the

Turki dialect means 'the accursed city.' Since that time Bāmiyān has been an uninhabited waste'.

¹ Ist. 277, 280. I. H. 327, 328. Muk. 296, 303, 304. Yak. i. 481. Kar. ii. 103. Mst. 188. A. G. 114, 149. For illustrations of the great Buddhist sculptures at Bámiyan see Talbot and Maitland, in J. R. A. S. 1886, p. 323.

CHAPTER XXX.

KHURASAN (continued).

The Balkh quarter of Khurasan. Balkh city and Naw Bahar. The district of Jüzjan. Talikan and Jurzuwan. Maymanah or Yahûdlyah. Fâryab, Shaburkan, Anbar, and Andakhûd. The Tukharistan district. Khulm, Siminjan, and Andarabah. Warwaltz and Tayikan. The products of Khurasan. The high roads through Khurasan and Kûhistan.

Balkh—'Mother of Cities'—gave its name to the fourth Quarter of Khurâsân, which, outside the district of the capital, was divided, west and east, between the two great districts of Jûzjân and Tukhâristân.

In the 3rd (9th) century Ya'kûbî speaks of Balkh as the greatest city of all Khurasan. It had had of old three concentric walls, and thirteen gates, and Mukaddasi adds that it had been called in early days the equivalent, in Persian, of Balkh-al-Bahiyyah, 'Beautiful Balkh.' Outside the town lay the famous suburb of Naw Bahâr, and the houses extended over an area measuring three miles square. There were, says Ya'kûbî, two score Friday Mosques in the city. Istakhri remarks that Balkh stood in a plain, being four leagues from the nearest mountains, called Jabal Ků. Its houses were built of sun-dried bricks, and the same material was used in the city wall, outside which was a deep ditch. The markets and the chief Friday Mosque stood in the central part of the city. The stream that watered Balkh was called Dahås, which, says Ibn Hawkal, signifies 'ten mills' (in Persian); the river turns these as it runs past the Naw Bahar gate, flowing on thence to irrigate the lands and farms of Siyahjird on the Tirmid road. All round Balkh lay gardens producing oranges, the Nilufar lily, and the sugar-cane, which, with the produce of its vineyards, were all exported in quantity. Further, its markets were much frequented by merchants.

The city possessed seven gates, namely Bab Naw Bahar, Bab Rahbah (the Gate of the Square), Bab-al-Hadid (the Iron Gate) Bâb Hinduwân (the Gate of the Hindus), Bâb-al-Yahûd (the Jews' Gate), Bab Shast-band (the Gate of the Sixty Dykes), and Bab Yahyâ. Mukaddasî describes in general terms the beauty, splendour, and riches of Balkh, its many streams, its cheap living, for food-stuffs were abundant, the innumerable broad streets, its walls and its Great Mosque, also its many well-built palaces; and in this state of prosperity Balkh flourished till the middle of the 6th (12th) century, when it was laid in ruins for the first time by the invasion of the Ghuzz Turks in 550 (1155). After their departure the population came back, and rebuilt the city in another but closely adjacent place. In part Balkh before long recovered its former splendour, and thus is described by Yakût in the early part of the 7th (13th) century, immediately before its second devastation at the hands of the Mongols.

Of the great suburb of Balkh called Naw Bahar, where according to Mas'údi had stood, in Sassanian days, one of the chief fire-temples of the Guebres, Yakut has a long account, which he quotes from the work of 'Omar-ibn-al-Azrak of Kirman, and a similar description is found in Kazvini. Of this fire-temple at Balkh the chief priest had been Barmak, ancestor of the Barmecides, and in Sassanian days his family had been hereditary chief-pontiffs of the Zoroastrian faith in this city. The account given of Naw Bahar, briefly, is that it was originally built in imitation of, and as a rival to, the Ka'abah of Mecca. Its walls were adorned with precious stones, and brocaded curtains were hung everywhere to cover these, the walls themselves being periodically unguented with perfumes, especially in the springtime, for Naw Bahar means 'First or Early Spring,' the season when pilgrimage was made to the shrine. The chief building was surmounted by a great cupola, called Al-Ustún, a hundred ells and more in height, and round this central building were 360 chambers, where the priests who served had their lodgings, one priest being appointed for each day of the year. On the summit of the dome was a great silk flag, which the wind blew out at

times to a fabulous distance. This principal building was full of figures or idols, one of which in chief the pilgrims from Kåbul, India, and China prostrated themselves before, afterwards kissing the hand of Barmak, the chief priest. All the lands round Naw Bahâr for seven leagues square were the property of the sanctuary, and these brought in a great revenue. The great Naw Bahâr shrine was destroyed by Ahnaf ibn Kays, when he conquered Khurâsân in the days of the Caliph 'Othmân, and converted the people to Islam'.

The Mongols in 617 (1220) devastated Balkh, and according to Ibn Batûtah, Changîz Khân ruined the third part of its Great Mosque in his fruitless search for hidden treasure. When Ibn Batûtah visited this district in the earlier half of the 8th (14th) century Balkh was still a complete ruin, and uninhabited, but outside the walls were a number of tombs and shrines that were still visited by the pious pilgrims. In the account of the campaigns of Tîmûr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, Balkh is often mentioned, and by this date must have recovered part of its former glory. Tîmûr restored the fortress outside the walls called Kal'ah Hinduwân, the Castle of the Hindus, which became the residence of his governor, and at a later date he also rebuilt much of the older city.

Balkh at the present day is an important town of modern Afghanistân, and is celebrated for its great shrine, called Mazâr-i-Sharif (the Noble Tomb), where the Caliph 'Alí—known as Shāh-i-Mardān, 'King of Men'—is popularly supposed to have been buried. According to Khwāndamīr this, supposititious, grave of the martyred 'Alī was discovered in the year 885 (1480), when Mīrzā Baykarā, a descendant of Tīmūr, was governor of Balkh. For in that aforesaid year a book of history, written in the time of

Ykb. 287, 288. Ist. 275, 278, 280. I. H. 325, 326, 329. Muk. 301, 302. Mas. iv. 48. Yak. i. 713; iv. 817, 818. Kaz. ii. 221. The curious passage about Naw Bahar will be found translated, in full, by M. Barbier de Meynard in his Dictionnaire Glographique de la Perse, p. 569. The presence of the idols, great and small, and the (sacred) flags, suggested to Sir H. Rawlinson the idea that Naw Bahar had been originally a Buddhist shrine, and the name he explained as Naw Viharah, 'the New Viharah,' or Buddhist Monastery. See J. R. G. S. 1872, p. 510.

Sultan Sanjar the Saljūk, was shown to Mîrzâ Baykarâ, in which it was stated that 'Alî lay buried at the village of Khwâjah Khayrân, a place lying three leagues distant from Balkh. On the governor forthwith going there and making due search a slab was discovered bearing the inscription in Arabic, 'This is the tomb of the Lion of Allah, and His saint, 'Alî, brother [for cousin] of the Apostle of Allah.' A great shrine was therefore built over this grave, and ever since this has been highly venerated by the people of central Asia, and is still a notable place of pilgrimage'.

Jûzjân (Al-Jûzajân or Juzjânân) was the western district of the Balkh quarter, through which the road passed from Marv-ar-Rûd to Balkh city. During the middle-ages this was a most populous district, possessing many cities, of which three only now exist under their old names, though the positions of most of the other towns mentioned by the Arab geographers can be fixed from the Itineraries. Though the names are changed, ruins still mark their sites. The whole district was extremely fertile, and much merchandise was exported, especially hides, which were tanned here and carried to all parts of Khuråsân.

Three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rûd, towards Balkh, was the city of Tâlikân, the name of which is no longer found on the map, but the ruins and mounds of brick near Châchaktû probably mark its site. Already in the 3rd (9th) century Tâlikân was a town of much importance, and Ya'kûbî says that the Tâlikân felts made here were celebrated. The town lay among the mountains, and there was a magnificent Friday Mosque here. Iṣṭakhrì in the following century stated that Tâlikân was as large as Marv-ar-Rûd, and its climate was more healthy. Its houses were built of sun-dried bricks. Near by was the village of Junduwayh, where, according to Yâkût, in the 2nd (8th) century, the great battle had been fought and won by Abu Muslim at the head of the Abbasid partizans against the Omayyad troops. Shortly after the time when Yâkût wrote, in 617 (1220), Tâlikân was stormed after a siege of seven months by Changîz Khân, and

I. B. iii. 58, 59. A. V. i. 176. Khwandamir, iii. pt 3, p. 238. C. E. Vate, Afghanistan, 256, 280.
 Ist. 27t. I. H. 322. Muk. 298. Vak. ii. 149.

all the population were massacred, its castle being razed to the ground.

In the mountains—with a situation at the foot of hill-spurs and gulleys that, it was said, resembled Mecca—was the town of Jurzuwân, where the governor of the Jûzjân district passed the summer heats. The name of Al-Jurzuwân, as the Arabs called it, the Persians pronounced Kurzuwân or Gurzuvân, and it was also written Jurzubân or Gurzubân. It lay between Tâlikân and Marv-ar-Rûd, in the district towards the Ghûr frontier, and, Yâkût says, was very populous and full of rich folk. No place of this name now exists on the map, but the ruins at Kal'ah Wâlî most probably mark its site.

The city of Maymanah, which lay two marches beyond Talikan on the Balkh road, still exists as a flourishing town. In the earlier middle-ages it was called Al-Yahûdân, or Al-Yahûdîyah, 'the Jews' Town,' and was often counted as the capital of Júzján. Its Friday Mosque, Ibn Hawkal says, had two minarets. Yakût, who gives the name also under the form Jahudan-al-Kubra, 'the Great Jewry,' says that it was first settled by the Israelites whom Nebuchadnezzar sent hither from Jerusalem. The name was changed to Maymanah, meaning 'the Auspicious Town,' for the sake of good augury, since 'Jew-town' to the Moslems was a term of reproach, and as Maymanah it exists at the present day. Maymanah is apparently also mentioned by Mustawff, who speaks of it, in the 8th (14th) century, as a medium-sized town of the hot region, growing corn, fruit, and dates, and taking its water-supply from the neighbouring river. There is, however, possibly some confusion between this Maymanah of Júzján, and Maymand for

¹ Ykh. 287. Ist. 270. I. H. 321, 322. Yak. ii. 59, 129; iii. 491; iv. 258. A. G. 114. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 157, 194, 195, 196, 211. The ruins at Châchaktů (Tālikān) are 45 miles as the crow flies from Bâlâ Murghâb (Marvar-Rûd), which would be an equivalent of the three days' march, in a mountainous country, from this last place to Tālikān. The name of Châchaktů (written Jījaktů) is mentioned by 'All of Yazd (j. 806; ii. 593) in his accounts of the campaigns of Tīmūr, but Tālikān is not mentioned by him. The ruins at Kal'ah Wāll (probablý Jurzuwân) lie 27 miles from Bâlâ Murghâb. An alternative site might be found at the considerable remains existing near Takhti-Khâtůn. Either of these places may be Gurzuwân, which it is to be noted was a mint city under the Khwārizm Shāhs.

Maywand in Zâbulistân, half-way between Girishk and Kandahâr; and this confusion reappears in the pages of Yâkût, who writes of Maymand (or Mîmand) of Ghaznah, and says it 'lay between Bâmiyân and Ghûr,' evidently meaning Maymanah or Yahûdiyah. One march from Yahûdiyah or Maymanah was the town of Kandaram, also written Kandadram, the residence, according to Ya'kûbî, of the governor of Jûzjân. It was a city of the mountains, Iṣṭakhrî writes, rich in vineyards and nut-trees, and abundantly irrigated by running streams'.

One of the most important towns of Jûzjân during the middle ages was Al-Fâryâb, the name of which has completely disappeared from the map, but from the position given by the Itineraries the ruins of Fâryāb may be identified as those now known as Khayrâbâd, where there is an ancient fort surrounded by mounds of brick. Al-Fâriyâb, as Ibn Ḥawkal spells the name, was in the 4th (10th) century a smaller town than Tâlikân, but more fertile and with finer gardens. It was very healthy, and much merchandise was to be found collected here. It had a fine Friday Mosque, which however possessed no minaret. Yâkût, who also spells the name Fîryâb, gives its position in regard to Tálikân and Shaburkân. but adds no details. In 617 (1220), shortly after his time, Faryab was completely ruined by the Mongols, and it is only incidentally mentioned by Mustawfi. Between Al-Yahûdîyah and Al-Fâryâb, according to Ibn Hawkal, there stood the city of Marsan, nearly of the size of Al-Yahûdîyah in the 4th (roth) century; and possibly this is identical with the village of Nariyan which Yakut mentions as in a like position. Of this mountain region also was the small city of San which Ibn Hawkal describes as having many fruitful gardens growing grapes and nuts, for its streams brought water without stint*.

Ykb. 287. Ist. 270, 271. I. H. 321, 322. Vak. ii. 168; iv. 719, 1045.
Mst. 185. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 339.

Ist. 270. I. H. 321, 322. N. K. 3. Yak. iii. 840, 888; iv. 775. Mst. 188. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 233. Făryâb of Jûzjân îs called Dih Bâryâb by Nâşir-i-Khusraw, who passed through it going from Shaburkân to Tâlikân. It is also given as Bârâb in the Jahâu Numă (p. 324), and it is not to be confused with Fârâb, also called Bârâb, which is Otrâr on the Jaxartes, as will be mentioned in Chapter XXXIV.

Shaburkan, spelt variously Ashburkan or Ushburkan, also Shuburkan or Saburghan, which still exists, had in the 3rd (9th) century been once the seat of government of the Juzjan district, which afterwards was removed to Yahudiyah (Maymanah), at that time its equal in size. Its gardens and fields were wonderfully fertile, and large quantities of fruits were exported. Yakut, who spells the name Shubrukan or Shufrukan and Shaburkan, says that in 617 (1220), at the time of the Mongol invasion, it was a very populous town, with much merchandise in its markets. A century later Mustawfi speaks of it in similar terms, coupling Shuburkan and Faryab together, also adding that corn was abundant and cheap here.

One day to the south of Shubûrkan, and the same distance eastward of Yahûdîyah, was Anbâr, otherwise written Anbîr, which Ibn Hawkal says was larger than Marv-ar-Rud. Here the governor of the district had his residence in the winter. No town of this name now exists, but by position Anbar is probably identical in site with Sar-i-pûl, on the upper part of the Shubûrkân river, still a place of some importance. The town was surrounded by vineyards and its houses were clay-built. It was often counted as the chief city of Jūzjān, and is probably the town which Nasir-i-Khusraw visited on his road to Shuburghan, and which he calls the city (or capital) of Iûzjânân. He speaks of its great Friday Mosque, and remarks on the wine-bibbing habits of the people. Out in the plain, to the north-west of Shubûrkan, lies the town of Andkhuy, the name of which in the earlier geographers is spelt variously Andakhud, Addakhûd, and An-Nakhud. Ibn Hawkal speaks of it as a small town out in the desert, with seven villages lying round it, and, in the 4th (10th) century, for the most part inhabited by Kurds, who possessed many sheep and camels. Yakût mentions it, but adds no details; the name also frequently occurs in the accounts of Timur's campaigns'.

The great district of Tukhâristân lay to the eastward of Balkh, stretching along the south side of the Oxus as far as the frontiers

⁴ Ykb. 287. Ist. 270, 271. I. H. 321, 322. N. K. 2. Yak. i. 367, 372; iii. 254, 256, 305, 840. Mst. 188, 189, 190. A. Y. i. 805; ii. 593. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 346.

of Badakhshån, and bounded on the south by the mountain ranges north of Båmiyån and Panj-hîr. It was divided into Upper Tukhåristån, east of Balkh and along the Oxus, and Lower Tukhåristån which lay further to the south-east, on the frontiers of Badakhshån. Many towns are mentioned as of Tukhåristån by the medieval geographers, but they add few details concerning them, so that excepting in the case of those given in the Itineraries, and those which still exist, it is now impossible to identify the greater number of them.

Two days' march to the east of Balkh is Khulm, described by Mukaddasi as a small city surrounded by many large villages and districts, with a good climate. Two days' march again from Khulm lay Siminjan and Rüb, two towns near together, which probably are represented at the present day by Haybak, south of Khulm, on the upper course of the Khulm river. Mukaddasi speaks of Siminjan as a larger town than Khulm; it had a Friday Mosque, and excellent fruit was grown, and Yākūt describes it as lying in a maze of valleys, which were, or had been, peopled by Arabs of the Tamim tribe. Mustawfi mentions Siminjan as a large town, already ruined in the 8th (14th) century, but where corn, cotton, and grapes were much cultivated; and under the spelling Saminkan it is mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd in describing the march of Tīmūr from Khulm to the Indian frontier.

Beyond, south-east of Siminjan, was Baghlan, Upper and Lower, and in the latter district, according to Mukaddasi, was the capital with a Friday Mosque in the 4th (10th) century. Baghlan, or Baklan, as the name of the district is spelt by 'Ali of Yazd, apparently lay along the road to Andarabah, otherwise Andarab, which is described by Mukaddasi as having fine markets, being situated among valleys clothed by verdant forests. These valleys, which were on the northern slopes of the Panj-hir range, had many silver mines in their recesses, according to Ibn Hawkal, who speaks of two rivers, the Nahr Andarab, and the Nahr Kasan, as flowing down through this district. Yakut, who gives no additional details, spells the name Andarab or Andarabah'.

Ist. 279. I. H. 326. Muk. 296, 303. Vak. i. 372; ii. 827; iii. 142, 518.
 Mst. 188. A. V. ii. 19. C. E. Yate, Afghanittan, 317. For the relative positions of these places see Map 1, p. 1.

The Khulm river does not flow into the Oxus, but is lost in marshes a few miles to the north of the ruins of the old town. At the nearest bend of the Oxus to Khulm, there was in the 4th (10th) century a strongly fortified guard-house, called Rubât Mîlah, where the road coming in three marches from Balkh crossed the great river into Transoxiana and the Khuttal country. Two marches to the eastward of Khulm was Warwâlîz, or Warwâlîj, which Ibn Hawkal and others describe as a large city in the 4th (10th) century. No town of this name now exists, but by its position in the Itineraries it must have stood very near the site of Kunduz. Yâkût, who apparently by a clerical error gives the name as Wazwâlîn, adds no details, and neither he nor any of the earlier geographers mention Kunduz, which is doubtless an abbreviation for Kuhandiz, the common name for 'fortress' in Persian, and as such possibly applied to the old castle of Warwâliz'.

Two days' march to the east of Warwallz lay Tayikan, or Talikan of Tukharistan, which still exists (not to be confounded with Tālikān of Jūzjān, described above, p. 423), and which in the 4th (10th) century was one of the most populous towns of the district. At-Tālikān, as Mukaddasi spells the name, though At-Tāyikān is the better form, had a large market; it stood in the plain a bow-shot from the hills, and was in the 4th (10th) century about a third the size of Balkh. Its lands were watered by an affluent of the Oxus, called Khuttalâb (sometimes written Khaylâb); and the Watrab river (or Tarab, for the readings of these two names are doubtful) appears to have been one of its branch streams, which joined the Khuttalab above Kunduz. The neighbourhood was extremely fertile, and it was a pleasant country; corn and much fruit, according to Mustawfi, were grown, and in the 8th (14th) century, most of the population were weavers. It then possessed a strong fortress, and was surrounded by well-cultivated districts, where grapes, figs, peaches, and pistachios grew abundantly. 'Ali of Yazd frequently mentions Tayikan when relating the campaigns of Timur, and according to the older geographers seven days' march east of this was Badakhshan, which will be noticed in the following chapter's.

¹ Ist. 279. I. H. 326, 332. Muk. 296. Yak. iii. 318; iv. 926.

² L. R. 93. Ist. 275, 276, 278, 279. I. H. 326. Muk. 296, 303. A. F.

The most famous exports of Khurasan, according to Ibn Hawkal, were the silk and cotton stuffs of Naysabûr and Marv. Both sheep and camels were to be had here cheap, and Turkish slaves-a boy or girl slave, he says, fetching as much as 5000 dinars (about £,2500)-and all food-stuffs were plentiful. Mukaddasi enters into further details. Naysabûr was the chief manufacturing centre. Various white cloths were made here; and stuffs for turbans woven in the straight, or across, or diagonally. Veils, thin lining materials, woollens and raw silks, brocades of silk and of silk mixed with cotton, and various linen stuffs and cloths of goat's hair; all these were famous products of Naysabur. Here, too, were made cloaks, fine thread, and tabby silks in all varieties. Ironware was forged here, as well as needles and knives. The gardens of Naysabur were renowned for their figs, truffles, and rhubarb, and from the mine in the hills of the Rivand district came the famous turquoises (firûsûf) of Nîshâpûr.

The towns of Niså and Abîvard were noted for their raw silk stuffs, and the cloth that the women wove in these districts. Fox-skin pelisses also were made up here. Niså in particular had a special breed of falcons, and produced much sesame seed. From Tûs came great cooking pots, a speciality of the town, also mats, and most of the cereals were largely exported. Excellent belts and cloaks were likewise manufactured. Herât produced brocade stuffs of all kinds, preserves made of raisins and pistachios, and divers syrups. Steel, too, was admirably forged in Herât. From the mountainous country of Gharj-ash-Shâr came felts and carpets, saddle cloths and cushions. Gold was found here, and horses and mules were exported largely.

Marv was a great place for all loom work in silk, mixed cotton and silk, and pure cotton, of which veils and all sorts of cloth were woven. The districts round the city produced oil of sesame, condiments and aromatics, and manna. Brass pots were made in Marv, and its bakers produced a variety of excellent cakes. The neighbourhood of Balkh- yielded sesame, rice, almonds, nuts, and raisins. Its soap-boilers were famous, and the

^{472.} Yak. iii. 501; v. 24. Mst. 188, 189. A. Y. i. 82, 179. The name is spelt (with or without the article) Țâyikân, or Țâyikân, and, finally, Țâlikân, like the town in Jûzjân.

confectioners here made divers kinds of the so-called 'honey' from grapes and figs, as well as a preserve of pomegranate kernels. Syrups and clarified butter were largely exported; and in the neighbourhood were mines of lead, vitriol, and arsenic. The incense of Balkh too was famous, and its turmeric, unguents, and preserves. From it came hides and cloaks, and from Tirmidh, across the Oxus, soap and assafoetida. As coming from Warwâlij towards Badakhshân, Mukaddasî gives a long list of fruits, such as nuts, almonds, pistachios, and pears. Rice and sesame too were largely traded, also various cheeses and clarified butter, and finally horns and furs, more especially fox-skins'.

The high roads through Khurasan and Kuhistan were as follows. The great Khurasan road entered Khurasan beyond Bistam (in Kûmis, see p. 365), and from this place to Naysabûr there were two routes. The northern, or caravan road went from Bistâm to Jājarm, and thence by Azadvar through the plain of Juvayn down to Naysabûr. This is the road especially given by Mustawfi, and only in sections by Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal. The southern, shorter route is the post-road to Naysabur, which started from Badhash, already mentioned (p. 368) as two leagues from Bistâm. This road keeps along the skirts of the hills with the desert on the right hand, and coming to Asadâbâd, next passes through Bahmanâbâd or Mazînân, where a branch went north to Azadvar. Continuing eastward through Sabzivar, the post-road finally reaches Naysabur, and this is the route described by Ibn Khurdadbih and in all the earlier Itineraries. From Asadābād going south-east, Mukaddasī says there was a track across this corner of the Great Desert, in 30 leagues, to Turshîz in Kûhistân, while from Naysâbûr to Turshîz, the route is given by both Ibn Khurdadbih and Mukaddasi. From Navsabur north to Niså the stages are also given by Mukaddasî^a.

One stage beyond Naysåbûr at Kaşr-ar-Rih or Dizbâd (Castle of the Wind) the Khurasan road bifurcated. To the right, southeast, the way went down to Herat, and this will be noticed in the succeeding paragraph. From the Castle of the Wind, turning left

¹ Ist. 181. I. H. 330. Muk. 323-326.

⁸ I. K. 23, 52. Kud. 201. I. R. 170 (with descriptive details of the road). 1st. 216, 284. I. H. 275, 333. Muk. 351, 352, 371, 373, 491. Mst. 196.

and north-east, the road went to Mashhad and Tûs, and from here by Mazdaran to Sarakhs, at the crossing of the Tajand river. From Sarakhs the desert was crossed to Great Marv, and thence by the desert again the road reached the Oxus bank at Âmul (or Chahar-Jûy), whence, after leaving Khurasan, Bukhara was the terminus. This stretch of the Khurasan road from Naysabûr to Âmul of the Oxus passage is given with but slight variations by nearly all the Itineraries, and most of its stages still exist at the present day under the old names'.

As already said, the Khuråsån road branched to the right, one stage beyond Naysåbûr, whence Herât was reached. At Sarakhs and Marv there were also bifurcations to the right, these roads both going to Marv-ar-Rûd, and to this city also a road led north from Herât. From Marv-ar-Rûd the main road then led north-east to Balkh, beyond which it crossed the Oxus to Tirmidh. Taking first the Herât road, from the bifurcation at the Castle of the Wind, it was four stages to Bûzjân, and a like distance on to Bûshanj, whence to Herât was a day's march. This road is given by Ibn Rustah and the geographers of the 4th (10th) century, also by Mustawfî. From Bûzjân and from Bûshanj roads respectively went off to the south-west and west, which centred in Kâyin, and the distances between the various cities of Kûhistân are given by Iṣṭakhrî and others. At Kâyin also centred the roads coming from Tabas and Khûr on the borders of the Great Desert.

From Herât southwards the road went down to Zaranj, passing through Asfuzâr, and crossing the Sijistân frontier between that town and Farah (see above, p. 341). This road is given by Ibn Rustah and the three geographers of the 4th (10th) century. From Herât eastward, up the valley of the Hari Rûd to the Ghûr frontier, the names of the towns one day's march apart are given by the same three authorities. From Herât through Karûkh the distances are also given by the geographers of the 4th (10th) century, in days' marches to Shurmîn and Abshîn in Ghurjistân, whence down the Murghâb Marv-ar-Rûd was reached. And to Marv-ar-Rûd or Kasr Ahnaf (Marûchak) the roads are given

¹ I. K. 24, 25. Kud. 201, 202. I. R. 171. Vkb. 279. Muk. 348, 351. Mst. 196 (as far as Sarakhs).

² I. R. 172 (with details of road but no distances). Ist. 283, 284, 286. 1. H. 332, 333, 335. Muk. 351, 352. Mst. 107.

across Bådghîs (going by Baghshûr, the capital) in Işṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥawkal and Mukaddasî, as also by Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century¹.

From Sarakhs, and from Great Marv, respectively, two roads converged on Marv ar-Rûd, the first crossing the desert between the two great rivers, the last coming up the Murghâb through the fertile lands and towns on its bank. The desert route, passing by a number of successive Rubâts, or guard-houses, is only given by Mukaddasi, being merely copied by Mustawfi, and in the Turkish Jahân Numâ. The road from Great Marv up the Murghâb is given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah, also by Mukaddasi, but by a different route.

From Marv-ar-Rûd to Balkh, through the Jûzjân district, Ibn Khurdâdbih and the earlier Itineraries give the road by Tâlikân and thence on, either by Fâryâb and Shaburkân, or by Yahûdîyah (Maymanah), and Anbâr, to Balkh. Istakhrî and Mukaddasî give the distances by the number of marches. Mustawfî has a somewhat different route from Marv-ar-Rûd to Balkh, which passed to the westward of both Tâlikân, which lay six leagues off the road to the right, and Fâryâb, which lay two leagues away likewise on the right hand, reaching Shaburkân, and eventually, by the Jamûkhiyân bridge Balkh. This route is copied in the Jahân Numâ. From Balkh the Oxus was reached opposite Tirmidh in two stages, passing through Siyâhjird³.

East from Balkh the road went by Khulm'and Tâyikân to the frontiers of Badakhshân, a branch road going south-east from Khulm to Andarâbah and the Panj-hîr mines north of Kâbul. Işṭakhri and Mukaddasî also give skeleton routes from Balkh across the mountains to Bâmiyân, and thence south by Ghaznah to Ķuṣdâr, with a branch from Ghaznah eastward to the Indian frontier, but in these routes the stages are uncertain, for the places named are elsewhere unknown.

¹ I. R. 173, 174. Ist. 248, 249, 285. I. H. 304, 305, 334. Muk. 348, 349, 350. Mst. 198.

^{\$} I. K. 32. Kud. 209. Muk. 347, 349. Mst. 196. J. N. 329.

³ L. K. 32. Kud. 210. Ist. 286. I. H. 322. Muk. 346, 347. Mst. 197. J. N. 329.

⁴ Ist. 286. I. H. 334. 332. Muk. 346, 349, 486.





PROVINCES OF THE OXUS AND JAXARTES

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE OXUS.

Transoxiana in general. The names Oxus and Jaxartes. The upper affluents of the Oxus. Badakhshân and Wakhkhân. Khuttal and Wakhsh. Kubâdhiyân and Şaghâniyân, with their towns. The Stone Bridge. Tirmidh. The Iron Gates. Kâlif, Akhslsak, and Firabr. The Aral Sea or Lake of Khwârizm. Freezing of the Oxus in winter.

The Oxus of old was held to be the boundary line between the Persian-speaking folk and the Turks, between Îrân and Tûrân; and the provinces north, beyond it, were known to the Arabs as Mâ-warâ-n-Nahr, 'Those beyond the River' (Oxus, understood), or otherwise as the Haytal. The Haytal, in the 5th century A.D., had been the chief enemies of the Sassanian monarchy, and were identical with the Ephthalites of the Byzantine authors, commonly known as the White Huns. To the medieval Arabs, however, the name Haytal had come to be employed loosely to mean all the Tûrânian peoples and lands lying beyond the Oxus, and as such it is used by Mukaddasî.

These lands may conveniently be divided into five provinces. The most important was Sughd, the ancient Sogdiana, with its two capitals Bukhârâ and Samarkand. To the west of Sughd was Khwârizm, now generally known as Khivah, comprising the Oxus delta; and to the south-east Şaghâniyân, with Khuttal and the other great districts on the upper Oxus; to which also belonged Badakhshân, though this lay on the left or south bank, being almost encircled by the great bend of the river beyond Tukhâristân. Lastly, the two provinces of the Jaxartes were Farghânah on the upper river, and the province of Shâsh (now Tâshkand) with the

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districts to the north-west, running down to the outflow of the Jaxartes into the swamps of the Aral Sea.

The medieval Arabs knew the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes under the names, respectively, of Jayhûn and Sayhûn, which like the Tigris and Euphrates, the legend said, were the rivers of Paradise. The origin of these names is not quite clear, but apparently the Arabs took them from the Jews, Jayhûn and Sayhûn being corrupted forms of two of the rivers mentioned in Genesis ii. 11, 13, to wit the Gihon and the Pison.

In the later middle-ages, about the time of the Mongol irruption, the names Jayhûn and Sayhûn to a great extent went out of use; the Oxus was then more generally called the Amûyah, or Amů Daryå, while the Jaxartes, as will be seen in a later chapter, came to be known as the Sir Darya. The origin of the term Amûyah, or Amû, is also not quite clear. According to Hâfiz Abrû this is explained to be merely the name of the town and district on the Khurasan bank of the Oxus originally written Amul (at Chahâr Jûy, see above, p. 403). Possibly, however, the case is inverted, and the true explanation may be that Amul city came to be called Amûyah or Amû from a local (Persian) name of the great river, which, coming into common use, supplanted the more classical (Arabic) name Jayhûn. It is further to be observed that, with the Arabs, rivers were very commonly named from the great cities on their banks; hence the Oxus or Amû Darya, the River of Amû, also was often called the Balkh river, although that city stands some miles distant from its southern bank. The name Oxus, by which the Greeks knew the great river, is preserved in Wakhsh-ab, the Wakhsh river, which is one of its upper affluents,

¹ Ist. 286, 287, 295. I. H. 335, 347, 348. Muk. 261—268. As has been already mentioned (p. 131), the same names, under the slightly altered forms of Jayhan and Sayhan, were given to the Pyramus and Sarus respectively, the two frontier rivers of Cilicia, over against the Greek lands. As to the etymology of these names, it would seem that being taken from a foreign language, and their meaning unknown, the name Sayhūn was brought into a jingling rhyme with Jayhūn; and this is the case with many other borrowed names, e.g. in the Kuran and Tradition, Kabil, Habil, for Cain and Abel; Taliat, Jaiat, for Saul and Goliath; Yajaj, Mājāj, for Gog and Magog. See Sir H. Yule, in Capt. J. Wood, The Oxns (1872), p. xxii.

but by the Arabs the name Wakhsh does not appear ever to have been applied to the main stream.

The sources of the Oxus, as Ibn Rustah and other early geographers rightly state, were from a lake in Little Tibet (At-Tubbat) and on the Pamir (Famir). Iştakhrî, who is copied by most subsequent writers, gives the names of four among the many upper affluents of the Oxus. These are not in every case easy to identify, but the following appears to be clearly indicated. The main stream of the upper Oxus was the Nahr Jaryab, at the present day known as the Panj river, which reached Badakhshan from the east, coming through the country known as Wakhkhân, and the Jaryâb was also known as the Wakhkhab river. This main stream of the Oxus, coming down from the eastern highlands, makes an immense sweep round Badakhshan, flowing north, then west, and finally south before reaching the neighbourhood of Khulm, and in this course of three-quarters of a circle it receives many great affluents on its right bank. The first of these is the Andîjârâgh, with the town of the same name near its junction with the Oxus; and this appears identical with the present Bartang river. Next there joined the Nahr Färghar (also written Farghar, Farghan, or Farghi) flowing down from the Khuttal country, which must be identical with the Wanj river of to-day. Below came in the Nahr Akhshawa (or Akhsh), almost equalling the main stream of the Oxus, on which stood Hulbuk, the chief town of Khuttal. One of its head-streams was the Nahr Balban, or Barban, and these united rivers at the present day are known under the Turkish name of Ak-Su or White River. These, therefore, are the four upper affluents of the Oxus as named by Istakhri, and he states that their various places of junction were all above the ford, or passage of the main stream at Arhan.

Also above this ford, but on the left bank; the Badakhshân river, now called the Gukchah, flowed into the Oxus, being known as the Nahr Dirghâm. Below the Ârhan ford the Oxus received its great right-bank affluent, namely the Wakhshâb or Wakhsh river, from which the Greeks, as already said, took their name Oxus; and this divided the countries of Khuttal and Wakhsh on the east, from the districts of Kubâdhiyân and Saghâniyân on the west. The Wakhshâb is the river now known

as the Surkhåb, or Red River. Where the Oxus, after curving round three sides of Badakhshån, finally takes its course westward, it receives on its left, or southern bank the rivers of Tåyikån and Kunduz from Tukhåristån. These Ibn Rustah calls the Nahr Khuttalåb, and the Nahr Watråb, respectively, as has been noticed in the previous chapter (p. 428). The two rivers of Kubådhiyån and Şaghâniyán—the latter, which flows past Tirmidh, named the Nahr Zåmil by Ibn Rustah—joined the Oxus on its northern or right bank, and had their sources in the Buttam mountains, which here to the north divided the Oxus watershed from that of the Zarafshån in Sughd. These are the last of the affluents of the great river, for west of Balkh the Oxus receives no other stream, and takes its course through the desert, west and north-west, direct to its delta south of the Aral Sea 1.

The country of Badakhshan lay to the eastward of Tukharistan, surrounded on three sides, as we have seen, by the great bend of the upper Oxus. Istakhri describes this province as very populous and fertile, with refreshing streams and numberless vineyards. The capital was of the same name, but the Badakhshan (or Gukchah) river was, as already said, known as the Dirgham by the Arabs. For the position of Badakhshan city no Itinerary that has come down to us gives information; but it seems probable, seeing the inaccessible nature of most of the country, that it stood in the valley where the present capital of the country, Fayzabad, now stands.

Badakhshân was from the earliest times famed for its precious stones, especially for the balas rubies and for the lapis-lazuli found at the Lâzward mines². Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century states that at the jewel mines was a fort, built by Zubaydah, the wife of Hårûn-ar-Rashîd, and called after her. Besides the ruby, the balas, and lapis-lazuli, the pure rock crystal of Badakhshân was famous, also the bezoar stone. Asbestos was also found here, called by the Arabs Hajar-al-Fatilah, 'wick-stone,' for,

2 Lazward, or Lazurd, the name of the mine and mineral, is the origin of the word 'azure.'

¹ I. R. 92, 93. I. K. 33. I. F. 324. Ist. 277, 296. I. H. 348. Muk. 303. I. S. 25a, 44b. Yak. ii. 171; iii. 469. In Kazvini (i. 177) Jarbib is for Jaryib and (ii. 353) Jaryin; both clerical errors.

being unconsumable, it was used for lamp-wicks. Mukaddasi adds that of this asbestos fibre they wove mats for table-covers at meals, and when these got soiled by grease, all that was needed was to bake them for a time in an oven, when they became again perfectly clean. In like manner the asbestos lamp-wicks, when clotted with oil, were made as good as new by being put in the fire for an hour, nor, he adds, did they become consumed thereby. Further Mukaddasi mentions a luminous stone, which in a dark room lighted up all things near it, probably some kind of phosphorescent fluor-spar.

Many of these details are repeated by Kazvînî, who, among the other precious stones found in Badakhshân, mentions the garnet, 'a stone like a ruby,' and states that in his day the asbestos stone was supposed by the common people to be formed of the petrified plumes of birds. The chief mines of the Balkhash, or balas ruby, were situated near the city of Yamkân; in the neighbourhood were silver mines, and Abu-l-Fidâ mentions the city of Jirm, which 'Alî of Yazd gives as the name of the Badakhshân river. When Tîmûr invaded Badakhshân in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century the capital was at Kishm, where the king of Badakhshân resided; and one of the chief towns was called Kalâûkân, but no description is given of these places, and their positions are uncertain.

East of Badakhshân, along the upper Oxus, lay Wakhkhân, described by Ibn Hawkal as on the road into (Little) Tibet, whence came musk. These were infidel lands, and they adjoined the countries called As-Sakinah and Karrân (or Karrâm); and beyond these again towards Kashmîr was the Bulûr country, 'where for three months you never see the sun for snow and rain.' The silver mines of Wakhkhân were famous in the 4th (10th) century, and gold was found in the beds of its streams. The slave caravans from central Asia came down through this country bringing captured slaves to Khurâsân for the Moslem markets of the West'.

As already said, the largest affluent of the Oxus was the Wakhshâb, coming in on the right bank from the north, and the

¹ Ist. 278, 279, 297. I. H. 327, 349. Muk. 303. Kaz. ii. 203, 225, 328. A. F. 472. A. Y. i. 179.

great mountainous tract lying in the angle between the Wakhshâb and the Oxus was known as Khuttal, a name that was also vaguely applied to all the infidel lands east and north of Khurāsān¹. Khuttal included the country called Wakhsh, lying in its northern parts, where the Wakhshâb took its rise. It was, Iṣṭakhrī writes, very fertile, and famous for its fine horses and sumpter beasts; having many great towns on the banks of its numerous streams, where corn lands and fruit orchards gave abundant crops.

In the 4th (10th) century the capital of Khuttal was Hulbuk, where the Sultan lived (probably near the site of modern Khulâb); but the two cities called Munk and Halaward were larger than Hulbuk. Other considerable towns were Andijaragh (or Andajärägh) and Farghan (or Fårghar), lying respectively on the rivers of these names; also Tamliyat and Lawakand, which last was on the Wakhshab below the Stone Bridge (near modern Kurgan Tappah). Mukaddasi describes Hulbuk, the capital, as having a Friday Mosque in its midst, and standing on the Akhshawa river, from which it took its water. The town of Andijaragh lay near the Oxus bank, where the affluent of the same name came in, and it probably occupied the site of the present Kal'ah Wamar. Munk, the largest city of the province, lay to the north of Hulbuk, and east of Tamliyat; while Halaward, on the Wakhshab, was, according to Mukaddasi, a finer town than Hulbuk the capital. Tamliyat lay between Munk and the Stone Bridge of the Wakhshâb, and is probably identical with the present Baljuwan; Baljuwan being already mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd when describing the campaigns of Timûr2.

The celebrated Stone Bridge (Kanţarah-al-Hijārah) over the Wakhshâb still exists. It is described by Ibn Rustah, Işṭakhrî,

¹ There is much confusion in the naming of this country; we have indifferently Khuttal and Khutlan or Khuttalan. According, however, to Kazvini (ii. 352) Khuttalan was the name of a town of the Turks, lying in a gorge between the mountains, the position of which he does not indicate. ⁴All of Yazd (i. 464, and elsewhere), in describing the campaigns of Timur, generally writes Khutlan. The name Khuttal (with its variants) appears in fact to be the same word as Haytal, by which name the Arabs knew the Ephthalites or White Huns of Sassanian and Byzantine times.

² Ist. 276, 277, 279, 296, 297. I. H. 326, 327, 348, 349. Muk. 290, 291. Yak. il. 402. A. Y. i, 83.

and many late authorities as crossing the Wakhshâb on the road from Tamliyât to the town of Wâshjird in Kubâdhiyân. To the north of this lay the country called Bilâd-al-Kamîdh by Ibn Rustah, beyond which again was the Rasht district at the headwaters of the Wakhshâb. The Stone Bridge, according to Iṣtakhrî, spanned a deep gorge of the Wakhsh river, at a place where, by reason of the great volume of the stream, more water, it was said, was hemmed in by narrows than at any other known spot on any other river. Kazvînî and other writers give a like account, and 'Alî of Yazd also refers to the bridge, giving both the Persian form, Pûl-i-Sangîn, and the Turkish, Tâsh Kûpruk. The place has more than once been described by modern travellers'.

To the westward of the Wakhsh river, and bounded on the south by the Oxus, lay the district the Arabs named Şaghâniyân, which in Persian is written Chaghâniyân. The eastern part of the district was more particularly known as Kubâdhiyân, from the city of this name which stands on the first river joining the Oxus to the westward of the Wakhshâb. Kubâdhiyân, or Kuwâdhiyân, is described by Ibn Ḥawkal as a smaller town than Tirmidh, and it was known also under the name of Fazz. It was famous for its madder, which was exported to India. The Kubâdhiyân river, on which the town lay, is of considerable length, and according to Mukaddasî there were several important towns in this district, one of which was Awzaj or Ûzaj, probably the present Aywaj, on the northern bank of the Oxus above Tirmidh, and below Rubâţ M¹lah of the left bank. Yâkût adds that the fruits of this district were famous.

On the upper waters of the Kubâdhiyân river, and west of the Stone Bridge, lay Wâshjird, a town according to Istakhrî that almost equalled Tirmidh in size; and some distance to

¹ I. R. 92. Ist. 297. I. H. 348. Kaz. ii. 353. A. Y. i. 83, 452. Sir H. Yule in Wood, *The Oxus*, p. lxxxii; Mayef in *Geographical Magazine* for 1875. p. 337, and 1876, p. 328. At the present day the Stone Bridge is described as only ten paces in length, and is abutted on two projecting rocks. The Surkhab flows below it, hemmed in by lofty and precipitous cliffs, which afford hardly thirty paces' interval for the passage of the stream, which pours down the narrow gorge with a tremendous roar.

the south of it was the great fortress of Shûmân, or Ash-Shûmân. In all this district round Shûmân much saffron was grown for export. Shûmân is referred to by Mukaddasî as extremely populous, and the town was well built; Yākût adding that its population was ever in revolt against their Sultan, and that in his day it was a frontier fortress against the Turks. 'Alî of Yazd, describing the conquests of Tîmûr, frequently mentions it as Hiṣâr Shâdmân, and more shortly as Hiṣâr, or Ḥiṣârak, and at the present day it is also known as Ḥiṣâr'.

Saghānivān city is probably identical with the modern town of Sar-i-Asya, on the upper part of the Saghaniyan river, which was also called the Nahr Zâmil. It was, Istakhrî writes, a larger city than Tirmidh, in the 4th (10th) century, though the latter was more wealthy and populous. Şaghāniyān city was defended by a great Kuhandiz, or fort, and it stood on both banks of the river. Mukaddasl likens it to Ramlah in Palestine, and there was a great Friday Mosque in its market-place. Wild-fowl abounded in its neighbourhood, and 6000 villages were counted in its districts, excellent bread being cheap throughout the neighbourhood. The small town of Basand, with a great public square and many gardens, lay two marches from Saghaniyan city, among the mountains higher up the river. Lower down the Zámil, about half-way between Saghâniyân and Tirmidh, lay Dârzanjî, where there was a great guard-house, according to 1bn Hawkal. Excellent wool-stuffs were produced here, and there was a great Friday Mosque in the market-place. South of this again, also near the Zâmil river, was the town of Şarmanjî or Şarmanjân, likewise with its great guard-house. The place had been famous in the 4th (10th) century for a dole of bread, of the daily value of a dinar (10 shillings), which was given by its governor, Abu-l-Hasan, son of Hasan Mah.

The most important town, however, of the Saghâniyân district was Tirmid (or At-Tirmidh), north of the passage of the Oxus coming from Balkh, and at the place of junction of the Zâmil river. In the 4th (10th) century it was defended by a great fortress, where

¹ Ist, 298. I. H. 350. Muk. 284, 289, 290. Yak. ii. 88; iii. 337; iv. 196. A. V. i. 49, 52, 450, 452, 464.

the governor lived, and a suburb lay round the town which was enclosed by an inner wall, while a second wall surrounded the suburb. A Friday Mosque of unburnt brick stood in the market-place of the town, but the market buildings were built of kiln-bricks, and the main streets were also paved with the same material. Tirmidh was the great emporium of the trade coming from the north for Khurâsân. The city had three gates, and according to Mukaddasi was strongly fortified. In the year 617 (1220) it was sacked by the Mongol hordes as they passed south into Khurâsân. After this a new town—as large as the old one, according to Ibn Batûtah, who visited it in the following century—was built two miles above the deserted ruins, and this was soon surrounded by gardens which grew excellent grapes and quinces.

On the right bank of the Oxus, some distance below Tirmidh, was Nawidah, where those who went from Balkh to Samarkand direct crossed the river. Nawidah had a Friday Mosque in the midst of its houses, and was counted as the last town in Şaghâniyân on the Oxus. One march north-west of Tirmidh, on the road to Kish and Nakhshab in Sughd, was the town of Håshimjird, a place of some importance in the 4th (10th) century; and two marches north of this the road passed through the famous Iron Gate.

This defile in the mountains was described by the Chinese traveller, Hwen Thsang, who as a Buddhist pilgrim visited India in 629 A.D. The Arab geographers speak of a town here, and Yankûbî names it the City of the Iron Gate (Madinah Bab-al-Hadîd), of which he also gives the Persian form, Dar Âhanîn. Iştakhri, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasî all name the Bâb-al-Hadîd in their itineraries, but add no details. Under the name, in Persian, of the Darband Âhanîn the Iron Gate became famous from the time of Timûr, and it is mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd also under the Turkish appellation of Kuhlughah. He gives, however,

¹ For a translation of Hwen Thsang's description see Sir H. Yule in Wood, The Oxus, p. lxix. The Chinese pilgrim states that in his day the passage was 'closed by folding gates clamped with iron, and to the gates were attached a number of iron bells.' All later accounts omit any mention of gates, which apparently had been removed before the time of Istakhri.

no description of the place. This remarkable defile was traversed by Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to the court of Timur, in August, A.D. 1405. He states that the ravine looked 'as if it had been artificially cut, and the hills rise to a great height on either side, and the pass is smooth, and very deep. In the centre of the pass there is a village, and the mountain rises to a great height behind. This pass is called the Gates of Iron, and in all the mountain range there is no other pass, so that it guards the land of Samarkand in the direction of India. These Gates of Iron produce a large revenue to Timur, for all merchants who come from India pass this way'.'

The Oxus below the Şaghâniyân district took its course through the desert, receiving no important affluents on either bank, and finally reached its delta on the south shore of the Aral Sea, where lay the province of Khwarizm, which will be described in the next chapter. In the stretch of desert several cities lay upon its right and left banks-generally in couples-at the points where the great river was crossed by roads going from Khurásán to the Turk country, and most of the towns on the Khurâsân side have already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. The town of Kâlif or Kaylif, on the north bank (which still exists), was in the middle-ages faced by its suburb on the Khurasan side, surrounding the guard-house called Rubat Dhi-l-Kifl; and Kalif was therefore at that time counted as occupying both banks of the Oxus, Mukaddasî likening it to Baghdâd and Wâsit. On the northern side was the guard-house called after Alexander the Great, Rubât Dhi-l-Karnayn. Yâkût states that Kâlif had a fine castle, it was counted as 18 leagues from Balkh, and was on the road thence to Nakhshab in Sughd. Mustawfi speaks of a great hill near Kâlif, eight leagues in circumference, all of black earth, with water and fine grazing lands on its summit, and he adds that Kälif in the 8th (14th) century was a large and very strong place.

Below this and opposite Zamm, which has already been

Ykb. 290. Ist. 298, 337. I. H. 349, 350, 400, 401. Muk. 283, 284,
 291, 292, 342. I. B. iii. 56. A. Y. i. 49, 59; ii. 593. Clavijo, Embassy,
 p. 122. Geographical Magazine, 1875, p. 336; and see 1876, p. 328, for the description of the Iron Gate by Mayel.

described (see p. 404), was the town of Akhsisak, whence a high road went to Nakhshab. Ibn Hawkal describes Akhsisak as a small city, its inhabitants going over to Zamm for the Friday prayers, for there was no mosque in their town. The surrounding lands, enclosed on all sides by the desert, were extremely fertile, and the pasture for sheep and camels excellent. Near the right bank of the Oxus, lower down again, and opposite Amul or Amuyah, stood Firabr, on the road to Bukhârâ, likewise surrounded by a fertile district, and many populous villages. Mukaddasi writes that Firabr was a league distant from the north bank of the Oxus. and that it was protected by a fortress with guard-houses. The Friday Mosque stood at the town gate towards Bukhara, and there was a Musalla, or praying station, with a hostelry outside this where travellers were entertained and a dole given. The grapes of the place were famous. Firabr was also known as Kariyat 'Alî, or Rubât Tâhir ibn 'Alî, the village or guard-house of these persons'.

After passing between Firabr and Amûyah, the Oxus held its course for about 140 miles, still through the desert, till it reached Tâhirîyah, where the cultivated lands of the delta began. From this point the great river took its course to the Aral Sea, throwing off for nearly 300 miles many irrigation canals which watered the rich province known as Khwârizm during the middle-ages. Since the date of the first Arab conquest the Oxus, in these delta lands, has of course frequently shifted its bed, and the bursting of the great dykes at the time of the Mongol invasion in the 7th (13th) century caused a change in its lower course which will be described later. From the description of the earlier Arab geographers, however, it is still possible roughly to reconstruct the map of Khwarizm in the 4th (10th) century, and it is evident that the Oxus in those days followed a single channel, navigable for boats, down to the swamps on the southern shore of the Aral, which sea the Arabs called the Lake of Khwârizm (Buhayrah Khwarizm).

The Aral, which was shallow and full of reeds, appears not

¹ Ist. 298, 314. I. H. 349, 350, 363. Kud. 203. Muk. 291. Vak. iii. 862; iv. 229. Mst. 189.

to have been considered navigable; it received on its northeastern shore the waters of the Jaxartes, but no traffic passed from the Oxus by water to the sister river. The land bordering the eastern coast of the Aral, between the mouths of the Oxus and Jaxartes, was in the 4th (10th) century, and later, known as the Desert of the Ghuzz Turkomans, a name more often given to the Mary desert of eastern Persia. To the earlier Arab geographers the wonder of the Oxus and Jaxartes was the fact that both these rivers froze over in winter, so that caravans of heavily laden beasts could cross on the surface of the river ice, which remained fast frozen, they reported, for from two to five of the winter months, the thickness of the ice reaching five spans and more. Kazvini explains further how in winter the people of Khwarizm had to dig wells through the ice with crowbers till the water below was reached, and the cattle were brought up to drink at these holes, water being carried home to the houses in great jars. Istakhri mentions a hill called Jabal Jaghraghaz, on the Aral Lake shore, below which the water remained frozen all the year through.

The Aral Sea, especially in its southern part and near the creek of Khalijan where the Oxus flowed in, was famous as fishing ground, but there were no villages or even houses bordering on the lake shore. As already said, all down the course of the Oxus through the delta, great and small canals branched from the right and left bank of the river, and many of these canals were also navigable; their waters finally serving to irrigate the delta lands. On one or other of these canals most of the great towns of Khwarizm had been built, rather than on the Oxus bank, which from the constant shifting of its bed was a source of ever recurring danger. The Oxus was navigable for boats throughout the whole of its lower course, and Ibn Batutah says that during the summer months the passage down stream from Tirmidh could be accomplished in ten days, cargoes of wheat and barley being thus brought for sale to the Khwarizm markets. The ice in winter made the navigation dangerous or impossible, and Yakût relates how in Shawwal 616 (December 1219), when going from Mary to Jurianiyah, part of his voyage being by boat on the Jayhun, he

and his companions came near perishing from the intense cold and the sudden freezing of the river. They were hardly able to land and get up the bank, which was deeply covered with snow, and Yākūt lost the beast he was riding, he himself barely escaping with his life.

¹ Ist. 303, 304. I. H. 353, 354. Kaz. ii. 353. I. B. iii. 5. Yak. i. 191.

CHAPTER XXXII.

KHWÂRIZM.

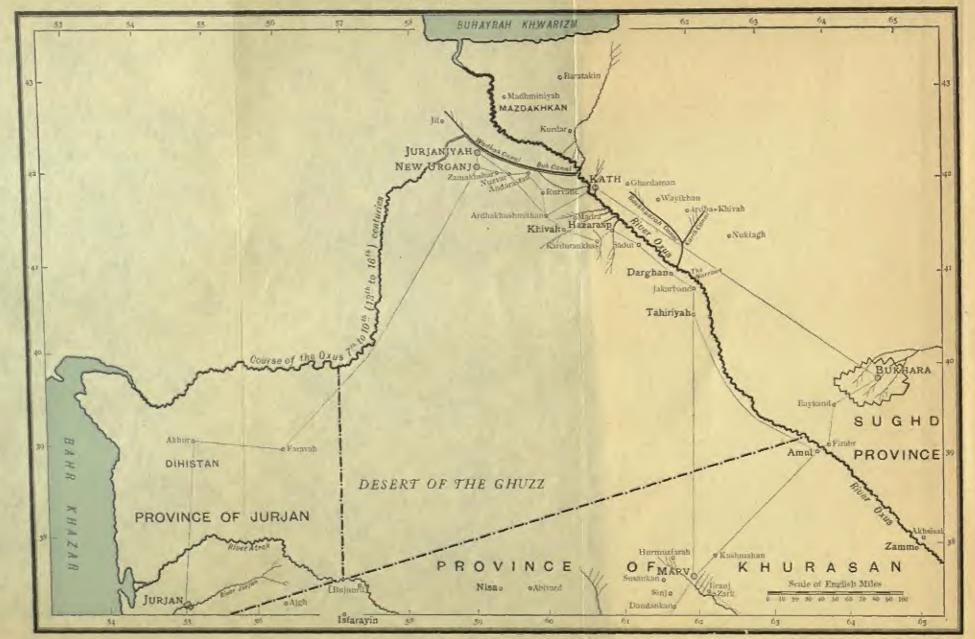
The province of Khwarizm. The two capitals: Kath and Jurjantyah. Old and new Urganj. Khivah and Hazarasp. The canals of Khwarizm: towns to the right and left of the Oxus. Lower course of the Oxus to the Caspian. Trade and products of Khwarizm.

Khwarizm, in the earlier middle-ages, had two capitals, one on the western or Persian side of the Oxus called Jurjaniyah, or Urganj, the other on the eastern or Turkish side of the stream called Kath, which in the 4th (10th) century was held to be the capital in chief of the province.

Kâth still exists, but the great medieval city probably stood some miles to the south-east of the modern town. In the earlier part of the 4th (10th) century Kath came to be in part destroyed by the flood of the Oxus, which at this spot was two leagues in width. The city stood some distance back from the right bank of the main stream, being on a canal called the Jardur, which ran through the town-the market, for about a mile in length, bordering this canal. Kath, in these earlier times, had also possessed a fortress (Kuhandiz), which the floods had completely destroyed, and here had been the Friday Mosque and the prison, also the palace of the native chief known as the Khwarizm-Shah. All this quarter of the town, however, had been rendered uninhabitable by the floods when Ibn Hawkal wrote, and a new town had recently been built to the eastward, at a sufficient distance from the Oxus to be safe from the encroachments of the river.

The new city, which Mukaddasi states was known as the





PROVINCE OF KHWARIZM

Shahristan-'the Capital'-by the Persians, was almost, he says, of the size of Naysabûr in Khurâsân. In its market-place stood the Friday Mosque, built with columns of black stone, each of a man's height, and above came wooden pillars supporting the beams of the roof. The governor's palace was rebuilt in the new town, the old fortress being left a ruin. Numerous small canals traversed the streets, which says Mukaddasi were infamously filthy -worse than Ardabil in Adharbayjan, for the people used the roadway for their commodity, and even brought the foulness of the gutters into the mosque on their feet when they came to prayers. The markets, however, were rich and well-stored with all kinds of merchandise, and the town architects were very skilful in their buildings, so that Kath was outwardly a magnificent city. Soon after the close of the 4th (10th) century, however, it appears to have rapidly lost its position as the chief capital of Khwârizm; probably by reason of the recurrently destructive Oxus floods, which ever and anon threw down different quarters of the city; and eventually it sank to be a town of secondary rank.

Coming down to the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, Kâth does not appear to have suffered much during the Mongol invasion, and in the 8th (14th) century Ibn Batûţah, who writes the name Al-Kât, passed through it on his way from Urganj to Bukhârâ, and describes it as a small but flourishing place. There was here a tank, and this at the time of his vîsit being frozen over, he describes the boys of the town as playing on its surface. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Timûr almost destroyed Kâth, but afterwards caused its walls to be rebuilt, and the place is frequently mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd as still in his day an important town'.

The second capital of Khwarizm which, after the decay of Kath, became the chief city of the province, was Gurganj, by the Arabs called Al-Jurjaniyah, and at a later date known as Urganj. The chronicles of the Moslem conquest relate that in the year 93 (712), when the Arabs under Kutaybah invaded Khwarizm, the capital city which they conquered was called Al-Fil, 'the Elephant,' a name which was forthwith changed

¹ Ist. 300, 301. I. H. 351, 353. Muk. 287, 288. I. B. iii. 20. A. V. i. 237, 263, 449.

to Al-Manşûrah, meaning 'the City of Victory.' This city is said to have stood on the further side of the Oxus, and over against the later Jurjâniyah, but the Oxus flood before long overwhelmed Manşûrah, and Jurjâniyah succeeded to its place.

Jurjaniyah in the 4th (10th) century-though at that time only the second city of the province, Kâth being still the capital-was already the chief centre of trade, and the meeting-place of caravans coming from the Ghuzz country, which exchanged goods with those from Khurâsân. Jurjâniyah lay a bow-shot to the westward of a great navigable canal coming from the Oxus and running a nearly parallel course, and the houses were protected from danger of flood by an immense dyke, with wooden piles to strengthen the embankment. Mukaddasi in the 4th (10th) century states that the city had four gates, and that it was every day increasing in size. At the Bâb-al-Hujjâj, 'the Pilgrims' Gate,' stood a fine palace built by the Caliph Mamun, with a second palace fronting it, built by Prince 'Ali his son, both overlooking a sandy square, like the famous Rigistan of Bukhara, where the sheep market was held. With the decay of Kath, Jurjaniyah soon became the first, and then the sole capital of the Khwarizm province, and in later times it is generally referred to under the name of Khwarizm-'City' being understood.

In the year 616 (1219) Yâkût was at Jurjânîyah, or Gurganj as he also calls it, shortly before the place was devastated by the Mongols under Changîz Khân; and he writes that he had never seen a mightier city, or one more wealthy or more beautiful. In 617 (1220) all this was changed to ruin. The great canal dykes having been broken down, the waters of the Oxus flowed off by a new course, as will be shown later, and the whole city was laid under water. The Mongol hordes when they marched away left nothing, according to Yâkût, but corpses and the ruined walls of houses to mark the place of the great city. The capital of Khwârizm, however, in a few years rose from its ruins, rebuilt in a neighbouring spot. This, according to the contemporary chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir, was in 628 (1231), when New Khwârizm was founded 'in the vicinity of Great Khwârizm.' Before the

¹ The position of Fil is most uncertain; its name occurs as a mint city on the coins of the Omayyad Caliphs, one example being dated A. H. 79 (698).

Mongol invasion there had existed, according to Yākūt and others, a town known as Little Gurganj, by the Persians called Gurganjak, lying at a distance of three leagues from the capital, Great Gurganj, and it seems probable that Little Gurganj was the spot chosen for New Khwārizm.

New Khwarizm soon took its place as the capital, and is described by both Mustawfi and Ibn Batutah in the 8th (14th) century. Kazvini, who wrote in the latter half of the previous century, states that (New) Gurganj was then famous for its skilful blacksmiths and carpenters, also for its carvers of ivory and ebony bowls and other utensils, like those produced by the people of Tark near Isfahan. Further, the women here made famous embroideries, and the tailors were renowned. The water-melons of Khwarizm, he relates, were beyond compare, and this latter fact is confirmed by Ibn Batutah.

Mustawfi, who gives the common name of the city as Urganj, otherwise New Khwarizm, says that it lay ten leagues (probably a mistake for miles) from Old Urganj. Ibn Batûţah, his contemporary, found Khwarizm (as he calls the place) a fine town, well-built, with broad streets, and a teeming population. The market was a magnificent building, like a caravanserai, and near it was the Friday Mosque with its college. Also there was a public hospital, attended, when Ibn Batutah was here, by a Syrian physician, a native of Sahiyun. Near the close of the 8th (14th) century this city of Khwarizm was again almost completely destroyed by Timur, after a siege lasting three months. Timur, however, caused it afterwards to be rebuilt, and the work was completed in 790 (1388). Abu-l-Ghazi, the prince of Khwarizm, whose account of the lower Oxus course will be given presently, held his court at the beginning of the 11th (17th) century in this city, which he generally names Urganj, and speaks of as a fine place with many gardens; but after this date the town of Khtvah gradually replaced Urgani, becoming the new capital of the province. The ruins of this Urganj, the town built after the Mongol invasion, are those now known as Old Urganj (Kuhnah Urgani)1.

Anthony Jenkinson was at Urgence (as he spells the name) in 966 (1558), half-a-century before the time of Abu-l-Ghâzl, and describes it as a fine town

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Khivah—which under the Uzbeg chiefs after the time of Timûr gradually eclipsed Urganj and became the capital of Khwârizm, giving its name in time also to the whole province—is more than once mentioned as a small town by the Arab geographers of the 4th (10th) century. The older spelling of the name was Khivak, and this form was in common use down to the time of Yâkût. Mukaddasî describes Khîvah as lying on the border of the desert, but watered by a great canal which was brought to it from the left bank of the Oxus. It had a fine public square, also a Friday Mosque, so that in the 4th (10th) century it must already have been a place of some importance. Yâkût, who says the name was also pronounced Khayvak, speaks of its castle. In the 7th (13th) century its people were all Sunnîs of the Shâfi'ite sect, the rest of the population of Khwârizm following the Hanîfite ritual.

At this date Khîvah was already celebrated as the birth-place of the great Shaykh Najm-ad-Dîn, surnamed Al-Kubrâ. He played a foremost part in the defence of Urganj against the Mongols, who put him to death, and his tomb became a place of pious visitation near Urganj, as is described by Ibn Baţûţah in the century after his martyrdom. Khîvah is mentioned by 'Alî of Vazd, and he describes an adventure here of Tîmûr, when a young man, who at a later period caused the walls of Khîvak (as the name was then spelt) to be rebuilt. The city in the 11th (17th) century is frequently mentioned by Abu-l-Ghâzî who sometimes lived here, as also at Kât (or Kâth), when not in residence at Urganj; and since his day, and down to the present time, the place has continued to rise in importance, being now the capital of the province called after it '.

Hazârasp (meaning 'Hundred-horse' in Persian) on the same latitude as Khîvah, but standing nearer to the left bank of the Oxus, is a place of importance that has kept its name unchanged from

with walls 'by estimation four miles about it.' Haktuyt, Principal Navigations (Glasgow, 1903), ii. 463. Bal. 421. Ist. 299, 300. I. H. 350, 351. Muk. 288. Yak. ii. 54; iii. 933; iv. 261. A. F. 479. Ibn-al-Athir, xii. 257, 323. Kaz. ii. 349. Mst. 197, 234. I. B. iii. 3—6. A. Y. i. 298, 448. J. N. 345. A. G. 111. Geographical Magazine for 1874, p. 78.

¹ Muk. 289. Yak. ii. 512. Kaz. ii. 355. I. B. iii. 6. A. Y. i. 62, 449. A. G. 112, 294.

the Moslem conquest to the present time. Mukaddasî in the 4th (10th) century describes it as of the same size as Khîvah, the town having wooden gates and being surrounded by a ditch. Yâkût, who was here in 616 (1219), speaks of it as a strongly fortified and rich town, with excellent markets, where many opulent merchants had their warehouses. Hazârasp was almost surrounded by the waters of its canals, and was only to be reached by a single road, along a causeway coming from the Urganj direction across the level plain which stretched away from the Oxus bank.

About half-way between Tāhiriyah, where the cultivation of the delta began, and Hazārasp, the stream of the Oxus passed through a narrow gorge, now known as the Deveh Boyun, 'the Camel's Neck,' where high and precipitous cliffs hemmed in the current to a third of its normal breadth. Iṣṭakhrī calls these narrows by the name of Abūkshah, or Būkshah, adding that the Oxus boatmen feared the spot greatly, on account of the whirlpool and the cataract at the exit of the passage. Mustawfī, who calls this place Tang-i-Dahān-i-Shīr, 'the Narrows of the Lion's Mouth,' says the opposite cliffs were barely 100 gez (yards) apart, and there was a guard-house here, on the left bank. Below this, according to him, the Oxus passed by an underground course for a couple of leagues, being completely hidden from sight.

Between Tāhirīyah and Hazārasp, on the left bank of the Oxus, there were three towns of some importance during the middle-ages. One march below Tāhirīyah, and on the high road, stood Jikarband, surrounded by gardens, with trees growing along its canals. A fine mosque, according to Mukaddasī, stood in the midst of its market. A march further north, near the narrows of the Oxus, was the city of Darghān, which Mukaddasī describes as almost of the size of Jurjānīyah. Its Friday Mosque was magnificently ornamented with precious marbles, and the town was two leagues across, being surrounded by nearly five hundred vineyards. Darghān was the first great town in Khwārizm on the road from Marv. Yākūt, having been here in 616 (1219), describes it as standing on an elevation like the spur of a hill, with its gardens and arable fields stretching between the town and the Oxus bank, which was two miles distant. At the

back of the town the desert sands were not far distant. Between Darghan and Hazarasp lay Sadur on the river bank, a fortified town with a Friday Mosque in its midst, and surrounded by suburbs.

The first of the great canals of Khwarizm was taken from the right or eastern bank of the Oxus at a spot opposite Darghán, and was called Gavkhuwarah, or Gavkhwarah, the 'Cattle Feeder.' This canal, which was navigable for boats, being two fathoms deep and five fathoms across, went northwards, and irrigated all the lands up to the level of Kåth. Five leagues beyond its point of origin a small canal branched off from it, called the Karih canal, and this too watered many districts. Four towns of some importance are mentioned by Mukaddasi as of this eastern bank of the Oxus, each standing about a day's march one from the other, in the fertile districts south of Kath. The most distant from Kath was called Nûkfâgh, it stood in the midst of canals, was a fine town, and lay near the desert border. Nearer to Kath was Ardhakhivah, which is probably identical with the place called Hisn Khivah by Yakût, and which he says was 15 leagues distant from Khivah of the west bank. Ardhakhivah was a fortress standing under a hill at the beginning of the desert, and having but a single gate. Wâyikhân, also a fortress, surrounded by a ditch and with catapults at its gate, lay one march again to the northward; and then came Ghardamán, one march from Kâth, a well-fortified place with two gates, encompassed by a great water ditch two how-shots in width.

From the west, or left bank of the Oxus a number of canals were also taken, the first of which was that which was led past Hazārasp to irrigate its district. This also was navigable for boats, though it was only half the size of the Gāvkhuwārah canal; and it led backward, curving round in a direction that, if continued, would have reached the city of Åmul. Two leagues north of Hazārasp the Kardurān-Khwāsh canal branched from the Oxus, flowing past the town so named, which stood half-way between Hazārasp and Khīvah. This canal was larger than that which served Hazārasp, and the town of Kardurān-Khās (as Mukaddāsī

¹ Ist. 304. I. H. 354. Muk. 288, 289. Yak. ii. 567; iv. 971. Mst. 198, 213.

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writes the name) was surrounded by a ditch and had wooden gates. Further north again was the Nahr Khîvah, a still larger canal, by which boats went from the Oxus to that city. A fourth canal, flowing a mile to the northward of the Khîvah canal, was the Nahr Madrā, which is described as twice as large as the Gâvkhuwārah of the east bank. The town and neighbourhood of Madrā were watered by it.

Káth, the eastern capital, as already said, stood back from the Oxus on a canal called the Jardûr, which was taken from the main stream some distance to the south of the city. Two leagues north of Kath, but from the left or western bank of the Oxus, the great Wadhâk (also Wadâk or Wadân) canal branched off, which was navigable up to the neighbourhood of Jurjaniyah, the western capital of Khwârizm. The point of origin of the Wadak canal was about a mile to the northward of that of the Madra canal, and further north again another canal called the Nahr Buwwah (Bûh or Bûyah) left the Oxus, its waters rejoining those of the Wadak beyond to the north-west, a bow-shot distant from the village called Andarastân, and about one day's march to the southward of Jurjaniyah. The Wadak canal was larger than the Bûh, but both were navigable as far as Jurjâniyah, where a dam prevented boats proceeding further northward; and a great dyke, as already said, had originally been built along its bank to keep the city from inundation'.

The high road north from Khivah to Jurjāniyah, in the middle-ages, passed through several large towns of which now no trace exists. One march from Khivah was Ardhakhushmithān, or Rākhūshmithān, which Yākūt, who stayed here in 616 (1219), records as being a large city, with fine markets and much merchandise. It was, he says, more populous and more extensive than the city of Naṣibīn, in Upper Mesopotamia, but it appears to have been ruined by the Mongol invasion. North of this was Rūzvand, a medium-sized town according to Mukaddasī, well fortified and surrounded by a ditch. It had excellent springs of water, and the Friday Mosque stood in its market-place. After passing the village of Andarastān, lying at the

¹ Ist. 301, 301. I. H. 352, 353. Muk. 288, 289, 292, 293. Yak. ii. 512; iv. 230.

junction of the Wadåk and Bûh canals, the town of Nûzvâr was reached, one march south of Jurjânîyah. Mukaddasî describes Nûzvâr as a small well-fortified city, having two iron gates, and surrounded by a ditch crossed by drawbridges, which were taken up at night, being laid on boats. There was a Friday Mosque in its market-place; and without the west gate was a fine bath-house. It is apparently the same town which Yâkût calls Nûzkâth, meaning, he says, 'New Kâth,' or 'New Wall,' and which was utterly destroyed, shortly after he left it, by the Mongol hordes.

Zamakhshar lay between Nûzvâr and Jurjânîyah, and in the 4th (10th) century this town had also drawbridges at its gates. There was a Friday Mosque here, and a strong prison, and it was fortified, having iron gates and a ditch. Yakût in the 7th (13th) century speaks of this place as a village, and it became famous as the birth-place of one of the great commentators of the Kurán, Az-Zamakhshari, who was born here in 467 (1075) and died in 538 (1144). Ibn Batûtah, who visited his tomb here in the 8th (14th) century, speaks of Zamakhshar as lying four miles from New Urganj. To the north of Urganj was the shrine of Najm-ad-Dîn Kubra already spoken of, and beyond this again, five leagues from Jurjâniyah on the desert border, under the tall cliffs to the west of the Oxus, stood Jith or Git, a place often mentioned by the earlier geographers. It was a large town with considerable lands round it, lying at some distance from the left bank of the river, being opposite Madhminiyah at four leagues from the right bank. Jith appears to be identical in position with the later town called Wazir (or Shahr-i-Wazir), which probably replaced it, after the troublous times of the Mongol invasion and the campaigns of Tîmûr. Wazîr is frequently mentioned by Abu-l-Ghâzî, and the name occurs in the Jahân Numâ. This Shahr-i-Wazir, moreover, is probably the town visited and described by Anthony Jenkinson under the somewhat altered form of Sellisure, or Shaysure, when he was travelling across Khwarizm in the 10th (16th) century1.

On the right bank of the Oxus, some four leagues north of Kath, the first of four canals led off, flowing northward, and

Ist. 301. I. H. 352. Muk. 289. Yak. i. 191; ii. 940; iv. 822. I. B.
 6. A. G. 195. J. N. 346. Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, ii. 461.

after a short distance this was joined by three other small streams, their united waters forming the Kurdar canal. It was said that this, which was of the size of the Wadak and Bûh canals of the west bank, had originally been an arm of the Oxus, and had flowed out to the north-east into the Aral. The district in the angle between the main stream of the Oxus and the Kurdar canal was called Mazdákhgán (or Mazdákhkán), and it was watered by numerous minor channels taken from the right bank of the Oxus. The district is said to have comprised twelve thousand villages, and Kurdar was its chief town. This is described by Mukaddasi as a large place and very strong; surrounded by numerous villages, with broad pasture lands for cattle. Two days' march from it, on the north-eastern border of Khwarizm, was the great village called Kariyat Barâtakîn (or Farâtagîn), near which were the hill-quarries producing the stone used in the buildings throughout Khwarizm. Baratakin in the 4th (10th) century had excellent markets, and a well-built Friday Mosque. westward of this place was the city of Madhminiyah, four leagues from the right bank of the Oxus, opposite Jith; and from hence down to the shore of the Sea of Aral there were no more cultivated lands, only swamps and reed beds lying at the mouth of the great river 1.

In the 4th century B.C., when Alexander the Great made his conquests in western Asia, the Oxus is described as flowing into the Caspian, and the Greek geographers apparently knew nothing of the Aral Sea. When the change of course from the Caspian to the Aral took place is not known, but though at the present day the Oxus, like the Jaxartes, flows into the Sea of Aral, its old bed to the Caspian still exists, is marked on our maps, and has been recently explored. In the earlier middle-ages the course of the Oxus, as described by the Arab geographers of the 4th (10th) century, is, in the main, that of the present day; but the old bed of the river leading to the Caspian is mentioned by Mukaddasi, who reports that in former times the main stream had flowed down to a town over against Nisâ in Khurâsân, called Balkhân (or Abu-l-Khân). Later, some two and a half centuries after the time of Mukaddasi, it seems certain that the Oxus once

¹ Ist. 299, 303. I. H. 350, 353. Muk. 288. Yak. iv. 257.

again resumed its older course. This we learn from the contemporary Persian authors. Hence there appears to be unimpeachable evidence that, from the early part of the 7th (13th) century to near the close of the 10th (16th) century, the Oxus, except for a moiety of its waters which still passed into the Aral by the canals, reached the Caspian along the old bed of the time of Alexander the Great, though at the present day, and since the end of the 10th (16th) century, this channel is once more disused and for the most part dry.

As has been mentioned above the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir states that the Mongol hordes in 617 (1220), in order finally to capture Urgani, after a five months' siege broke down the dykes and overwhelmed the city with the waters of the Oxus and its canals, which hitherto had flowed by divers channels to the eastward of the town. The whole country was laid under water, and the overflow after a time began to drain off to the south-west, filling the old bed of the Oxus, and following the line of depression to the Caspian at Mankishlagh. The latter Yakut, a contemporary of these events, speaks of as a strongly fortified castle standing on the shore of the Sea of Tabaristân (the Caspian), into which, he says, the Jayhûn (the Oxus) flowed. This evidence from incidental notices is further fully corroborated by Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century, who, in describing the course of the Oxus, states that though a small portion of its waters still drained off through canals from the right bank to the Aral Sea, the main stream after passing Old Urganj turned down the passage called the Steep of Halam, where the noise of its cataract could be heard two leagues away, and thence flowing on for a distance of six days' march, had its exit in the Caspian (Bahr Khazar) at Khalkhâl, a fishing station.

The position of the 'Akabah or Steep of Halam, which the Turks, Mustawfi says, called Kurlāvah (or Kurlādī), is given by him in his Itinerary, for the town of New Halam stood about half-way between Old Urganj, destroyed by the Mongols in the previous century, and New Urganj which had taken its place. In his article on the Caspian Mustawfi further adds, when speaking of the port on the Island of Abaskûn (see p. 379), that this island had in his time disappeared beneath the sea 'because

the Jayhun, which formerly did flow into the Eastern Lake [the Aral] lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mongol invasion has changed its course and now flows out to the Sea of Khazar [the Caspian]; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land [of the Åbaskun island] has now become submerged in the rising level of its waters.'

All the above is confirmed by the account of the Oxus written in 820 (1417) by Hâfiz Abrû, who was a government official of Shâh Rukh, son and successor of Tîmûr, and who must have been well acquainted with the geography of this region from personal knowledge. In two distinct places he writes that, in the year just mentioned, the Oxus, which of old had discharged into the Lake of Khwârizm (the Aral), having taken a new channel, now flowed down by Kurlâvû, otherwise called Akranchah, to the Sea of Khazar (the Caspian), adding that the Aral Sea in his time had come almost to disappear. And again, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijc, the Spanish ambassador who visited these regions in 808 (1405) some years before Hâfiz Abrû wrote his account, confirms this by his statement that the Oxus 'flows into the Sea of Bâkû,' which can only mean the Caspian. It must be admitted, however, that Clavijo here spoke from hearsay only.

What caused the Oxus once more to discharge into the Aral Sea is unknown, but this great change must have taken place before the close of the 10th (16th) century, for Abu-l-Ghâzl, a native of Urganj, refers to it as though it had become an accomplished fact in 984 (1576), namely some thirty years before he, Abu-l-Ghâzi, was born. The Oxus had, he says, at that date already made itself a new channel, and turning off below Khast Minarahsi (the Tower of Khast), took its way direct to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands lying between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage of his work speaking of former times, among events of the years 928 to 937 (1522 to 1531), he describes how all the way from Urganj to Abu-l-Khân on the Caspian there were arable fields and vineyards along what was still then the course of the lower Oxus. Apparently, however, Abu-l-Ghazi places the change of bed rather too late, for already in 966 (1558), when Anthony Jenkinson travelled through Russia to Khivah, he speaks of the Oxus as

flowing 'not into the Caspian Sea as it hath done in times past,' for when he saw it the great river already took its course to the Aral Sea, 'the Lake of Kithay,' direct!.

The chief products of Khwarizm were food-stuffs, cereals, and fruits. The land was extremely fertile and grew large crops of cotton, and the flocks of sheep gave wool. Great herds of cattle pastured on the marshlands near the Aral, and many kinds of cheese and curds were exported. The markets of Jurjaniyah were famous for the various costly furs, brought here from the Bulghar country of the Volga, and a long list of these is given by Mukaddasi and others. This list comprises the following skins; marten, sable, fox, and beaver of two kinds, as well as the furs of the squirrel, ermine, stoat and weasel, which were made up into pelisses and short jackets; also artificially dyed hareskins and goatskins, and the hide of the wild ass.

1 Muk. 285. Yak. iv. 670. Mst. 197, 213, 225. J. N. 360. Hfz. 27 6, 32 h. A. G. 207, 291. Clavijo, Embassy, p. 118. Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, ii. 461, 462, 'Voyage of Anthony Jenkinson.' Professor De Goeje in Das Alte Bett des Oxus (Leyden, 1875) seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and holds that during all the middle-ages the Oxus, as at the present day, flowed into the Aral. The evidence showing that a portion. at any rate, of the Oxus current flowed down the old bed to the Caspian. during more than three centuries, appears to be irrefutable; and it may be added that the late Sir H. C. Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer, and knew at first hand the writings of the Arab and Persian authorities, always maintained the opinion that during those several centuries the Oxus did undoubtedly flow into the Caspian. It should be stated that some confusion has arisen from the divers names by which the Moslem geographers denote the Caspian and the Aral. The Caspian is generally referred to as the Sea of Khazar (Bahr Khazar), from the tribes of the Khazars who inhabited its further shores, but it was also known as the Sea of Tabaristan or of Mazandarán, or of Abaskûn, or of Jurjan, from the names of the various well-known provinces or districts on its shores. Ouite incorrectly the Caspian appears sometimes as the Darya Kulzum, but Kulzum was the name given to the Red Sea. The Aral was generally known as the Buhayrah Khwarizm, or Lake of Khwarizm, and also as the Lake of Jurjaniyah (the capital of Khwarizm), and this last name being easily misread Jurjan has more especially caused confusion between the Caspian (Bahr Jurjan) and the Aral (Buhayrah Jurjanlyah). The Aral was also known to the Persian geographers as the Darya-i-Shark, 'the Eastern Sea.' All this, however, does not invalidate the facts clearly recorded by Mustawfl, Håfiz Abrû, and Abu-l-Ghåzl.

Among natural and manufactured products were wax, the bark of the white poplar, called Tûz, used for covering shields, fish-glue. fish-bones, amber, khalanj-wood, honey, and hazel-nuts, swords, and cuirasses and bows. Khwarizm also was celebrated for its falcons. Grapes, currants, and sesame were largely grown, and in the looms carpets, coverlets, and brocades of mixed cotton and silk were woven. Cloaks and veils of both cotton and silk stuffs were exported, and various coloured cloths. Locks were of the smith-work of the towns, and they had boats hollowed out of a single tree-trunk, which were used in the navigation of the numerous canals. The chief industry of Khwârizm, however, in the 4th (10th) century, as latterly, was the slave-trade; for Turkish boys and girls were bought or stolen from the nomads of the steppes, and after being educated and made good Moslems, were despatched from here to all the countries of Islam, where, as history relates, they often came to occupy high posts of command in the Government1

¹ Ist. 304, 305. I. H. 354. Muk. 325.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUGHD.

Bukhārā, and the five cities within its wall. Baykand. Samarkand. The Buttam mountains, and the Zarafsbān or Sughd river. Karmīniyah, Dabūsiyah, and Rabīnjan. Kish and Nasaf, with neighbouring towns. The products of Sughd. Routes beyond the Oxus as far as Samarkand.

The province of Sughd, the ancient Sogdiana, may be taken as including the fertile lands, lying between the Oxus and Jaxartes, which were watered by two river systems, namely the Zarafshan, or Sughd river, on which Samarkand and Bukhara stood, and the river which flowed by the cities of Kish and Nasaf. Both these rivers ended in marshes or shallow lakes in the western desert towards Khwarizm. More properly, however, Sughd is the name of the district surrounding Samarkand; for Bukhara, Kish, and Nasaf were each counted as separate districts.

Sughd was accounted one of the four earthly paradises, and had attained its greatest splendour in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century under the Sāmānid Amîrs; in the following century, however, it was still a province fertile and rich beyond compare. Of the two chief cities, Samarkand and Bukhārā, it may be said that the former was rather the political centre, while Bukhārā was considered to be the religious metropolis, but both were equal in rank, and held to be the capitals of Sughd¹.

Bukhārā was also known under the name of Nūmijkath4. In

¹ Ist. 316. I. H. 365. Muk. 261, 262, 266-268. Yak. iii. 394.

This, or Numûjkath, is the true reading of the name which (by an error of the diacritical points) is often wrongly written Bümijkath. Mak. 267, note b. The true pronunciation is fixed by the Chinese pilgrims, who mention Bukhârâ under the name of 'Numî.'

the 4th (10th) century it was a walled city measuring a league across in every direction, which stood in the plain a short distance south of the main arm of the river of Sughd. There were no hills in the neighbourhood, and round it lay many towns, palaces, and gardens, gathered into a compass measuring 12 leagues in length and breadth, and enclosed by a Great Wall that must have been over a hundred miles in circuit. Through this great enclosure passed the Sughd river, with its numerous canals.

The city proper of Bukhara, outside the wall and to the northwest, had adjacent to it the fortress, which itself was like a small city. It was the residence of the governor and held the prison and the treasury. Beyond and round the town also were great suburbs, extending as far as the main arm of the river, and along its southern bank. Of the suburbs the chief were those lying to the east, namely the thoroughfares (darb) of Naw Bahar, of Samarkand, and of Râmîthanah, with others too numerous to mention, whose position cannot now be exactly fixed. The town wall had seven iron gates; Bab-al-Madinah (the City Gate), Bab Nur (or Nuz), Bab Hufrah, the Iron Gate, the Gate of the Fortress, Bab Mihr or the Bani Asad Gate, and lastly the Gate of the Bani Sa'd. How these were situated is unknown, but the Gate of the Fortress (Bab-al-Kuhandiz) must have been to the north-west, opening on the Rigistân, the great sandy plain or public square of Bukhârâ which has ever been famous.

The two gates of the fortress were the Båb-ar-Rigistán, or Båb-as-Sahl, 'the Gate of the (Sandy) Plain,' and the Båb-al-Jåmi', this last opening on the Great Mosque, which also stood on the Rigistán, at the city Gate of the Fortress above mentioned. The suburbs were traversed by ten main thoroughfares, each of which ended in its gateway, and these are all carefully named by both Iṣṭakhri and Mukaddasì. Further there were several gates in the streets shutting off the various quarters of the suburbs one from another, many of these gates being of iron. The Great Mosque was near the fortress, and there were numerous smaller mosques, with markets, baths, and open squares beyond count, and at the close of the 4th (10th) century the Government House stood immediately outside the fortress in the great square called the

Rigistân. Ibn Hawkal gives a detailed account of the chief canals which, starting from the left bank of the Sughd river, watered Bukhârâ and the gardens in the plain round the city, becoming finally lost in the desert towards the south-west, near Baykand on the Åmul road, for none of them reached the Oxus. The lower course of the river here was known as the Sâm Khâs, or Khwâsh.

The ruins of Old Bukhārā of pre-Islamic days lie some miles to the north-west of the Moslem city, and near the river bank. They were known by the name of Rīyāmīthan, and Mukaddasī describes them in the 4th (10th) century as still showing immense remains of the ancient city. Within the circuit of the Great Wall round the plain of Bukhārā there were five flourishing cities. Of these Khujadah, or Khujādā, stood one league west of the high road going down from Bukhārā to Baykand, and three leagues distant from the capital. Mukaddasī describes it as a large and pleasant town, with a Friday Mosque and a castle. The town of Maghkān was beyond this, being five leagues from Bukhārā, and three from the high road, close to the western circuit of the Great Wall. Maghkān had a Friday Mosque, was fortified, and had suburbs, besides many villages lying round it, for its lands were amply irrigated.

Tumujkath, or Tumushkath (often by a clerical error written Bumujkath, and Bûmijkath), was a small town to the north-west of Bukhârâ, four leagues distant, and half a league off the high road to the left of one going to Tawâwis. At-Tawâwis (as the name was often written) means 'Peacocks,' and this was the largest of the five cities within the Great Wall. The town had a flourishing market and was much frequented by merchants from all parts of Khurâsân, its cotton stuffs being exported to 'Irâk. It was well fortified and had a castle, and the Friday Mosque stood in the market-place. The last of the five inner towns was Zandanah, which still exists at the present day. It is described as lying four leagues distant from Bukhârâ, to the north. It was well fortified, had a Friday Mosque in the town, and a populous suburb beyond its walls; and Yâkât adds that the stuffs made here, and called from the town the Zandajî cloths, were widely celebrated.

¹ Ist. 305-309. I. H. 355-358. Muk. 280, 281. Yak. i. 517.

Two leagues outside the Great Wall, and five from Bukhārā on the road down to the Oxus at Firabr, was the city of Baykand, which still exists. In the 4th (10th) century Baykand possessed but one gate, and was strongly fortified; it had a Friday Mosque in its midst, ornamented with precious marbles and with a finely gilded Mihrāb (or niche showing the Mecca point). There was a market held in the suburbs of Baykand, but no villages surrounded the town; only numerous guard-houses which are reported to have numbered a thousand all told. Beyond the town lay the sandy desert bordering the Oxus.

Throughout the earlier middle ages Bukhârâ retained its preeminence; but in 616 (1219) came the Mongol invasion, and the city was pillaged and utterly ruined. For a century and more it did not recover from this devastation, and in the early part of the 8th (14th) century when Ibn Batûtah visited the place, lodging in the suburb called Fath-âbâd, the mosques, colleges and markets were still for the most part in the state of ruin in which they had been left by Changîz Khân. It was indeed only at the close of the 8th (14th) century, under the rule of Tîmûr, who made Samarkand his capital, that Bukhârâ, the sister city, regained some of her former splendour.

Samarkand was up stream, and about 150 miles due east of Bukhārā; being situated at a short distance from the southern bank of the Sughd river, and occupying high ground. The city, which was encircled by a wall with a deep ditch, was protected by a fortress, also on the height, and below, near the river bank, were great suburbs. All round Samarkand were orchards, and palaces with their gardens, irrigated by canals innumerable, and cypress trees grew here magnificently. Within the fortress had stood the governor's palace, also the prison, but when Ibn Hawkal wrote this stronghold was mostly in ruins; according to Yâkût it had double gates of iron. The city proper had four gates; namely, Bâb-as-Sîn, 'the China Gate,' to the east, to which steps ascended from the lower level, and from it the river was overlooked; the Bukhârâ Gate to the north; to the west the Bâb-an-Naw Bahâr,

¹ Ist. 313—315. I. H. 362—364. Muk. 281, 282. Yak. i. 737, 874; ii. 952. I. B. iii. 27. E. Schuyler, Turkistan, ii. 89.

also on the height; and to the south the Bâb-al-Kabir, 'the Great Gate,' also known as the Kish Gate.

The city, according to Yâkût, was 2500 jarîbs in extent (about 750 acres), and within its circuit were many markets and bathhouses. These, with the private houses, had their water brought in by leaden pipes, communicating with a leaden main, which entered the city by the Bâb Kish, the water coming from the canals outside, where it was taken along a great dyke above ground, and in the market-place the leaden channels are described as resting on stone supports. The great market-place of Samarkand was called the Râs-aṭ-Tâk, 'the Head of the Arch,' and was a fine square. The Friday Mosque, with the later Government House, stood immediately below the fortress. The houses in the town were built of both wood and clay bricks, and the city

population was extremely numerous.

The suburbs of Samarkand lay along the river bank, on the lower level, and a semicircular wall, two leagues long, surrounded them on the land side, the river to the north, as the chord of the arc, completing the line of defence. This suburb wall was pierced by eight gates, to which the various thoroughfares led, and these were named as follows: first the Bâb Shadawad, then the Ashbask gate, then those of Sûkhshîn and of Afshînah, next the Bab Kühak, or 'Gate of the Mound,' opening on the height where the city and fortress were situated, after which came the Warsanin gate, the Rivdad gate, and finally the Bab Farrukhshid. The market streets of the suburb all converged on the square of the Ras-at-Tak in the city, and all the roadways were paved with stone flags. The markets in the suburb were the centre of trade, being full of merchants and merchandise from all parts, for the city was the great emporium of Transoxiana. Among other goods the paper of Samarkand was especially famous throughout the East, the art of making it having been introduced from China. The climate of the place was damp, and every house in both city and suburb had its garden, so that viewing Samarkand from the fortress height it appeared as one mass of trees. To the south rose the hill of Kühak, a spur from the mountains beyond which lay within a day's march of the city.

The temporary ruin of Samarkand, as of all Transoxiana, was due to the Mongols, who almost destroyed the city in 616 (1219); so that, when Ibn Batûtah visited it in the following century, he describes it as without walls or gates, with but a few inhabited houses standing in a maze of ruins. The river here (or possibly he refers to the canal from the Sughd river) he names the Nahr-al-Kassarin, 'the Fullers' River,' and on this stood many waterwheels. The glory of Samarkand, however, revived shortly after this, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, when Timur made it his capital, rebuilding the town, and founding the great mosques and caravanserais which were seen here by the Spanish ambassador Clavijo in 808 (1405), some of which remain to the present day. The Friday Mosque in particular, according to 'Alî of Yazd, Timur founded on his return from the conquest of India, and its splendour was due to the treasures brought back from this campaign. Clavijo describes Samarkand at this time as surrounded by an earthen wall; and he states that the city was a little larger than Seville in his native country'-

The districts round Samarkand, lying principally to the eastward and south, but also to the north of the Sughd river, were all extremely fertile. Nine leagues to the east of Samarkand, and likewise on the south side of the river, was the town of Banjîkath (existing at the present day as Penjakant), surrounded by fertile orchards, producing more especially almonds and nuts, with corn lands stretching along its canals. Between this and Samarkand was the great village of Waraghsar, with its district, where most of the canals watering the lands round Samarkand had their origin from the river. On the south side of the capital was the Maymurgh district, with the village of Rivdad, one league from Samarkand, and contiguous was the Sanjafaghan district. None of the lands round Samarkand surpassed Mâymurgh in fertility, it was famous for its splendid trees, and throughout its length and breadth were innumerable villages. To the south of this lay the hill country called the Jibal-as-Savdar, the healthiest region of the province. Here, according to Ibn Hawkal, at a place called Wazkard was a church belonging to the Christians-probably Nestorians-

LE S. 30

¹ Ist. 316-318. I. H. 365-368. Muk. 278, 279. Kaz. ii. 359. Yak. iii. 134. I. B. iii. 52. A. Y. ii. 195. Clavijo, Embarsy, 169.

which was much visited, and which enjoyed great revenues. The mountain valleys were most fertile, each well watered by its stream, on which stood the farmsteads; and every kind of crop was produced abundantly. The neighbouring district of Ad-Dargham consisted mostly of pasture lands, but grapes grew here abundantly, and on its borders was the Awfar, or Abghar district, with many populous villages, each with pasture lands two leagues across where great herds of cattle were reared. This was the last of the districts to the south of Samarkand and the river.

On the north bank of the Sughd river, towards the Ushrusanah province, was the Buzmajan, or Buzmajaz district, of which the chief town was Barkath, or Abarkath, four leagues or one day's march distant from Samarkand to the north-east. Four leagues further to the north lay Khushufaghan, an important village, in later times known as Ras-al-Kantarah (Bridge Head). Beyond this again was the Burnamadh, or Furnamadh district, near the frontier of Ushrusanah, and next to it the Yarkath district, the furthest to the north; both being famous for their pasture lands.

Seven leagues due north of Samarkand was the town of Ishtikhân, with a strong castle and outer suburbs, standing on canals from the Sughd river. Its corn fields were renowned, and Istakhri calls it 'the Heart of Sughd' for its fertility. Seven leagues further north, again, was Kushâniyah, or Kushâni, described as a most populous city of Sughd; and its people were all rich or of easy circumstances. Further, as of the north bank, and according to Yâkût lying only two leagues distant from Samarkand, was the district of Kabûdhanjakath, with the city called Lanjûghkath, and adjoining it Widhâr, in the hill country, the chief town being of the same name, where celebrated stuffs were made. Lastly the district of the Marzubân—or Warden of the Marches—Ibn Tarkasfi, one of the Sughd Dihkâns, or provincial nobles, and this lay beyond Widhâr'.

The Sughd river or Zarafshân ('Gold Spreader'), as it is now called, had its head-streams in the mountain range called the Jabal-al-Buttam, which formed the watershed between the rivers of Sughd on the one hand, and those of Ṣaghâniyân and the

¹ Ist. 321—323. I. H. 371—375. Muk. 279. Yak. i. 277; ii. 447, 890; iv. 234, 276, 944.

Wakhshâb on the other, both, as described in Chapter XXXII, being right-bank affluents of the Oxus. The slopes of the Jabal-al-Buttam, though high and steep, were covered with villages, and there were gold and silver mines here, as well as workings that produced iron, quicksilver, copper, lead, naphtha, and bitumen, while from the district came rosin, turquoises, lignite for burning, and especially sal-ammoniac. This last, which was largely exported, was collected from the deposit of fumes which issued from a cavern. A chamber had been built over the vents, with windows and doors to close at need; and there were here subterranean fires also, according to Istakhri, for the sal-ammoniac vapour which appeared as smoke by day was by night visible as a mighty flame. He describes how the fumes were condensed in the chamber, the sal-ammoniac being periodically taken out by men, who, clothed in wet felts, hastily entered and ran out again, by reason of the great heat which otherwise would have burnt them up. The sal-ammoniac fumes, Istakhrî adds, also issued from many crevasses in the adjacent rocks, and these were enlarged to become new artificial vents. The fumes were only held to be noxious when confined for the purpose of condensation in the chambers, otherwise the vents in the hill sides could be approached with impunity1.

The source of the Sughd river was at a place called Jan, or Jay, where there was a lake surrounded by villages, the district being known as Wurghar, or Barghar. From the lake the river took its course through mountain valleys, until it reached Banjîkath, after which it came to the village of Waraghsar already mentioned, the meaning of which, in the local dialect, was 'the Dam Head,' for here the waters were divided up and the canals were led off that irrigated both the lands round Samarkand and the districts on the north bank of the river. Of the canals flowing to Samarkand two were sufficiently large to carry boats; and Ibn Hawkal gives in a list the names of these various water-courses, and the districts irrigated by each, with their villages.

At Samarkand the river was crossed by a masonry bridge called Kantarah Jard, which in flood seasons was sometimes entirely submerged. Below Samarkand many canals also branched

¹ Ist. 312, 327. I. H. 362, 382.

off to the various districts round Dabüsiyah and Karmîniyah which will be described presently, and then the Sughd river came to the neighbourhood of Bukhårå. Here the main stream was commonly known as the Bukhårå river, and already outside the Great Wall of the Bukhårå district canals began to be led off for the irrigation of the city lands within the wall, and for the district beyond. The names of all these are also enumerated by Ibn Hawkal, with their various villages. Some canals formed a network, flowing back to the main stream, while others were lost in irrigation channels to the south-west. The chief canals leading to Bukhårå city are described as having been large enough to carry boats¹.

Between Bukhārā and Samarkand, on the south side of the Sughd river, there were three important cities in the 4th (10th) century, namely Karmīniyah (which still exists), Dabūsiyah, and Rabīnjan. Karmīniyah lay one stage east of Tawāwis, and outside the Great Wall; it was larger than this latter place, very populous and surrounded by villages and fertile lands, which were irrigated by canals from the Sughd river. Yākūt speaks of its magnificent trees. One stage to the east, again, was the large town of Ad-Dabūsiyah, likewise on a canal from the south bank of the Sughd river, but it had no large villages or dependencies round it.

The small town of Khudimankan lay one league distant from Karmîniyah, and a bow-shot distant north of the high road. On the north bank of the Sughd river one league above Khudimankan was the great hamlet of Madhyāmajkath, while Kharghānkath was one league lower down, also on the northern bank and opposite Karmîniyah, from which it was but a league distant. These three hamlets were of sufficient size in the 4th (roth) century for each to have had its Friday Mosque, and Yākūt reports that Khudimankan was famous for divers traditionists born here. Arbinjan, or Rabinjan, lay one stage to the east of Dabūsiyah, and was a larger town than this last; to the east again, at the half-way stage between Rabinjan and Samarkand and seven leagues from this capital, was Zarmān. As of the neighbourhood of Bukhārā, Muķad-

¹ Ist. 310-312, 319-321. I. H. 359-361, 368-371.

dasi names and describes a large number of other small towns, but unfortunately no distances are given to mark their positions'.

To the southward, running parallel with the Sughd river and like it ending in marshy lakes, is the shorter stream now known as the Kushkah Darya, on which stand Shahr-i-Sabz and Karshi, Shahr-i-Sabz, 'Green City,' was in the earlier middle-ages known as Kish (Kishsh), and is described by Ibn Hawkal as having a castle, the town itself being strongly fortified, with a great suburb lying beyond its gates. Further, beyond the suburb, was a second township, probably that now known as Kitab, named Al-Musalla, 'the Praying Place,' where stood the hostelries and the palace of the governor. Great markets were found in the suburb, but the Friday Mosque with the prison were in the inner city. This covered a square mile of ground, and its houses were built of wood and unburnt bricks. The neighbouring lands were extremely fertile; all the fruits of the hot region were grown here and exported to Bukhārā. The inner city of Kish had four gates, called respectively, the Iron Gate, the Gate of 'Ubayd Allah, the Butchers' Gate (Báb-al-Kassábín), and the Inner City Gate. The outer city, or suburb, had two gates, the Bab Baraknan, so called after a neighbouring village, and the Outer City Gate (Bâb-al-Madinah-al-Khārijah),

The main stream of what is now known as the river Kushkah, was, in the 4th (10th) century, called the Nahr-al-Kassarin, 'the Fullers' River'; its sources were in the Jabal-Sayam, and it passed Kish on the south side. To the north ran the Nahr Asrûd, and, one league beyond, the road towards Samarkand was crossed by the river called the Jây Rûd. To the south, one league from Kish on the road to Balkh, was the Khushk Rûd, 'the Dry River,' and the Khuzar Rûd lay eight leagues beyond this again. These streams, after irrigating the various districts round Kish, flowed together, and became a single stream, which passed by the city of Nasaf. The Kish territory is described as four days' journey across in every direction, and as famed for its extraordinary fertility. In the neighbouring mountains salt was found, also the manna called Taranjubîn, and various simples which were

¹ lst. 314, 316, 323. I. H. 363, 365, 375. Muk. 282. Yak. ii. 406, 925; iv. 268.

exported to Khurāsān. In later times Kish attained fame as the birth-place of Timūr, who in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century rebuilt the town, where the White Palace—Åk-Saray—became his favourite place of residence. It was at this period that Kish took the name, which it still retains, of Shahr-i-Sabz, 'the Green City¹.'

Rather more than a hundred miles down the river below Kish, and to the westward, is the city now known as Karshi, which the medieval Arabs called Nasaf, and the Persians Nakhshab. In the 4th (10th) century Nasaf had a strong castle, and extensive suburbs lay outside the city, which was surrounded by a wall having four gates, namely the Bab-an-Najariyah, the Samarkand Gate, the Kish Gate, and the Bab Ghubadhin. Nasaf stood on the river which, as already said, was the main arm formed by the junction of many streams from the Kish district. On its bank was the palace of the governor, at the place called Rås-al-Kantarah, 'the Bridge Head.' The prison lay adjacent to the governor's palace, and the Friday Mosque near the Ghûbadhin Gate, the great market streets lying in between. Just within the Najariyah Gate was the oratory, Al-Musalla. Mukaddasi, who praises the excellent grapes of Nakhshab, speaks of its fine markets; the town was surrounded by fertile fields and orchards, but had no great outlying dependencies like those surrounding Kish.

In history Nasaf, or Nakhshab, was famous as the place where in the latter half of the 2nd (8th) century Al-Mukanna'—the celebrated Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān—had first arisen and done miracles. From a well in Nakhshab, night after night, at his command the moon, or its semblance, rose to the wonder of all beholders. To the Persians Mukanna' was generally known as Māh-sāzandah, or 'Moon Maker,' and, as history relates, the revolt of his followers for many years gave great trouble to the generals of the Caliph Mahdf. As regards Nakhshab city, after the times of the Mongol invasion in the 7th (13th) century, a certain Kapak Khān built himself a palace at a place some two leagues distant from the older town, and 'a palace' in the Mongol language is called Karshi, which name was subsequently given to the settle-

¹ Ist. 324. I. H. 375-377. Muk. 182. A. Y. i. 300, 301.

ment that sprang up and replaced the older Nasaf or Nakhshab. Ibn Baţūṭah sojourned here in the early part of the 8th (14th) century; and describes Karshî as a small town surrounded by gardens. At the close of the century Timūr frequently passed his winters at Karshî, and he afterwards built near it the Ḥiṣār or fortress.

There were two towns near Nasaf, in the 4th (10th) century and later, each of which had its Friday Mosque. One of these, the smaller, was Bazdah, or Bazdawah, a strong castle, situate six leagues to the westward of Nasaf on the road to Bukhårå. The other and larger town was Kasbah, four leagues from Nasaf, also in the Bukhårå direction, where there were excellent markets according to Yåkût. Further, between Nasaf and Kish, one stage west of the latter city, was the town or large village of Nawkad Kuraysh; while one stage south-east of Nasaf, on the road to the Iron Gate (see p. 441), was Sûnaj, a large village, with Iskîfghan lying one league from it, both these towns being watered by the Khuzâr river already mentioned.

The products, natural and manufactured, of Sughd were numerous. The melons of Bukhārā were famous all the world over, and its looms produced carpets and prayer rugs, fine cloth for clothes, and coarse carpets such as were spread in great guest-chambers. In the prisons they made saddle-girths; and hides were well tanned, while various sorts of grease and oil were manufactured for export. Samarkand was above all famous for its paper, and the looms produced red cloth and cloth of silver, with brocades and raw-silk stuffs. Here, too, the copper-smiths made brass pots of a very large size, and other artificers produced stirrups, martingales, and girths, also various sorts of jars and goblets. From the neighbouring districts were exported immense quantities of filberts and walnuts. Karmîniyah, between Bukhârâ and Samarkand, produced napkins, and from Dabūsiyah came various kinds of cloth and brocade. Rabinjan exported red felts, prayer carpets, and tin cups; also

¹ Ist. 325. I. H. 377, 378. Muk. 282. Kaz. ii. 312. I. B. iii. 28. A. Y. ii. 111.

² I. H., 376-378. Muk. 183. Yak. i. 604; iil, 197; iv. 273, 825.

hides, hemp cordage, and sulphur. Moreover winter rice was grown in this district1.

As already said in Chapter XXX (p. 431) the great Khurâsân road crossed the Oxus beyond Amûyah to Firabr, and thence proceeded by Baykand and through the gate in the Great Wall to Bukhârâ. From this capital the road went up the left bank of the Sughd river to Samarkand, passing through the chief towns of the district, and this part of the highway is given with but little variation by all the earlier authorities, Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi adding the distances between the outlying towns of the Bukhârâ and Samarkand districts.

The high road which passed through Khurāsān to Balkh (see p. 432) crossed the Oxus to Tirmidh, from which branched various roads north through Ṣaghāniyān and Kubādhiyān to Wāshjird, whence by the Stone Bridge the Wakhsh and Khuttal districts were attained. North-west from Tirmidh another road went up to the Iron Gate, and at Kandak, one stage beyond this, bifurcated. Running due north, the road on the right hand went by Kish, and thence on to Samarkand; while to the north-westward the highway on the left hand led to Nakhshab; whence a branch road turned eastward back to Kish, while the main road crossed the tract of desert to Bukhārā. These routes, mostly in short distances, are given by Iṣṭakhrī and in part by Mukaddasī*.

The delta lands of the Oxus in the Khwarizm province were reached from Amul on the Khurasan side by a road going up the left bank to Tahiriyah, where cultivation began, and thence on to Hazarasp. Here one way went to the left by Khivah to Jurjaniyah (Urganj), while another turned off to Kath, and the towns on the right bank of the Oxus. These roads are given by Istakhri and Mukaddasi; also the way crossing the desert direct, southeast, from Kath to Bukhara. Further, Mustawfi, in the 8th (14th) century, gives two routes from the south converging on Urganj, one going across the desert north from Faravah (now Kizil Arvat, see p. 380) to Urganj; the other going from Marv, also across the

¹ I. H. 364. Muk. 324, 325.

² I. K. 25, 26. Kud. 203. Ist. 334, 342. I. H. 398, 402. Muk. 342,

³ Ist. 337-341. I. H. 399-403. Muk. 342-344.

desert, and in many places passing the moving sands, and ultimately reaching Tâhirîyah on the Oxus. This last road is also given in the Jahân Numâ, and from Hazârasp it follows almost identically the road given by the Arab geographers to the capital of Khwârizm at Jurjânîyah'.

¹ Ist. 338, 341, 342. I. H. 400, 402. Muk. 343, 344. Mst. 197, 198. J. N. 457.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PROVINCES OF THE JAXARTES.

The Ushrûsanah province. Bûnjikath, the capital. Zâmîn and other towns. The Farghânah province. The Jaxartes or Sayhûn. Akhsîkath and Andijân. Ûsh, Ûzkand, and other cities. The province of Shâsh. Shâsh city or Binkath. Banâkath or Shâhrukhîyah, and other towns. The Îlâk district, Tûnkath city, and the silver mines of Khasht. The Isbîjâb district. Isbîjâb city or Sayrâm. Chimkand, and Fârâb or Utrâr. Yassl and Şabrân. Jand and Yanghikant. Tarâr and Mîckl. Outlying towns of the Turks. Products of the Jaxartes countries. Routes to the north of Samarkand.

The province of Ushrusanah—also written Usrushanah, Surushanah and Sutrushnah—lay to the east of Samarkand, between the districts along the right bank of the Sughd river, and those along the left bank of the Jaxartes, for the Ushrusanah province was of neither river, being a land of plains and hills with no considerable stream running through it. Its eastern frontier was on the Pamir (Famir) according to the Arab geographers.

The capital was the city of Ushrusanah (Madinah Ushrusanah), otherwise called Bunjikath, Banjakath, or Bunujkath, the site of which is identical with the present town of Ura-tepeh'. Bunjikath was in the 4th (10th) century a city of over 10,000 men, built of clay bricks and wood, having an inner part surrounded by a wall, and an outer suburb also walled. The inner city had two

Bûnjikath the capital of Ushrûsanah must not be confounded with Banjîkath (Penjakant) to the east of Samarkand. The position of the capital of Ushrûsanah is fixed by the Itineraries (see I. K. 29, Kud. 207, and Ist. 343), besides present local tradition (Schuyler, Turkistan, i. 312). Ist. 325. I. H. 379. Muk. 265. Yak. i. 245, 278, 744.

gates, the upper gate (Bab-al-A'la) and the city gate (Bab-al-Madinah), and within its precincts were the castle and the prison, the Friday Mosque, and the markets. A great canal passed through the inner city, having many mills upon its bank. The wall that surrounded the suburb, or outer city, included many gardens, and was three leagues in circuit. In this wall were four gates, namely the Zâmîn Gate, the Marasmandah Gate, the Nûjkath Gate, and the Gate of Kahlâbâdh. The town lands were amply irrigated by six small streams, which Ihn Hawkal names. These flowed down from the neighbouring hills, and after a course of about half a league passed through Bûnjikath, having ten mills upon their banks. The town was celebrated for its many charming gardens.

Zâmin, which still exists, lay to the east of Bûnjikath, and was the point where the great Khurasan road, coming up through Bukhārā and Samarkand, finally bifurcated, one road going north to Shash (Tashkand), the other north-east to Farghanah and beyond. Zámîn was, in the 4th (10th) century, almost of the size of the capital Bunjikath; it was a very ancient town, and had been formerly known as Sûsandah, or Sarsandah. It possessed a fine Friday Mosque, and excellent markets, being surrounded by gardens, but it was unwalled. A stream flowed through the town crossed by many bridges of boats. The town of Sabat likewise exists. It lay between Zâmîn and Bûnjikath, on the road to Farghanah and is described by Mukaddasi as very populous, embowered by numerous orchards and gardens, lying beside its streams1.

The names of other towns of Ushrûsanah are given in the lists, but without any description, and the positions of the majority are unknown. Of those still existing, or whose sites can be fixed from the Itineraries, are the following. Dízak, otherwise Jizak, lies north-west of Zamin; and south of it, on the road from Samarkand, was the important town of Kharakanah. Khawas or Khāwas is on the road going north from Zāmīn to Shāsh, and Kurkath lies on the frontiers of Farghanah, midway between Såbåt and Khujandah. The position of the two small towns of Mînak and Marasmandah cannot be exactly fixed, for neither is

¹ Ist. 326, 327. I. H. 379, 380. Muk. 277.

given in the Itinerary, but Marasmandah, to judge by the Marasmandah gate of Bûnjikath, must have been in the neighbourhood of the capital. It stood in the hills, had a cold climate, with many streams, but few orchards or gardens, on account of its elevation. Mukaddasî speaks of its excellent markets; and the Friday Mosque stood in their midst, Marasmandah being a very populous place. Mînak appears to have been in its near neighbourhood, and was celebrated for the great battle fought here by Kutaybah, the Arab commander at the time of the first Moslem conquest of Transoxiana. At this place, too, was the castle that had belonged to Afshîn, the general and favourite of the Caliph Mu'taşim. Near both Marasmandah and Minak there were iron mines, and tools made here were exported to all parts of Khurâsân, the steel being of excellent quality; so that even in Baghdâd these were much sought after.

The great river Jaxartes, as already said (p. 434), was called by the Arabs the Sayhûn or Sîhûn. It was, however, more generally known as the Nahr-ash-Shâsh, the river of Shâsh (Old Tâshkand), from the name of the most important city near its banks. In the 8th (14th) century, according to Mustawfî, the Mongol population of these parts knew it under the name of Gil-Zariyân. Since that time, and down to the present day, it has been commonly called the Sîr Daryâ or Sîr Şû (River Sîr) by the Turks, this name being mentioned by Abu-l-Ghâzî.

According to Ibn Hawkal the river Jaxartes rose in the Turk country, being formed by the junction of many mountain streams, and it entered the great valley of Farghanah at its eastern end, near the town of Ûzkand; the province of Farghanah lying for a couple of hundred miles and more in length to the north and south of its upper stream. Flowing here due east, the Sayhûn received numerous affluents during its course through Farghanah, namely the Nahr Kharshan, the rivers of Urast and of Kuba, also the Nahr Jidghil, which is probably the present Naryn river, and some others. Passing on by the walls of Akhsikath, the capital the Sayhûn came to Khujandah, where it finally passed out of the

Ist. 336, 343.
 H. 381, 382, 383.
 Muk. 278.
 Yak. ii. 395, 425, 710.
 Hence the Naryn, by far the longest of the head rivers of the Sir, was evidently not considered the main stream by the Arabs.

Farghanah province. Thence, turning northwards, the river next received on its right bank the two streams called the Nahr Îlak and the Nahr Turk, passing to the westward of the districts of Îlâk and of Shâsh. Beyond these the Sayhûn finally came to the Isbîjāb districts, whence, through the deserts of the Ghuzz and the Turks it ultimately flowed out by numerous channels to the Sea of Aral in its north-eastern part. The Arab geographers say that the Sayhûn was navigable for boats like the Jayhûn, and for a longer time than was the case with the Oxus the Jaxartes was frozen over in winter, so that caravans could cross it on the ice. Moreover it was counted as only two-thirds of the length of the sister stream'.

The province of Farghanah, which until within recent years was more generally known as the Khanate of Khûkand, but which under the Russian government has officially again taken its more ancient name, had for its capital, in the earlier middle-ages, the city of Akhsîkath, which Ibn Khurdâdbih and others call Farghanah city. It lay on the north bank of the Jaxartes. The ruins of this town exist, and in the 10th (16th) century when Båbar was ruler of Farghânah, under the shortened form of Akhsî it was the second city of the province, Andljan being then the capital.

Akhsikath is described by Ibn Hawkal as a large city, with a castle, where stood the Friday Mosque, the governor's palace, and the prison; and outside the inner town was an extensive suburb. The inner city, which measured a mile across in every direction, was intersected by numerous water channels, all connected with a great tank; and there were markets both here and in the suburb, which latter was surrounded by a wall. The inner city had five gates, namely the Kâsân Gate, the Mosque Gate (Bab-al-Jâmi'), the Rahânah Gate, next a gate with an uncertain name that may be read as Bakhtar, and finally the Gate of Al-Mardakshah. The place was entirely surrounded by gardens, which extended for a distance of a couple of leagues beyond the suburb gates, and on the further, or south side of the Jaxartes were rich pasture grounds. Akhsikath was apparently

¹ I. H. 392, 393. Muk. 22. Yak. iii. 210. Mst. 215. Hfz. 33 a. J. N. 360. A. G. 13, 181, 200.

ruined, with many of the other cities of Farghânah, in the wars of Muḥammad Khwârizm Shâh at the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, and the Mongol invasion completed the work; after which the capital was removed to Andijân. In the time of Tîmûr, 'Alî of Yazd gives the name under the form Akhsîkant or Akhsîkat, and as we have seen this was shortened to Akhsî in the days of Bâbar'.

Andigân (modern Andijân), according to Mustawfi, was made the capital of Farghanah by Kaydû Khan, grandson of Ugutay, son of Changiz, in the latter half of the 7th (13th) century. The name of Andigan, or Andukan, occurs in the lists of towns given by Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century, and is also mentioned by Yâkût, but nowhere is the town described, though in the account of Timur's campaigns it is frequently referred to by 'All of Yazd. From the Itineraries it would seem that the city of Kubâ, which in the 4th (10th) century was a place of much importance, must have stood near Andîjân. Kubâ, says Iştakhri, was almost of the size of Akhsikath, and its gardens were even more extensive. It had a strong castle, where the Friday Mosque stood, in the Maydan or central square; and there was an outer suburb, where was the governor's palace, and the prison. The suburb was surrounded by a great wall, and there were many wellsupplied market streets*.

Half-way between Akhsîkath and Kubâ was the town of Ushtikân with a Friday Mosque in its market-place; and to the east of Kubâ was Ûsh, which already in the 4th (10th) century was a place of great importance. In the castle of Ûsh stood as was usual the governor's palace, and the prison; and the inner town was surrounded by a walled suburb, running up the slope of the neighbouring hill; with three gates, namely the Hill Gate (Bâb-al-Jabal), the Water Gate (Bâb-al-Mâ), and the Mughkadah

¹ I. K. 30. Ist. 333. I. H. 393, 394. Muk. 271. Kaz. ii. 156. A. Y. i. 441; ii. 633. Akhsl is marked on the Russian map given by Schuyler, Turkistan, i. 336, a short distance to the south-west of modern Namangan. The termination Kath, or Kat, is synonymous with Kand, or Kant, and both occur in many names of places in Central Asia, and have the meaning in the Turkish dialects of 'a city' or 'burg,' as Yakût (i. 404) very justly remarks. See e.g. Nûrkâth (New Wall) in Khwârizm, mentioned on p. 454.

² Ist. 333. I. H. 394, 395. Muk. 272. Mst. 228. Yak. i. 375; iv. 24. A. Y. ii. 633.

Gate. The Friday Mosque stood in a broad Rahbah, or square, surrounded by markets; and the lands around were plentifully watered by many streams. Near by, on a hill-top, was a guardhouse garrisoned by soldiers-volunteers-who watched against the incursions of the Turkish hordes. Beyond Ush is Uzkand. the easternmost city of Farghânah, described as two-thirds of the size of Ush. Uzkand, too, lay in a fertile district, having a castle, a well-fortified inner city, and a suburb with markets that were much frequented by the Turk merchants. A river went by one of the town gates, for the suburb was surrounded by a wall pierced by four gates, and the Friday Mosque stood in the market-place.

That part of Farghanah which lay to the south of the Jaxartes was known as the district of Nasya, or Nasaiyah, divided into upper and lower according to its elevation, upper Nasâiyah lying among the hills. Of lower Nasâiyah was the town of Marghînân (modern Marghilân), a small place in the 4th (10th) century, but with a Friday Mosque in its market. To the west of this lies Rishtân, a large town in early days, also with a fine Friday Mosque. Khûkand, which in recent times became the capital of Farghanah, and gave its name to the Khanate, is only mentioned incidentally among the cities of upper Nasâiyah, and under the form Khuwakand or Khuwakand.

Khujandah, the first town of Farghanah on the west coming from Samarkand, lay on the left bank of the Jaxartes, and adjacent to it one league southward was the suburb of Kand. Khujandah was of considerable length along the river strand, but of little breadth; it had a strong castle with a prison. The Friday Mosque was in the city; the governor's palace being in the Maydan, or square, of the suburb. Khujandah is described by Ibn Hawkal as a most pleasant town, and its people possessed boats for going on the Jaxartes river. The outer suburb of Kand was more especially known as Kand-i-Badhâm, 'Kand of the Almonds,' and according to Kazvînî it was so called from a particular variety of this fruit, grown here, that was famous for its husk peeling off very easily when the almond was taken in the hand'.

¹ Ist. 332, 333, 347. I. H. 391, 392, 394, 395. Muk. 262, 272, 345. Vak. i. 404. A. F. 498. Kaz. ii. 372.

Of the cities in the northern part of Farghanah, namely of the lands on the right bank of the Jaxartes, very little is known during early times. Mukaddasi describes Wankath as a town with a Friday Mosque and good markets, and from the Itineraries we learn that Wânkath lay seven leagues to the west of Akhsîkath, being one league from the bank of the Jaxartes, and not far from the frontiers of Ilak. North of Wankath and among the hills was Khayralam, or Khaylam, a town of the district of Miyan Rúdhán, 'Betwixt the Rivers,' with a fine Friday Mosque and good markets. To the north of this again lay Shikit, or Sikkit, a town where according to Mukaddasi nuts grew so abundantly that a thousand could be had for a silver dirham; and here too there was a Friday Mosque in the market-place. The town of Kāsān still exists, and is described by the earlier geographers as situate in the district of the same name. Yakût adds that it had a strong castle, and that past its gate ran the stream which ultimately joined the Jaxartes at Akhsikath. Further north was the district of Jidghil, of which the chief town was Ardalankath. To the east of this lay the Karwan district, of which the chief town was called Najm. A number of other towns are also briefly described by Mukaddasî, but unfortunately there is no indication of their respective positions'.

To the westward of Farghanah came the district of Shash, which, as already said, lay on the right bank or north-east of the Jaxartes. The ruins now known as Old Tashkand are the site of the city called Shash by the Arabs, and Chach by the Persians, which, in the middle-ages, was the greatest of the Arab towns beyond the Jaxartes. The city of Shash was also known by the name of Binkath, for like many other places in Transoxiana, there was the double nomenclature, Iranian and Turanian.

Shash, in the 4th (10th) century, was a city of many walls. There was, in the first place, an inner town, with a castle, or citadel, standing separate, but adjacent, and these two were surrounded by a wall. Outside the inner town was the inner suburb, surrounded by its own wall, and beyond this again lay the outer

¹ Ist. 334: 347. I. H. 396. Muk. 271, 272. Yak. iv. 227.

³ This is often by an error in the diacritical points written Blkath, e.g. Yak. i. 746.

suburb, with many gardens and orchards surrounded in turn by a third wall. Lastly there was the Great Wall, which, as was the case at Bukhârâ, protected the whole district, making a great semicircular sweep round Shâsh to the northward, from the bank of the Turk river on the east to the Jaxartes on the west.

To return to the inner town and the citadel; this last, within which was the governor's house and the prison, had two gates, one opening on the inner town, the other to the suburbs. Friday Mosque had been built on the wall of the citadel. The inner town, which was a league across in every direction, contained some important markets and had three gates, first the double gate of Abu-l-'Abbas, then the Bab Kish, doubtless to the south where the road from Samarkand came in, and lastly the gate of Al-Junayd. The wall of the inner suburbs had ten gates (Mukaddasi names only eight), and of the outer suburbs seven, which are all carefully enumerated by Ibn Hawkal, and in the inner suburbs were found the great markets of Shash. The whole city was plentifully supplied by conduits of running water from canals, which afterwards irrigated the numerous orchards and vineyards within the walls.

The Great Wall, at its nearest point, passed at a distance of one league from the gate of the outer suburbs. This wall began on the east at the hill on the Turk river called Jabal Såblagh, and the extensive plain which it enclosed was known as Al-Kilāṣ. The wall was built by 'Abd-Allah ibn Humayd, to protect Shāsh on the north from the incursions of the Turks, and beyond it, at the distance of a league, was dug a deep ditch, going all the way from the hill on the Turk river to the bank of the Jaxartes on the west. The road north from Shāsh to Isbîjāb passed through this wall at the Iron Gate (Bāb-al-Ḥadīd).

In the early years of the 7th (13th) century, Shåsh was in part ruined during the conquests of Muḥammad Khwārizm Shåh, and the Mongol invasion which immediately followed added to the miseries of the people here as elsewhere. The city, however, appears to have recovered rapidly from these misfortunes, and it was again an important place in the 8th (14th) century when Timûr halted here. 'Alî of Yazd, who frequently has occasion to mention it in describing the campaigns of Tîmûr, gives the names as Shåsh,

Châch, or Tâshkant; this latter being apparently a popular corruption of the name Shâsh to Tâsh, by the Turkish-speaking population, Tâshkant meaning 'the stone city,' under which name it is now become the capital of Russian Turkistân'.

The Nahr Turk, now known as the river Chirchik, which flows to the south-east of Shash, according to Ibn Hawkal rose in the mountains of Jidghil on the north of the Naryn river, and in the district called Baskâm of the Kharlikh Turks. To the southward of this river and more or less running parallel with it was the Nahr Îlâk, now called the river Angran, and immediately below where this joined the Jaxartes stood the city of Banakath, the second largest town of the Shash district. Banakath, otherwise called Banâkît, or by the Persians Fanâkant, was not fortified in the 4th (10th) century, but it had a Friday Mosque in its marketplace. The town stood on the right bank of the Jaxartes where the great Khurasan road coming up from Samarkand crossed the river going to Shash, and it continued to be a place of great importance till the 7th (13th) century, when it was laid in ruins by Changiz Khân. More than a century later, in 818 (1415). Fanâkant was rebuilt by order of Shâh Rukh, the grandson of Tîmûr, and then received the name of Shâhrukhîyah, under which it is frequently mentioned by 'Alf of Yazd.

The road from Banakath north to Shash passed through the town of Jinanjakath, lying on the south or left bank of the Turk river, some two leagues above its junction with the Jaxartes. This town, though unfortified, was a place of considerable size in the 4th (10th) century, and its houses were built of wood and unburnt brick. Across the Jaxartes to the west, and one march from Jinanjakath on the road to Jizak, was the small town of Waynkard, which Ibn Hawkal describes as a village of the (Nestorian) Christians. Across the Turk river, and somewhat to the westward in the angle below where it joined the Jaxartes, lay the town of Ushturkath, or Shuturkath (Camel City), which was well fortified. This place must have been ruined by the Mongols, for in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century we find it replaced by Chinas (which still exists), the name of which is frequently

¹ Kud. 27. I. H. 384, 386-388. Muk. 476. Kaz. ii. 362. A. Y. i. 94, 101, 166.

mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd. Ibn Ḥawkal and Mukaddasî name more than a score of other cities of the Shāsh districts, but they add no details, and the positions of these places, therefore, cannot now be fixed; though it is evident that in the 4th (10th) century the whole of this country, as also the Îlâk district to the south and Isbîjâb to the north, was densely populated, with numerous hamlets that were of the size of towns.

The district of Îlâk lay to the south of the Îlâk river, and north of the great bend of the Jaxartes below Khujandah; and its chief town was called Tünkath. The district, which was continuous with Shash, comprised near a score of important towns, duly enumerated by Ibn Hawkal and others, the sites of which remain undetermined, and it is unfortunately not possible even to discover that of Tunkath, the capital. According to Ibn Hawkal Tunkath lay on the river Îlâk, and apparently at a distance of eight leagues from Shash, of which it is said to have been half the size. There was a strong castle, an inner city, and a suburb surrounded by a wall. Within the castle was the governor's house, the prison and the Friday Mosque both standing at the castle gate. Great markets were found in both city and suburb, and the whole district round was plentifully supplied with running water. All the country lying between Shash and Îlâk was covered with towns, the names of which are given by Ibn Hawkal, but as already said their positions are unfortunately now lost. One of the most important places mentioned was the populous town of Khasht (also written Khash, Khas, or Khās), near the silver mines in the Îlâk hills on the frontiers of Farghanah. Here, according to Ibn Hawkal, in the 4th (10th) century was a mint, where much gold and silver were coined; and the place was surrounded by numerous villages*.

To the north of Shash, and stretching east from the right bank of the Jaxartes, was the extensive district or province of Isbijab or Asbijab, with the capital of the same name; and Mukaddasi

¹ Ist. 328—330, 336, 345. I. H. 384, 385, 388, 405. Muk. 264, 276, 277. A. Y. i. 101; il. 636.

² Tünkath is sometimes by a clerical error miswritten Tükath, Ist. 331, note c. For the distance between Shash and Tünkath see Ist. 344. I. H. 404.

³ Ist. 331, 332, 345. I. H. 386, 388, 389, 404. Muk. 265, 277, 278.

in the 4th (10th) century mentions nearly fifty towns of this region as well known, of which only a very few can now be identified.

The city of Isbljåb is identical in site with Sayram, lying about eight miles to the eastward of Chimkant on the Aris or Badam river, which is a right-bank affluent of the Jaxartes1. According to Ibn Hawkal, it was a third the size of Shash, and consisted of a citadel or castle, with an inner city surrounded by a wall, and the suburb, also walled. It is reported that the whole circuit of the city of Isbîjâb was about a league, and that it stood in a great plain three leagues from the nearest hills, being surrounded by well-watered gardens. The town had four gates, and before each was built a strong Rubat or guard-house. There were markets in both the city and the suburbs, and in the former were situated the governor's house, the prison, and the Friday Mosque. Mukaddasi mentions the Sûk-al-Karâbis, 'the market of the cottonmerchants,' as especially famous, and the rents for these shops, which were applied to charitable purposes, amounted to 7,000 dirhams (about £300) a month. The city of Isbíjab appears after the time of the Mongol invasion to have changed its name to Sayram, under which it is frequently mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd in his accounts of the campaigns of Timur.

Chimkant, written Chimikant, is also frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd and appears to be identical with the town which Mukaddasi writes Jamūkat, and describes as a large, well-fortified city, with a Friday Mosque and suburbs, where there were excellent markets.'

On the east bank of the Sayhûn, immediately below where the Chimkant river flows in, is the city at the ford for passing the Jaxartes known originally as Bârâb or Fârâb, and in later times as Utrâr, where in the year 807 (1405) Tîmûr ended his life, when about to set out for the conquest of China. Fârâb, or Bârâb,

^{&#}x27;Muk. 262—264. Schuyler (Turkistan, i. 75) identifies Isbljåb city with Chimkant, but this is certainly a mistake, for in the Tārtkh-i-Rāshidi (translated by N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 171) mention is made of 'Sayrām which in old books is called Isbljåb.' The Persian text of this passage will be found on folio 105 b of the British Museum MS. Add. 24090.

² Ist. 333. I. H. 389. Muk. 263, 272, 275. A. Y. i. 166; ii. 633, 636.

was the name of both district and town, and it was sometimes accounted the capital of the Isbliab district; the suburbs of the town in the 4th (10th) century being also known under the name of Kadar. Mukaddasi speaks of Barab as a large city with 70,000 inhabitants; it was strongly fortified and had a citadel or castle, a Friday Mosque, and great markets. In its warehouses much merchandise was stored. Kadar also had its own Friday Mosque, and was the new town. According to Kazvini the city lay among salt marshes, and was celebrated in history as the birth-place of Abu Nasr-al-Fârâbî, who died in 339 (950), and was accounted the greatest of the Moslem philosophers before Avicenna. According to Ibn Hawkal, however, the actual birth-place of Al-Fåråbi was at Wasîj, a small fortified town lying two leagues distant from Fåråb, where there was a fine Friday Mosque in the marketplace. At a subsequent period Fârâb took the name of Utrâr, also spelt Utrar, which was pillaged in the early part of the 7th (13th) century by the Mongol hordes, but was shortly afterwards rebuilt, for it was in its Sarây, or palace, as already said, that Tîmûr died'.

About half-way between Sayrām and Utrār was the town of Arsubānīkath, or Subānīkath, which Mukaddasī speaks of as a fine place, well-fortified, with a Friday Mosque in the inner city, and great suburbs lying without the wall. The district round Subānīkath was called Kanjīdah. One day's march north of Utrār, along the right bank of the Jaxartes, was the town of Shāvaghar, also described by Mukaddasī as a large place, well-fortified, with a Friday Mosque in its market-place, and surrounded by fertile districts. The name of Shāvaghar does not occur in the later geographers, and from its position it would appear to be identical with Yassī, a place often mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd, and still existing to-day under the name of Haḍrat-i-Turkistān, 'The Presence (of the holy man) of Turkistān,'—he being the patron saint of the Kirghiz, who is buried here. According to 'Alī of Yazd this personage was Shaykh Aḥmad of Yassī, a descendant of

¹ I. H. 390, 391. Muk. 163, 273. Kaz. ii. 405. A. F. 493. I. B. iii. 23. A. Y. i. 166, 275; ii. 646. Ibn Khallikân, No. 716, p. 73. There is often confusion between Fârâb or Bârâb (Uţrâr) of the Jaxartes, and Fâryâb (see above, p. 425) in Jûzjân, which was also called Bārâb.

Muhammad ibn Hanafiyah, son of the Caliph 'Ali. The Shaykh died here in the early part of the 6th (12th) century, and Tîmûr at the close of the 8th (14th) century built over his tomb the mosque, the magnificent remains of which exist, the shrine being still the object of pilgrimage from all the country round.

One day's journey north of Yassî or Shâvaghar was Sawrân, or Şabrân, which stands to the present day, reckoned in the 4th (10th) century as the frontier fortress against the Ghuzz. Here, in peace times, all the neighbouring Turk tribes came to barter with the Moslem merchants. Mukaddasî depicts Sawrân as a very large town, protected by seven fortifications and walls, one built behind the other. The Friday Mosque was in the inner city, and extensive suburbs lay outside the town. 'Alî of Yazd frequently mentions Şabrân when speaking of the campaigns of Tîmûr, and Yâkût describes its high citadel or castle, which dominated the frontier lands'.

Among other places on the Jaxartes very frequently mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd, but not noticed by the earlier Arab geographers, is Saghnāk, which he gives as the capital of Kîpchâk and as lying 24 leagues northward from Utrâr. Further to the north again is Jand, mentioned by the earlier geographers, and by Yâkût, as one of the great Moslem cities of Turkistân beyond the Jaxartes. In the early part of the 7th (13th) century Jand had been devastated by the Mongols. The Aral is often named the Sea of Jand, and here, two marches from the mouth of the Jaxartes, lay the Ghuzz capital, called by the Arabs Al-Kariyat-al-Jadîdah (or Al-Hadlthah), 'the New Village,' and in later times known as Yanghikant or Yangi-Shahr, 'New Town,' in Turkish'.

About 80 miles to the north-east of Sayram (or Isbîjâb) are the ruins of Taraz, near the present town of Aulieh-Ata. Taraz, or At-Taraz, was an important place as early as the 4th (10th) century, and is described by Ibn Hawkal as the chief commercial

¹ I. H. 390, 391. Muk. 262, 273, 274. Yak. iii. 366. A. Y. i. 466, 557; ii. 9, 636, 642. Schuyler, Turkistan, i. 70. The name, which should be written Sawrân or Şabrân, is frequently misprinted Şîrân in the Zafar-Nûmah of 'All of Yazd.

² I. H. 393. A. F. 489. Yak. il. 127. A. Y. i. 275, 279. For the ruins of Jand see Schuyler. Turkistan, i. 62.

town of those Moslems who were engaged in trade with the Kharlakhiyah Turks. Mukaddasi adds that the city was strongly fortified, with a deep ditch, beyond which lay many gardens, and it was extremely populous. The Taraz river ran by one of the four gates of the city, and there was a Friday Mosque in the market-place. According to Kazvînî, Tarâz was proverbial for the beauty of its men and women, it had a good climate and its lands were extremely fertile. Also of the Turk country and about one hundred miles due east of Taraz lies Barki or Mirki (modern Merkeh), which Mukaddasi describes as a medium-sized town, but well fortified, having a castle, and a Friday Mosque that had originally been a (Nestorian) Christian church. There was a great guard-house here in the 4th (10th) century, built by 'Amid-ad-Dawlah Faik, one of the Buyid Amírs. According to the same authority, Kûlân lay one march west of Mîrkî towards Țarâz; it was a large and strongly fortified village with a Friday Mosque. and was accounted a place of much importance'.

In conclusion it is to be observed that Abû-l-Fidâ mentions a number of capital cities of the Turks, the exact positions of which it is difficult now to fix. Of these Balâsâghun was the capital of the Khans of Turkistân during the 4th and 5th (10th and 11th) centuries, and is mentioned by Ibn-al-Athîr in his Chronicle. Its exact site is unknown. Abû-l-Fidâ says, vaguely, that it was near Kâshghâr, but beyond the Jaxartes. The ruins of Almâligh, which was the Mongol capital under Jaghatay, the son of Changîz Khân, have been found near the site of Old Kuljah, on the river Ilih; and its position is indicated by 'Alî of Yazd, who also mentions the Irtish river and the Tulâs. But of all these towns no descriptions are given, and like Kâshghâr, Khutan, Yârkand and other places on the borders of China, the notice in our authorities is merely incidental and unfortunately of no import geographically.

The countries of the Jaxartes did not produce any great variety of manufactures, and the slave-trade was the chief industry of the merchants who went thither. Mukaddasi mentions that

¹ I. H. 390, 391. Muk. 263, 274, 175. Kaz. ii. 365. A. F. 497. Schuyler, Turkistan, ii. 120.

A. F. 505. A. Y. i. 485, 494; il. 218, 219.

at Dizak (Jisak) in Ushrüsanah they made excellent felts and cloaks. The natural products of Farghånah were gold and silver from the mines, also turquoises; quicksilver, iron, and copper were likewise obtained, also sal-ammoniac, naphtha, and bitumen. The mill-stones of Farghånah were famous, and stone-coal for burning was common here. From the orchards were exported grapes, apples, and nuts, with perfumes made from roses and violets. Shåsh produced fine white cloth, swords and other weapons, with brass and iron work, such as needles, scissors, and pots. Also saddles of the skin of the wild ass were made, with bows and quivers, dyed hides, and prayer-rugs, as well as a kind of collared cloak. The country round produced rice, flax, and cotton. Finally from Tarâz, in the Turk country, came goatskins; and the Turkistân horses and mules were always and especially famous!

In regard to the high roads of these provinces, the continuation of the great Khurâsân road, going north from Samarkand, crossed the Sughd river, and thence reached Zamin in Ushrusanah, where it bifurcated, the left branch to Shash and the lower Jaxartes, the right to the upper Jaxartes and Farghanah. From Zamin the direct road to Shash crossed the Jaxartes at Banakath; while a second high road from Samarkand went by Dîzak, and across the desert to Waynkard, beyond which the Jaxartes was crossed to Shuturkath, where the road from Banakath to Shash was joined. From Shash one road went east to Tunkath, the capital of the Ilak province, and another north to Isbliab, where again there was a bifurcation. Westward from Isbîjâb, one high road went to Fàrâb (Utrâr) for the crossing of the Jaxartes, and thence also north along its right bank to Sabran. To the right, eastward from Isbîjâb, the other road went to Taraz, and thence to Barki or Mirki, the last Moslem town of Turk lands in the 4th (10th) century, and from this place Ibn Khurdadbih and Kudamah give the stages across the desert to Upper Nûshanjân on the frontiers of China, which place is probably to be identified with Khutan3.

The road to Farghanah which, as already said, bifurcated from

^{1 1.} H. 397, 398. Muk. 325. Kaz. ii. 405.

² I. K. 16-29. Kud. 203-106. Ist. 335-337, 343-346. I. H. 398, 399, 403-405. Muk. 341-343. Mustawfi unfortunately gives no routes

the continuation of the Khurâsân road at Zâmîn, went by Sâbâț (where the road to Bûnjikath, the capital of Ushrûsanah, turned off) to Khujandah on the Jaxartes. From here, keeping along the south bank of the river, and up stream, Akhsîkath, the capital of Farghânah, at the crossing of the Jaxartes, was reached. The distances from Akhsîkath to the various towns lying to the north of the upper Jaxartes are given by Iṣṭakhrî and Ibn Hawkal; while from the capital of Farghânah eastward the continuation of the high road by Ûsh to Ûzkand is found in Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah. Further Mukaddasî gives notes of the way from Ûzkand into the Turk country, and ultimately to the frontiers of China. The account is difficult to follow, but, as with Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah, the last stage is Upper Nûshajân, or Barsakhân, the conjectural Khutan.

beyond the Oxus. For the route to Khutan and China see the article on the Wall of Gog and Magog by Professor M. J. De Goeje in Medealeding der Kaninklijke Academie Amsterdam, for 1888, p. 123. For the route followed by 'Abd-ar-Razzāk, the Ambassador of Shāh Rukh, who travelled to China and back between 822 and 825 (1419 and 1422), see the Persian text and translation by E. Quatremère in Notices et Extraits, vol. XIV. pt. i. p. 387, also the notes by Sir H. Yule in Cathay and the Way thither, pp. excix—ecix.

¹ I. K. 29, 30. Knd. 207-209. Ist. 335, 343-347. I. H. 398, 399, 403-406. Muk. 341, 342.



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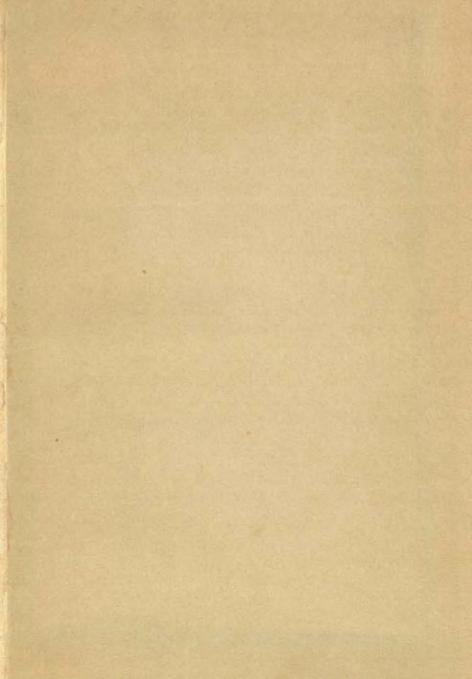
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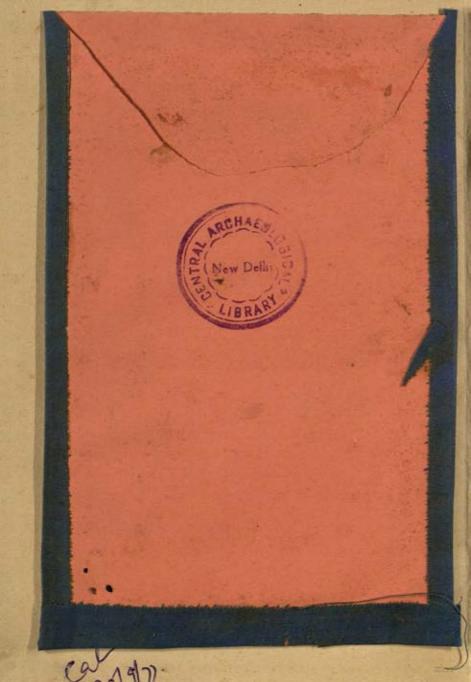
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